

"We aim for them to be higher": The influence of Vietnamese immigrant parents on their children's schooling and work

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Certificate of Original Authorship

I, Ivy Marie Vuong, declare that this thesis is submitted in fulfilment of the requirements for the award of Doctor of Philosophy, in the School of Communication, Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences at the University of Technology Sydney.

This thesis is wholly my own work unless otherwise referenced or acknowledged. In addition, I certify that all information sources and literature used are indicated in the thesis.

This document has not been submitted for qualifications at any other academic institution.

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A Note on Referencing Style

This thesis uses APA 7th referencing style. This requires that, for all authors with the same surname, each first author's initial(s) must be included in all citations. Initials are included even if the year of publication differs. This is done for the first author only when there are multiple authors in a single reference.

Preface

My educational journey appears to follow a specific formula: a selective school education, a double degree at university, an honours degree, and finally, a PhD. It's the kind of trajectory that seems even more unlikely when considering the fact that neither of my parents completed university. Achievements like mine are often understood in terms of stereotypes around "Asian" parents and "Asian" immigrants, who, despite their own disadvantage, push their children to succeed in their studies by employing aggressive and authoritarian parenting tactics. My friends and I have repeatedly used these stereotypes to frame our own schooling careers, and it's become a joke to say that these journeys, these parents, and these successes were so "Asian".

However, to label these achievements in this way is to overlook the motivations and practices of these kinds of parents and children. For example, growing up, my parents made an effort to read to my sister and me in different languages. These weren't just books in English, but in Vietnamese and Chinese as well. After school, mum was always there to pick us up from primary school and take us home. She also did this for my cousins, whose parents were usually working long hours in their small businesses. I remember mum and dad going to parent-teacher nights, and I remember bringing home school reports for them to read. As we progressed through high school, this kind of involvement diminished, especially since we were no longer in local schools. But they still made an effort – they made an effort to buy us stationery every year, they made an effort to go to parent-teacher nights even though they worked longer hours in jobs further from home. They made an effort to encourage us, even if it meant telling us to stop watching the TV and study instead. Describing their dedication through tropes about "Asian" parents does not do them justice.

Even more simply, the stereotypes of pushy Asian parents and overachieving Asian math geniuses fail to capture the relations of care that facilitate these efforts in the first place. It is a care that is reciprocal – it comes from the parents to the children, and from the children to their parents. For my sister’s 30th birthday, I prepared a photo album and asked our parents to write letters for her at the back of the album. In his message, dad wrote:

I remember a few months after you were born, I went to Sydney for work for Auntie Phan. You and mum stayed in Melbourne until things were settled, then you both moved to Sydney. You were 8 months old at the time. Time was flying, I can’t imagine now you are 30 years old. Thank goodness there is no more waiting for hours in the car when you had your tutor lesson...

During these years, we had moved so many times. The reasons were to find the area which has a good school that we want you to attend, hoping that our children will have good education and future. We always put our children first, especially your mum, she sacrificed a lot for her children.

I am very proud of you after so many things going on, you managed to finish your degrees and have a good career, the job you are doing is not only to make money but also helping the community. Well done.

The tropes around “tiger” parenting and “Asian” parenting don’t quite capture why my sister and I both cried at these messages. Nor do they capture the frictions that existed, not just in our family, but in other families we knew as well. Finally, they adequately don’t explain how our parents enabled us to do those things that make them proud of us or why we chose to pursue and achieve those things in the first place.

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Abstract

This thesis examines the influence that first-generation Vietnamese immigrant parents have on the academic and professional achievements of their Australian-born children. The representation of this second-generation cohort in tertiary education and in the professional workplace is quite high, especially when considered in relation to the first generation's low socio-economic status. Though popular discourse may reduce these achievements to outcomes of "tiger parenting" or "Asian parenting", this fails to capture the processes through which these Vietnamese immigrants facilitate their children's academic and professional successes. In order to understand these achievements, and how they came to be, this thesis focuses on how second-generation Vietnamese Australians are moved towards educational and occupational success as a result of their parents' interventions. It draws on 32 semi-structured interviews with Vietnamese Australians of different generations, while also analysing objects that these participants shared during their interviews.

This study uses Bourdieusian notions of capital and habitus, as well as the concept of affect. Much research applies Bourdieu's capital to highlight how parents' level of cultural capital can contribute to their children's scholastic achievements, but this alone fails to capture the dynamic and turbulent parent-child relationships that were revealed by participants in this study. Indeed, one of the key limitations of a notion of capital is its focus on strategy and competition (Crossley, 2001a; Lareau & Weininger, 2003; Savage et al., 2005; Swartz, 1997), which overlooks the affective dimensions of educational and occupational aspirations and trajectories. To that end, the concept of affect is used to highlight the effect of these relations on second-generation Vietnamese Australians, which can contribute to the development of dispositions in their habitus. In particular, the experience of migration shapes the care that first-generation Vietnamese parents have for their children and their futures. It is this care

that influences their strategic interventions in relation to schooling and work. This is reflected by their aspirations, as well as by the home- and community-based practices they use. These parenting interventions engender dispositions in the second-generation children that facilitate action towards, and motivation for, academic and professional achievement.

By bringing together these notions of capital, habitus, and affect, the thesis demonstrates the ways in which the experience of migration can resonate in the lives of first- and second-generation Vietnamese Australians, informing the ways in which care and strategy are interwoven. Moreover, it provides insight into the tensions that can underpin this pursuit of academic and professional success, as the second-generation children can experience affective responses of gratitude, resentment, guilt, acceptance, and shame as a result of the parenting they receive. As such, this thesis offers a richer and more complete understanding of these achievements, by considering the impact of parent-child relationships.

Introduction

The children of Asian-background parents are frequently assumed to be math geniuses, piano prodigies, and quiet overachievers, pushed to excel in their studies by their authoritarian and education-obsessed parents. These parents are commonly referred to as “tiger parents”, a label popularised by Amy Chua’s 2011 memoir, *Battle hymn of the tiger mother*. In it, Chua documented her own experiences as a mother of two American-born children, garnering much criticism for the aggressive and self-proclaimed “un-Western” methods and tactics she used to ensure her daughters’ success (Lam, 2014; M. Lo, 2014; Rhee, 2013). Despite public outcry, the label of the tiger parent has only continued to gain traction and popularity amongst both Asian- and non-Asian groups, becoming a widely accepted label used to denote a style of parenting allegedly common within Asian-background households. It refers to the way in which immigrant parents relentlessly drive their children to study hard and attain high levels of achievement in both school and in extracurricular activities, sometimes at the expense of their social and emotional development (Herz & Gullone, 1999; Huang & Gove, 2015; Leung et al., 1998; Lui, 2015; B. Ngo, 2006; P. Nguyen, 2008; Qin, 2006; Qin, 2008; Tajima & Harachi, 2010). Yet, while it may be easy to use this stereotype to describe, ridicule, or condemn these parents, the label homogenises Asian diasporic groups while also concealing the complex ways these immigrant parents facilitate their children’s achievements in school and beyond.

The focus on education by immigrants living in the West is deliberate. Education is widely acknowledged to be the main force of social and economic advancement (Erikson, 2019; Mendolia & Siminski, 2015; The Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development [OECD], 2018). For non-native citizens especially, education remains the most assured route to socioeconomic mobility in their host country (Bankston & Zhou, 2021;

Colic-Peisker, 2011; Fernández-Reino, 2016; Kao, 1995; Kula et al., 2021; H. Nguyen et al., 2019; Shahrokni, 2018; Sue & Okazaki, 1990; V. Tran et al., 2019). In Australia, research on second-generation immigrant children's academic achievements tends to focus on Chinese and Indian communities, who represent two of the largest diasporic groups in the country (Australian Bureau of Statistics, 2022). This is also true of research from the United States, Canada, and the United Kingdom (e.g., Costigan et al., 2010; Dyson, 2001; Francis & Archer, 2005; J. Lee & Zhou, 2015; Louie, 2001; Louie, 2004; Saran, 2007; Wong, 2015; Yang, 2007). Various factors have been attributed to the achievements of these migrant children, including positive immigrant selectivity (e.g., Brunori et al., 2020; Engzell, 2019; Feliciano, 2005; Ichou, 2014; J. Lee & Zhou, 2015; van de Werfhorst & Heath, 2019), parenting styles (e.g., Balli, 1996; Bodovski, 2010; J. Campbell & Verna, 2007; Fibbi & Truong, 2015; Hartas, 2015; Nauck & Lotter, 2015; P. Nguyen, 2008; Pong et al., 2005), practices such as supplementary education (e.g., Aurini & Davies, 2013; Byun & Park, 2012; Dooley et al., 2020; Zhou & Kim, 2006; Zhou & Lee, 2014), and school choice (e.g., C. Campbell et al., 2009; Cucchiara, 2013; Mavisakalyan, 2012; Musset, 2012; Saporito, 2003; Saporito & Lareau, 1999; Windle, 2009). Attention is also being paid to the impact of skilled migration policies, which has become the primary avenue for permanent migration to Australia (Australian Bureau of Statistics, 2023). Unlike the notion of immigrant selectivity, which does not consider specific pathways to migration and instead argues that immigrants are self-selected on the basis of resources relative to their birth country rather than the destination country (Ichou, 2014), a focus on skilled migration policies enables an understanding of how these deliberate schemes have facilitated the increased settlement of Asian immigrants who are equipped with levels of capital comparable to the middle-class Anglo population and who are thus, "strategically placed to negotiate the Australian education system" (C. Ho, 2020, p. 49). For the diasporic groups who arrive under non-skilled migration programs, research has

tended to acknowledge that the educational trajectories of these immigrant children seem to defy the low socioeconomic status of their parents. Second-generation Vietnamese Australians have occupied less of this research landscape despite appearing to encapsulate this phenomenon. Thus, the aim of this research is to shine a light on how Vietnamese immigrant parents influence their Australian-born children's achievement in school and beyond.

A relatively recent migrant community, the Vietnamese diaspora represents the sixth largest migrant group in Australia (Department of Home Affairs, 2024). They comprise nearly four per cent of Australia's overseas-born population (Department of Home Affairs, 2024). They are the country's first refugee cohort and were the first immigrant population to arrive following the abolition of the White Australia Policy in the early 1970s (Carruthers, 2008a; Viviani, 1984). Vietnamese Australians have also occupied a space of extremes. They are known as boat people (Hoang, 2010; Lewins & Ly, 1985; Viviani, 1996), they have been condemned as criminals and gang members (Carruthers, 1995; Jakubowicz, 2004; Nunn, 2017), they have been accused of forming ghettos (Birrell & Seol, 1998; Blainey, 1984; The Sydney Morning Herald, 2016; M. Thomas, 1998), and they have become a symbol of the success of Australian multiculturalism (Dunn, 1998; Jupp, 2002; Masanauskas, 2015; Ruddock cited in McMurray, 1999). Elsewhere, Vietnamese diasporic communities in the West are commonly touted for having overcome their disadvantage through hard work and compliance, aligning them with discourses of the "model minority" (Conchas & Perez, 2003; D. Lee et al., 2017; B. Ngo & Lee, 2007; Um, 2003). These successes have seemingly affirmed the notion that some refugee groups are more "deserving" than others (Cao, 2022; Espiritu, 2014; Haw, 2020; Matthews, 2021; Vo, 2021).

Despite the struggles of the previous generation, successive generations of Vietnamese Australians, including those who were born overseas but arrived in Australia as

young children, appear to have defied expectations. Baldassar et al. (2017) acknowledge that “despite the negative socio-economic indicators, the Vietnamese second generation have relatively high proportions enrolled in education at higher rates than comparable migrant communities” (p. 941). While the lower median incomes of the population may represent a potential barrier, this is belied by their high representation in higher education (Baldassar et al., 2017; Dobson et al., 1996). In order to better conceive of how these accomplishments came to be, it is important to consider the role of parenting practices in facilitating these impressive achievements, focusing on the ways in which these immigrant parents have enabled their children to succeed at school and beyond. Research on the educational achievements of Vietnamese immigrants in Australia and elsewhere has spanned the first- to second-generation cohorts, and has also explored the various social and cultural factors that have contributed to their academic success (e.g., Baldassar et al., 2017; Bankston et al., 1997; Carroll, 2003; Carruthers, 2008a; Dobson et al., 1996; Fekjær & Leirvik, 2011; Khoo et al., 2002; J. Lee & Zhou, 2015; T. Nguyen et al., 2014; Rosenbaum & Rochford, 2008; Röttger-Rössler & Lam, 2018; Sakamoto & Woo, 2007; Viviani, 1997; Webber, 2002; Zhou & Bankston, 2001).

Nevertheless, this literature does not capture the ways in which Vietnamese immigrant parents facilitate the educational and occupational successes of their Australian-born children. This is the focus of this thesis, which explores how first-generation parents’ experiences of migration and settlement can contribute to their expectations and interventions towards the educational attainment of their Australian-born children. It also seeks to understand how motivation for, and action towards, educational and occupational success is instilled in second-generation Vietnamese Australians. As such, this research will address the following question:

How are the educational and occupational aspirations and trajectories of second-generation Vietnamese Australians shaped by the ways they are parented?

To answer this question, the thesis draws on 32 semi-structured interviews with both first- and second-generation Vietnamese Australians. Most of the interviews were conducted online due to the New South Wales COVID-19 lockdowns in 2021. Interviewees were also invited to share artefacts, which were objects that they associated with schooling, work, or family, in order to illuminate a richer understanding of their experience. For the 1.5- and second-generation participants, these items were used in order to gain a more detailed account of their experiences of schooling and work, as well as their relationship with their parents. For the first-generation cohort, these objects were used in order to facilitate reflections on the way in which they contributed to their children's educational and occupational achievements. These artefacts were an important means of generating new or unexpected insights into the relationships between first- and second-generation Vietnamese Australians. It was an interesting exercise for the interviewees. (I have sometimes envisioned what my own artefact would have been had I participated in this research as an interviewee. Most likely, it would have been a framed photograph of myself, wearing a maroon cap and gown for my graduation from *pre-school*. I joke that this photo represents the high aspirations my parents had for me, and it is an indication of the institutionalised cultural capital I have come to acquire.)

Bourdieu's notion of capital is a principal concept for this project, given its applicability within educational research (Bourdieu & Passeron, 1977/1990; Lamont & Lareau, 1988; Lareau & Weininger, 2003; Swartz, 1997). In particular, embodied cultural capital plays an important role in the acquisition of other forms of capital, including institutionalised cultural and economic capital, as it comprises know-how and competence.

However, a notion of capital tends to focus on strategy and competition, as it is commonly used to describe the place of agents within fields and the ways in which they compete for capital to improve their positions (Crossley, 2001a; Lareau & Weininger, 2003; Savage et al., 2005; Swartz, 1997). While strategy and competition may form part of the motivations underpinning the educational and occupational pursuits of second-generation Vietnamese Australians, they do not capture the underlying processes that precipitate academic achievement. To better illuminate this process, the thesis also uses Bourdieu's notion of habitus. The habitus, as a set of long-lasting dispositions that have both a structuring and structured capacity (Bourdieu, 1990b), allows for an understanding of the motivations, behaviours, and decisions of individuals through the interplay of structural forces and individual agency. Yet Bourdieu does not adequately engage in a discussion of how these dispositions are inculcated in the first place (Watkins, 2012; Watkins, in press).

To that end, a notion of affect allows for an examination of the everyday practices and interactions that contribute to the development of dispositions that move second-generation Vietnamese Australians towards the acquisition of institutional cultural and economic capital. Affect here is understood as the effect of the world on us, contributing to our capacity to act and be acted upon (J. Thomas & Correa, 2015). It provides a greater understanding of how the experiences of migration can become embedded in first-generation immigrant parents, engendering their high expectations for their children's achievements. These experiences inform their motivation and their practices towards their children's schooling. Affect also allows for consideration of how parenting practices can produce certain dispositions that, in turn, lead to their academic and professional achievements. It facilitates a more nuanced understanding of the ways in which we are affected by others and the world we inhabit.

These notions of affect, habitus, and capital allow for a consideration of how experiences of disadvantage and hardship can become embodied and can manifest in parent-

child relationships. They highlight how structural forces can play out in the minutiae of practice, where parents are shaped by their experiences which then influences the ways they parent their children in relation to schooling. In doing so, these notions of affect, habitus, and capital allow us to move beyond the stereotypes of “Asian” parents and to instead consider the interconnectedness of strategy and care in these parents’ approaches. “Strategy” and “care” do not simply describe separate types of actions that immigrant parents may enact to ensure their children’s educational and occupational achievements. Rather, they are interwoven to inform both motivation and practice, as a result of migration and its ensuing challenges. Strategy and care are what compel these parents to move their children towards educational and occupational success, but they also give rise to the actions that are undertaken towards these goals. This is true of the children as well, who experience the effects of migration through their parents’ interventions, leading to their own actions of care and strategy. By highlighting the inseparability of strategy and care, this thesis allows for a more nuanced understanding of the impact of parenting on children’s educational and occupational outcomes, rather than relying on stereotypes of “Asian” parents and students. It demonstrates that the strategies deployed by Asian immigrant parents should not be narrowly conceived of as “aggressive” or “instrumental” parenting but are instead intertwined with care. Moreover, it is not only the parents who partake in this care – the children offer care in their own way. It is these reciprocal and often overlooked dimensions of parent-child relationships that will be considered in the context of academic achievement, allowing for a richer understanding of the impact of parenting on children’s education beyond the stereotypes that characterise the parenting practices of Asian immigrants.

Thesis Overview

This introduction has offered an initial discussion of the research context, which is expanded on in Chapter 1. This is followed by Chapter 2, which introduces the principal concepts of the thesis, providing an overview of capital, habitus and affect in order to elaborate on the processes that contribute to the academic and professional achievements of second-generation Vietnamese Australians. The use of these concepts offers a richer understanding of how the inculcation of structural forces in the habitus can shape parents' approaches and practices in their children's schooling, guiding their strategy and care. Chapter 3 highlights the methodological approach of this research, while also illuminating researcher positionality. It includes a discussion of key terms and challenges encountered during the research, particularly in relation to COVID-19.

The first empirical chapter, Chapter 4, explores the affective force of migration stories. These stories, which focus on escape, settlement, and hardship, are shared between Vietnamese parents and their Australian-born children. This chapter reveals the ongoing impact of migration on the first-generation parents, and the ways in which this informs their care towards their children's future. It also considers how the act of sharing migration stories facilitates the children's understanding of their parents' intense focus on education. These motivations are acted on through pedagogic practices, which are explored in Chapter 5. It focuses on Vietnamese parents' strategic interventions in order to help their children excel in school, and though their children may comply, the chapter reveals how these practices can generate negative affective responses. It highlights how home-based pedagogic practices, such as homework supervision, resource provision, and tutoring, can create dispositions that contribute to the second generation's academic achievement, while also illuminating the emotional costs of this success. Where Chapters 4 and 5 focus primarily on the ways in which second-generation children are cared for, and how they may receive this care, Chapter 6

demonstrates how these children display care of their own, through consideration of their parents' aspirations for higher education. First-generation Vietnamese parents often possess specific goals for their children to ensure their future financial stability and status, which the children themselves adopt and uphold as a sign of their care. In particular, this care can entail attempts to win their parents' approval and regard. However, if the children fail to reach these goals, then the intensity of their desire for their parents' approval becomes a source of profound shame. The Conclusion of the thesis brings together the themes of the chapters and reiterates that "Asian" parenting should not be reduced to discussions of strategy but instead, expanded to consider the relations of care that underpin these efforts. Throughout these chapters, the use of notions of capital, habitus, and affect illuminates the nuanced ways in which Vietnamese migrant parents influence their children's educational and occupational aspirations and trajectories, allowing for examination of the tensions, complexities, and care that underpin these relationships.

Chapter 1

The Educational Successes of the Vietnamese Diaspora

The academic achievements of second-generation Vietnamese Australians have been well-documented (e.g., Baldassar et al., 2017; Carroll, 2003; Carruthers, 2008a; Dobson et al., 1996; Kula et al., 2021; H. Nguyen et al., 2019; N. Nguyen, 2024; T. Nguyen et al., 2014; V. Tran et al., 2019). As noted in the Introduction, these achievements appear to be in stark contrast to their parents' relatively disadvantaged socioeconomic background (Baldassar et al., 2017). This chapter considers these achievements in the history of Vietnamese migration and settlement in Australia. It also situates Vietnamese Australian academic outcomes in broader discourses about "Asian" educational success.

The History of Vietnamese Australians

The end of the Vietnam War, signified by the Fall of Saigon in 1975, catalysed the largest exodus of Vietnamese nationals from the country. Prior to this, there was already a small community of Vietnamese migrants living in Australia. These were university students who had arrived under the Colombo Plan, an intergovernmental scholarship program that promoted stronger international relations within Asia and the Pacific (Carruthers, 2008a; Gapps, 2008), as well as a select number of Vietnamese elites, comprising academics, bureaucrats, and military personnel (Viviani, 1984). After the fall of Saigon, Vietnamese migrants began to leave the country in unprecedented numbers. Vietnamese nationals and their families, of a relatively high socio-economic status, were the first to leave the country immediately after this event. These migrants had close ties with wartime allies, and while the majority of them resettled in the United States, a small number arrived in Australia.

Another exodus of Vietnamese migrants occurred in the late 1970s, and primarily consisted of refugees, colloquially referred to as "boat people". While earlier migrants were

predominately Vietnamese nationals of a higher social standing, this second exodus comprised a broader cross-section of Vietnam's population. Boman and Edwards (1984) divide this second exodus into two distinct groups, who fled in April 1978 and then again in March 1979. The first group consisted of primarily Chinese-background Vietnamese merchants, as well as middle-class Catholic Vietnamese families (Boman & Edwards, 1984). The second group was predominately from rural areas in North Vietnam. Ethnically-Chinese Vietnamese-born peasants and workers were overrepresented in this group, many of whom had previously experienced displacement as internal refugees during wartime (Carruthers, 2008a). This second exodus represented the most diverse cross-section of the Vietnamese population, spanning religious affiliations, ethnic backgrounds, as well as socio-economic status.

This second exodus had a disproportionate representation of Chinese Vietnamese. Labelled the "ethnic Chinese dimension" (Amer, 2009, p. 2), this exodus can be explained by the economic and political changes that accompanied the reunification of North and South Vietnam in 1975. The policies of the new government typically targeted the ethnic Chinese community, who controlled a significant amount of commercial activity in the former capital of Saigon (Amer, 1996). Chinese newspapers had been shut down and all Chinese-operated schools in Vietnam were closed by 1978 (Chan, 2018). Many ethnic Chinese were expelled from the Vietnamese government (Amer, 1996; Chan, 2013). Furthermore, the corrosion of Chinese–Vietnamese diplomatic relations ignited strong anti-Chinese sentiment. Ultimately, it is difficult to ascertain the effect of Chinese identity on the migration and settlement of Vietnamese migrants and refugees around the world (Chan, 2013). Carruthers (2008a) posits that this distinction is minimal, as "there is no clear line between ethnic Vietnamese and ethnic Chinese Vietnamese communities" (p. 106). This is because fluency in Chinese language as well as the significance of Chinese heritage within a family varies significantly,

and while there are specific community associations for Chinese-Vietnamese Australians, many also participate in Vietnamese associations as well (Carruthers, 2008a).

Vietnamese migration continued well into the 1980s, which saw the highest level of Vietnamese migration to Australia. This increase was enabled by international schemes. In 1979, the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) and Vietnam established a program that permitted legal emigration from the country. Known as the Orderly Departure Program (ODP), this program allowed people wishing to leave Vietnam to do so in a safe manner, rather than risking their lives to escape by boat (Kumin, 2008). In Australia, the ODP was considered a family reunification program, as migrants who had settled in the 1970s were able to apply for family reunion, bringing over their families (Gapps, 2009). The uptake of the ODP by the Australian Government was also in part due to a perceived settlement crisis, with the idea that migrants with relatives already living in the country would be better able to integrate into Australia and as such, would not rely on social welfare (Gapps, 2008).

In the 1990s, another spike of migration occurred. These newer arrivals were predominately from the northern region of Vietnam and were of peasant origin. This group was often considered “economic refugees” by the Vietnamese migrants who had already settled in Australia and who considered themselves political refugees (Carruthers, 2008b). At the start of the decade, the immigration of non-refugees surpassed the immigration of Vietnam-born refugees, though by the mid-1990s, Vietnamese migration dropped significantly due to increasing limitations on the family reunion intake by the Howard Government. Arrivals fell to under 4,000 under these new restrictions. By this time, over two million Vietnamese migrants had fled the country to other nations and an estimated one million others died in their attempts to leave (Rumbaut, 2007). Since then, Vietnamese

migration to Australia has largely consisted of students, migrant workers, and brides (Carruthers, 2008b).

It has been suggested that the staggered waves of migration may have positively affected the integration of successive Vietnamese refugees into their host countries. B. Ngo (2006) describes how “earlier, pre-1975 refugee and immigrant waves of Asian ethnics were wealthier and had more years of education. Each successive wave, however, brought poorer and less educated refugees and immigrants” (p. 52). The earlier Vietnamese migrants, with larger stores of economic and cultural capital, had greater capacity to adapt than subsequent cohorts, which may have positively affected their integration into their host country. This impacted subsequent waves of migrants, who were able to overcome their own disadvantage by relying on the more established members of the Vietnamese community (Coughlan, 1998; Dorais, 1999; B. Ngo, 2006). Moreover, given the history of French colonial rule in Vietnam, previous exposure to the West has been cited as an advantage to the integration and assimilation of these Vietnamese nationals, despite their abrupt departure from their country of origin. Montero (1979) compares this to the experiences of other Asian migrant groups such as the Chinese and Japanese, suggesting that these earlier Asian immigrants possessed little prior knowledge of the West while the initial Vietnamese migrants were already more familiar with the French and English language, customs, and behaviours of their destination countries before their arrival.

Alternatively, it has been suggested that the social infrastructures in destination countries enabled this refugee group to experience upward mobility. For instance, Schmid (2001) posits that, as political refugees fleeing communist takeovers, Vietnamese migrants were “treated sympathetically, and received various forms of federal assistance” (p. 77), which helped them to develop entrepreneurial and close-knit communities. As such, these ethnic communities were able to overcome the disadvantages related to migration, by relying

on government assistance to create resources that facilitated their successful settlement. With reference to the American context, Schmid (2001) contrasts the experiences of the Vietnamese with other migrant groups such as Latino populations, who were not able to access these types of government resources due to the conditions of their migration. Likewise, Portes and MacLeod (1996) suggest that the settlement of the Vietnamese immigrants was enabled by government infrastructures, allowing for the rapid acquisition of financial stability and thus, the successful integration into their new communities.

In New South Wales, Vietnamese migrants were first placed in Fairfield local government area (LGA) during the resettlement process (Carruthers, 2008a). Historically, Fairfield LGA was a prominent transition zone for migrants, including Eastern and Southern European migrants as well as Chinese migrants (Gapps, 2008). Unlike these groups, Vietnamese migrants have come to permanently settle in the area, which continues to experience high levels of Vietnamese concentration (Australian Bureau of Statistics, 2021b). Given that these areas were sites of initial settlement by Vietnamese migrants, later arrivals of Vietnamese migrants were attracted to these areas due to the established social networks, institutions, and employment opportunities (Carroll, 2003), which created a consolidating and concentrating effect. This has been condemned as a sign of ghettoization, though this is belied by the mobility of many of the Vietnamese Australians living there, in that “some of the more successful Vietnam-born still appear to be living in the core region, or even moving to the core region from other regions” (Carroll, 2003, p. 62). The return of professionals to the community “is quite the opposite of the ‘middle-class flight’ that accompanies the formation of ‘true’ ghettos” (Carruthers, 2008a, p. 104). Fairfield LGA, particularly the suburb of Cabramatta, has become synonymous with the Vietnamese community, earning the nickname “Little Saigon” or “Vietnamatta” (Gapps, 2008).

Initially, unemployment amongst Vietnamese migrants in Australia was extremely high. It was estimated to be three times higher than the national average (Coughlan, 1998). Because of this, social security spending was disproportionately directed at these immigrants (Khoo, 1999). This is partly due to the fact that many of the cohort endured exploitative working conditions and as a result, relied on unemployment benefits to supplement their low incomes (Dunn, 1998). Likewise, employment in Australia often entailed downward mobility and under-utilisation of skills, whereby many Vietnamese immigrants took up unskilled jobs that were not commensurate with their training (Gans, 2009; Loh, 1988; McAllister, 1991; Ninnes, 1997; Van & Holton, 1991; Viviani, 1984). Compounded by their poor English language skills, Vietnamese immigrants became overrepresented in manufacturing and sewing trades (I. Campbell et al., 1991; B. H. Ngo, 2014; Sutherland, 2016). Downward mobility is not an uncommon experience for immigrants, who may not have their tertiary qualifications recognised in their host country, leading them to undertake work in positions that are not related to their field or for which they are overly qualified (Akresh, 2008; Gans, 2009; Modood, 2004; Qin, 2008).

Furthermore, the presence of gangs and drug addiction amongst Vietnamese migrant communities fuelled the negative perceptions around this population. Gangs, drugs, and violence were prevalent amongst first-generation Vietnamese immigrants (Jakubowicz, 2004; Webber, 2002). These trends altered the attitudes of the broader Australian community towards Vietnamese Australians, which were certainly inflamed by media portrayals. Coughlan (1998) notes that “since the mid-1980s, three issues have dominated Australian media coverage of Vietnamese Australians: crime and gangs, spatial concentration and distribution, and the very high level of unemployment within the community” (p. 179). Such portrayals undermined the feeling of good will Australians had towards Vietnamese communities – that is, while they were initially viewed with sympathy, these refugees came

to be viewed with fear and suspicion. Indeed, Carruthers (1995) writes that “Vietnamese Australians have the undesirable distinction of being the ‘most hated’ NESB [*non-English speaking background*] community in Australia” (p. 87), highlighting the popular image of the Vietnamese as a threat or danger to the Australian way of life.

Today, this community is often framed as a symbol of the success of Australian multiculturalism, in that they have seemingly integrated with mainstream Australian society and have positively contributed to the country (Masanauskas, 2015; McMurray, 1999). These narratives can significantly impact on the ways in which the educational and occupational successes of Vietnamese Australians are understood and framed, characterising them as “model minorities”. As noted in the Introduction, despite the struggles of the previous generation, successive generations of Vietnamese Australians, including those who were born overseas but arrived in Australia as young children, appear to have defied expectations. However, discussions of how these successes came to be are varied and contentious. This is evident not only for Vietnamese diaspora but for Asian-background groups more generally.

The “Asian” Myth

Throughout this dissertation, the use of the term “Asian” has been used to refer to the category of people who originate from the geographical region of Asia. The term “Asian” also operates as a form of racial and ethnic “lumping”, imposing a shared identity on individuals of diverse ethnic and national backgrounds while also demarcating externally formed boundaries that are predicated on perceived differences, whether cultural or physical (Espiritu, 2019; C. Stevens, 2018). Moreover, the term can be used as a form of political identification. Distinct ethnic and immigrant groups may choose to be part of the same racial, religious, or territorial categories. The label “Asian” allows them to participate in shared identities that cross ethnic or cultural boundaries (J. Lee, 2019; Okamoto & Mora, 2014).

Known as panethnicity, this asserts the agency of individuals who choose to claim the label and identities thrust upon them as a means of group organisation and self-identification (C. Stevens, 2018). The notion of panethnicity was established in the United States, where racial and panethnic identifiers like “Asian”, “African-American”, “non-Hispanic white”, “American Indian”, or “Latino” are institutionally validated through census categorisation as well as resource allocation (Okamoto, 2003).

The use of the panethnic “Asian” label was popularised in reference to Asian Americans. It emerged during the Civil Rights era of the 1960s as a racial political identity (Espiritu, 1992; J. Park, 2008). Initially, the term “Asian American” encompassed mostly Chinese and Japanese Americans who had mobilised in response to racial and socioeconomic marginalisation and oppression in order to develop mutual support across ethnic groups and to provide services to those in need (J. Lee, 2019; J. Park, 2008). Asian Americans continued to use the panethnic label through the 1980s and 1990s, where they successfully lobbied for the panethnic census categorisation of “Asian” to secure greater allocation of resources, services and opportunities” (J. Lee, 2019). The Asian American panethnic identity became an important means of bringing together citizens with collective experiences of discrimination and a lack of political and economic power. Moreover, the term “Asian American” has since evolved, due to the increasing diversification of ethnic groups that are labelled as “Asian” in the United States. Though the term itself has remained the same, the ethnic groups it encompasses has changed and expanded. It now denotes various ethnic groups including Filipino Americans, Vietnamese Americans, Korean Americans, and Indian Americans. Ultimately, it continues to position Asian Americans as racialized minorities (J. Lee, 2019).

Importantly, the term “Asian” also refers to different categories of people in different contexts (Ang, 2001; Matthews, 2002). In Australia, “Asian” generally denotes people from East or Southeast Asian countries (Ang, 2001; Matthews, 1996a; C. Stevens, 2018). The

panethnic “Asian Australian” label therefore encompasses many groups, conflating various histories, languages, cultures and ethnicities. As summarised by Ang (2000), “Asians are regularly and often unthinkingly, taken-for-grantedly, talked about *en masse* as if they were a single, homogeneous group” (p. 116). The label is widely used as an aggregated racial category in media, politics and in everyday conversation, though it masks the differences that exist between diverse ethno-national groups (B. Ngo, 2010). Unlike the United States, Australia uses ethnicity as a key marker of identity and so, does not use race in census categorisation as well as in resource allocation (C. Stevens, 2018). Rather, “Asian” is used as an externally ascribed classification, which elevates racial boundary on the basis of physical appearance, while also connoting a panethnic commonality among individuals (C. Stevens, 2018). Yet the ongoing use of the “Asian” label is not always a sign of migrants’ agency. While many may actively choose to adopt the Asian label, it is not universally accepted by people of the Asian diaspora. Writing on the American context, P. Lien et al. (2003) found significant in-group variation with adherence to the label and concluded that a sizeable minority within each ethnic group did not identify with the term “Asian American” at all. This variation indicates that the identification “Asian” is not panethnic but rather, is still a term externally imposed on them (Blauner, 1972; Perkins, 2007).

Despite its problematic nature, the maturation of the second-generation cohort of Vietnamese Australians may have also contributed to the enduring popularity of the panethnic label “Asian”. Socialised in a racialised culture that regularly groups particular ethnicities as “Asian”, this second-generation cohort may prefer to use the panethnic label. J. Park (2008) emphasises that “this shared experience of being collectively identified in everyday discourse and interaction might encourage adherence to the label among members of the second generation” (p. 545). Adopting the panethnic “Asian” label may provide a sense of belonging for people of East, Southeast and South Asian backgrounds living in the

Anglosphere. Panethnic groupings bestow a common identity above the national environment where they are located but from which they may have felt excluded (Ang, 2001). C. Stevens (2018) notes that “this voluntary self-ascription results in the development of new solidarities and organisations that bridge ethnic difference” (p. 44). This is apparent in the meteoric rise of the Facebook group, Subtle Asian Traits, where the “Asian” label is embraced by in-group members. This online community, which has close to two million members and has spawned an array of other “Subtle” groups (Subtle Asian Traits, n.d.), has enabled transnational dialogue around “Asian” experiences in Western countries (Abidin & Zeng, 2020).

The use of the label “Asian” may also allude to the ways in which panethnic identification may have certain advantages within particular contexts. For instance, in her analysis of Vietnamese Americans, Juan (2009) comments that they:

frame themselves as ‘Asian American’ not because there is any sort of natural, biological, or inevitable connection with other Asian ethnic groups, but because doing so is a way to access resources, power, and visibility in a specific spatial and historical context. (p. 41)

This alludes to the notion of strategic essentialism, which describes the tactic of minoritized groups to mobilise around a shared identity (Spivak, 1990). Members of a group, though highly differentiated, may seek to essentialise or indeed, standardise their public image so as to advance their group identity in order to achieve certain objectives (Eide, 2010). This essentialism can be used for large-scale advocacy and coalition building (Kim & Hsieh, 2021; Spivak, 1990). The purposeful nature of this practice speaks to the ways in which Asian-background individuals may define themselves by subscribing to a panethnic, though strategic, identity.

Moreover, the ascription of the “Asian” label dovetails with the myth of the model minority. First coined in the 1960s, this discourse refers to Asian minority groups, who have achieved material success in spite of structural barriers (R. Ho, 2015; J. Lo et al., 2000; Sun & Kim, 2014). Though originally used to describe marginalised Japanese Americans, the model minority discourse has been applied more generally to the Asian diaspora, as it celebrates individual effort and cultural values as the key proponents of their material success, hard work, and compliance. However, this discourse also burdens Asian Americans with the expectation of economic success and upward mobility without acknowledging the structural inequalities that are faced by some Asian immigrant groups, including economic or class-based differentiation within those groups (Duncan & Wong, 2014; C. Ho, 2020; D. Lee et al., 2017; J. Lee, 2019; Leong & Chou, 1994; Miller et al., 2015; B. Ngo, 2006; Yamashita, 2022; Yu, 2006). Pon (2015) explains that “the ‘model minority’ discourse thus reveals a contradiction in which racism is simultaneously acknowledged, yet its material and social effects are downplayed” (p. 86), as the onus of success is instead placed on individual effort and cultural values. Moreover, it perpetuates a racialized hierarchy, in which there are “good” and “bad” racial minorities (Li, 2005; Pon, 2015; Sun & Kim, 2014). That is, where “Asian” migrant groups display proper behaviour and work ethic, other communities of people of colour seemingly do not, reinforcing negative perceptions of these groups (Li, 2005).

What is important to consider is that while the model minority myth might indicate material success, it is a conditional status. Aquino (2018) highlights how the mobility of Asian diaspora “makes available the same kinds of material and symbolic concessions accessible to the white middle class and enables the reworking of racially stigmatised identities. But the respect remains conditional and revocable” (p. 62). The status achieved through educational and occupational achievements reflect a kind of “honorary whiteness” (Ong, 2006; Stratton, 2009). Young (2009) elaborates that:

‘Honorary whiteness’ builds on the colonial reification of white superiority, extending the opportunities and rights traditionally reserved for ‘whites’ to ‘non-whites’ who are able to achieve positions of economic and social power. ‘Honorary whiteness’ differs from ethnic or racial whiteness in that it is conditional. As a tentative state, individuals who gain ‘honorary whiteness’ must continually defend their status by actively excluding others and repressing parts of themselves – as a result, perpetuating political inequality and psychological instability. Therefore, ‘honorary whiteness’ implies a state of suspended fantasy, in which privilege is tentative rather than absolute. (p. 179)

Though the Asian diaspora, in Australia and elsewhere, have appeared to achieve levels of material success that mirror the success enjoyed by the white middle-class, the status conferred on them is wholly conditional, evidenced by the anti-Asian hate and attacks that occurred following the COVID-19 outbreaks (Abidin & Zeng, 2020; S. Choi, 2021; M. Coleman, 2020; Kamp et al., 2022; Kurt, 2021; Yiu, 2022).

Furthermore, in spite of their “model minority” status, students of Asian background are burdened by these stereotypes. Chang and Au (2008) highlight how the model minority discourse presents Asian-background students as “devoted, obedient to authority, respectful of teachers, smart, good at math and science, diligent, hard workers, cooperative, well-behaved, docile, college-bound, quiet and opportunistic” (p. 15). These labels have remained at the forefront of discussions about Asian students in the Anglosphere and appear to absolve structural inequalities that may undermine these students’ psychological and emotional wellbeing in school (Y. Choi & Lim, 2015; Li, 2005; Matthews, 2002; Noble, 2017a; G. Park, 2015; Qin et al., 2008; Sun & Kim, 2014). Teachers and support staff may mistake these students’ “model” qualities, such as being quiet and docile, as signs of well-adjusted

behaviours and may be disinclined to help or focus on them. In the same vein, high or low achievement is attributed to cultural values and ethnic background, perpetuating the simplistic stereotypes surrounding Asian background migrants. The homogenising nature of the myth punishes those who may be underachieving while also framing educational success as an outcome of ethnic background (Bablak et al., 2016; Li, 2005; Noble, 2017a). These stereotypes of Asian-background students as quiet, high achieving, and docile function to obscure the challenges that undermine the educational and material success of Asian-background communities.

Though the stereotypes may connote positive attributes, they position these qualities as springing inherently from within the children as a result of ethnic and racial factors. The construction of these “ethnic learners” is in direct opposition to the construction of the “ideal learner”, which is typically viewed as white and male (Archer, 2008; Matthews, 1996b; Saran, 2007). Archer (2008) asserts that “minority ethnic success is always-already positioned as ‘abnormal’/other and as potentially undesirable – it is always characterised as the ‘wrong’ approach to learning” (p. 101). This demonstrates that the ideal learner cuts across gender, class, and race lines, to the exclusion of Asian students from this category. Even the supposed quiet and obedient stereotype of Asian learners is viewed as problematic, in that these students do not appear to actively contribute to discussion in class (Archer, 2008; Chang & Au, 2008; Suzuki, 1995). Because the Asian migrant learner inherently defies the characteristics of the “ideal learner”, their success is undermined or delegitimised due to their status as Other. In this way, “Asian” success is constructed as a product of ethnicity and culture, an essentialising process that is rooted in racial hostility. When these minorities demonstrate capability and capacity that exceeds the dominant, which can seemingly threaten the white middle class (Watkins et al., 2017), then their success is pathologized or degraded.

Moreover, the framing of success through ethnicity can result in the distancing or rejection of one's ethnic identity as a result of failure to adhere to these expectations. Zhou and Lee (2014) observe how the delineation of success along ethnic lines can alienate those who belong to those ethnic groups but who have not succeeded in conforming to those perceptions of success. They note:

Because Chinese and Vietnamese Americans use high-achieving co-ethnics (rather than native-born whites or the average co-ethnic) as their reference group, those who do not meet its strict tenets feel like ethnic outliers or failures and, as a result, they distance themselves from co-ethnics and from their ethnic identities (Zhou & Lee, 2014, p. 8322).

As such, discourses of success, when defined by ethnicity or when championed by certain ethnic groups, can isolate those who do not measure up, or conform, to those stereotypes (Conchas & Perez, 2003; Yamashita, 2022). This is reiterated by Wong (2015), who emphasises that “expectations of success, particularly among lower achievers, can generate additional burden and self-doubt” (p. 740). As a result, they may begin to distance themselves from their ethnic identity, fearing that they do not belong to the broader ethnic community due to their perceived failure to uphold the standards of that community. The model minority is “a mental trap for these Asian students” (Yu, 2006, p. 330), in which they must internalise the oppressive expectations imposed by their community, as well as the general public, or risk forgoing their ethnic identity. In this way, “the model minority stereotype is argued to be a blessing with a curse because it can work in favour of Chinese and Indian students in some circumstances, but can also generate unease and anxiety due to excessive expectations” (Wong, 2015, p. 741).

These stereotypes and discourses function to perpetuate highly racialized and essentialised views of “Asian” educational successes. They mask structural barriers that may contribute to the poor educational achievement of some Asian-background students, while also simultaneously rendering their academic achievements to outcomes of culture and ethnicity. Moreover, using panethnic “Asian” labels and that of the model minority do not accurately capture the ongoing class-based disadvantages that these students, and their parents, may face in their host countries. Furthermore, they do not account for the ways in which Asian-background parents may influence their children’s educational achievements, neglecting the various interventions and strategies that may be deployed in the home and elsewhere.

“Asian” Educational Success

Parental ambitions are often considered to be significant factors in the high educational achievements of immigrant children. The ambitions of migrant parents are advantageous, as it provides their children with the impetus to attain high educational outcomes (Basit, 2012; Considine & Zappalà, 2002; Dobson et al., 1996; Khattab, 2018; Shah et al., 2010). That is, researchers have suggested that “low socioeconomic status children, particularly those from migrant backgrounds, benefit from having parents who hold high educational aspirations for them [as] even low-educated parents regard education as an accessible pathway to upward mobility” (Chesters, 2015, p. 200). Yet, having aspirations and realising them are separate processes, with the latter requiring practices to facilitate the former. Regardless, the desire for educational success has been attributed to fear of discrimination in the labour market of the host country. Because education is considered to be a more accessible pathway, immigrant parents believe that “education would blunt the edge of discrimination for the next generation” (Louie, 2001, p. 452), compensating thus for the

perceived ethnic penalties that emerge from their status as migrants. This may stem from parents' own experiences of discrimination in the labour market. In this way, academic achievement can be viewed as a defensive strategy used by immigrant families and their children to overcome barriers to labour market entry (Heath & Brinbaum, 2007; Khattab, 2018; Tjaden & Hunkler, 2017), allowing them to circumvent the potential disadvantage they may face. In particular, education can allow their children to compete as equals with their Anglo counterparts, who may have access to resources and networks that are otherwise barred to migrant children (Fernández-Reino, 2016).

Due to this fear of discrimination, Asian children of migrants are shown to be increasingly over-represented in traditionally prestigious professions, particularly in industries where qualifications hold greater value than networking (Dobson & Birrell, 2005; Griffin & Hu, 2019; Kao, 1995; J. Lee & Zhou, 2014b; B. Ngo, 2006; Tjaden & Hunkler, 2017; Wu, 2022; Yu, 2006; Zhou & Lee, 2014). For instance, J. Lee and Zhou (2014b) observe how the potential discrimination in fields such as creative writing or art motivates immigrant parents to push their children towards professions that require advanced study or training so as to “shield their children from potential bias from employers, fellow employees, peers, customers, and clients” (p. 52). These professions, which include medicine, law, and engineering, are typically predicated on academic achievement, alleviating thus the potential challenges that arise from discrimination.

Furthermore, immigrant children may be motivated to take advantage of opportunities in their destination country that otherwise did not exist in their parents' country of origin. Louie (2001) notes that “children considered it their duty to make sure of the material opportunities and basic freedoms of the United States, if only because those very opportunities had not been available to their parents in the homeland” (p. 464). Because of their parents' experiences, the existence of, and access to, opportunity serves as motivation

for children from immigrant backgrounds. The children, as witnesses to their parents' hardships, may be inspired to perform well academically, in that "climbing up the opportunity structure for all of them has indeed made it possible to 'give back' to a first generation of hard-working parents whose own dreams of mobility often had to be relinquished" (Shahrokni, 2018, p. 1186). Known as the immigrant bargain (R. C. Smith, 2006), this notion highlights how the children of migrants are motivated to excel in their education to "repay" their parents, for whom migration is a significant sacrifice. As summed up by Jehangir (2010), "to succeed through the portal of education is a justification for all that their family and community have experienced in leaving their homeland for a better life" (p. 25). Within the notion of the immigrant bargain, the underlying sentiment is one of reciprocation, in which children are expected to compensate for the sacrifices and hardships endured by the parents through academic and occupational achievement (Kao, 1995; Louie, 2001; T. Nguyen et al., 2014).

Similarly, immigrant parents may use their own circumstances to encourage their children. By using their own position as a motivating force, immigrant parents become didactic examples for their own children (Archer & Francis, 2006; Rezai et al., 2015). They may "often dispense the advice that education is the only way to rise above the menial jobs, long hours, and modest housing that has been their own fate" (Portes & Fernández-Kelly, 2008, p. 31). The downward mobility that migrant parents may experience can be used as motivation for second-generation children, who become responsible for raising the status of the family through success in education and in the labour market. First-generation parents instil in their children the necessity of high educational achievement in order to avoid enduring the harsh working conditions that they themselves experience, though these expectations need to be supported by practices that enable success in schooling.

While migrating offers their children different opportunities in education, immigrant parents may continue to use their birth country as a frame of reference, ultimately comparing Australian standards of achievement to those of their country of origin. The prevalence of high parental expectations amongst migrant families of both low and high socioeconomic status can be explained as a product of their birth countries. For migrants arriving from countries where education is less accessible and highly competitive, their approach to schooling is perceived to be more aggressive than their native-born counterparts. In countries such as China, India, and Korea, fierce competition and extensive resourcing are characteristic of these educational systems, which inform migrant parents' approach to schooling in Australia (Bray, 2010; C. Ho, 2020; J. Lee & Zhou, 2014b). C. Ho (2020) posits that "the intensity and hyper-competitiveness of the education system in Asia naturally shapes Asian migrants' perceptions of what it takes to be successful at school—perceptions they bring with them after migrating to countries like Australia" (p. 101). Moreover, Wu and Singh (2004) emphasise that "Australian schooling does not accommodate these [*Chinese*] parents' expectations about their children's education" (p. 40). In this way, many immigrant parents may draw on a frame of reference developed in their birth country rather than their destination country, which contributes to a different expectation of achievement for their children.

Many Asian immigrants also bring with them resources, such as prior involvement in supplementary education. This encompasses language and cultural schools as well as additional schooling, which may either reinforce what is learned in schools or may teach additional content that extends the curriculum (Aurini et al., 2013; Bray & Kwo, 2013). In countries such as South Korea, Japan, and China, supplementary education is typically exclusive to middle- or upper-class families (Aurini & Davies, 2013; J. Lee & Zhou, 2014a). The process of migration has allowed these facilities to be recreated and replicated in

destination countries, as some immigrants import middle-class practices from their countries of origin to their host countries (J. Lee & Zhou, 2014a; Zhou & Kim, 2006). This reveals the importance of the relative class status of these migrants prior to their migration, as it is indicative of their privileged background in their birth countries. In countries of origin, supplementary education may be considered a more elite form of training, while in destination countries, it tends to be accessible to all in the community due to low-cost options, such as those offered by religious and community groups (Zhou & Kim, 2006). To that end, it can cut across class lines and can allow families of low socioeconomic status to partake in the services, thereby giving them an opportunity to also access resources and information. However, these institutions have been heavily criticised in the Anglosphere (Butler et al., 2017; C. Ho, 2020). Supplementary education tends to be framed as a form of cheating, in which migrant children are getting ahead of their native-born counterparts through underhanded methods like practice testing and rote learning (C. Ho, 2020). For others, the excessive use of tutoring undermines the child's enjoyment of their youth, thus resulting in undue pressure and anxiety in the children (Butler et al., 2017).

The popularity of these services speak to the parental desire to participate in their children's schooling. The implicit nature of academic development in the Anglosphere, via invisible types of pedagogy, may not satisfy immigrant parents' expectations of their child's education (Sriprakash et al., 2016). Indeed, Asian migrant parents may presume that their children are not being adequately or rigorously educated in the classroom, based on the amount or type of homework that their children bring home. As a result, they may invest in other resources so as to appease their concern that their children are being adequately prepared for competitive school examination success, as opposed to generalised learning (Byun & Park, 2012; Sriprakash et al., 2016). Preferencing visible forms of pedagogy can reflect parents' desire to be more engaged and proactive in their child's learning. In their

qualitative study of Chinese migrant parents in Australia, Sriprakash et al. (2016) demonstrate the invaluable role that private tutoring can play in enabling migrant parents' engagement in their child's learning. For these parents, supplementary education is a compensatory and complementary strategy used to provide balance to the invisible pedagogic work of Australian schools. This participation also provides these migrant parents with a means of partaking in their children's learning. Given the more overt forms of instruction displayed in supplementary education, immigrant parents may feel more empowered to assist their children and may also be better placed to understand their child's strengths and weaknesses.

Furthermore, the pedagogic engagement of immigrant parents can be predicated on the desire for credentials above all other achievements. With reference to Indian Australian families, Aris (2017) demonstrates that "credentialist parents were distinguished from all other groups of parents by their prime objective being the achievement of academic success from high schooling for their children" (p. 2443). She considers how, for these "credentialist" parents, success in school takes precedence above other achievements, with progress being measured by test scores in the hopes of earning maximum marks in senior high school level studies. Aris (2017) demonstrates that these parents are able to successfully navigate the Australian schooling system by "code-matching" the educational conditions of their pre-migration country to those of their current host country, noting how features such as high-stakes examinations, reporting, and school choice policies are familiar to, and exploited by, these migrant credentialist parents. This speaks to the class-based resources that can be drawn on to facilitate their children's schooling, where their approach to schooling in Australia therefore echoes the approach to schooling in their birth country.

The preferencing of visible pedagogy by immigrant parents is significant as it challenges the "explicitness, more coded, less openly competitive forms of middle-class

‘concerted cultivation’” (Sriprakash et al., 2016, p. 428). Concerted cultivation, posited by Lareau (2011), can be broadly understood as a parenting strategy. It describes how generally middle-class parents intensively nurture their children through the organisation of enrichment activities. This includes institutional-based activities, such as the practices of music, sport, and so on, but also encompasses academic practices designed to equip their children with the necessary competences and resources to navigate schools and workplaces. Through these parental interventions via structured practices, children develop the appropriate dispositions required to traverse institutional settings. Lareau (2011) contrasts the strategy of middle-class concerted cultivation with the working-class approach of natural growth, where parents expend less effort in the organisation of their children’s lives. As a result, these children are ill-equipped to move freely within institutional settings (Lareau, 2011). In comparing concerted cultivation and natural growth, a notion of class begins to unfold. Concerted cultivation requires class-based resources – it is not an intervention that can be accessed by all parents and children.

As a deliberate strategy, concerted cultivation relies on the possession of embodied cultural, economic, and social capital, which facilitates the interventions of middle-class parents who are oriented towards achievement and competition. The investments of these parents – fiscal or otherwise – ensures the development of dispositions that are synchronised with institutions that traditionally reward middle-classness, such as schools. Because of this, concerted cultivation aids the production and reproduction of middle-classness. Not only is middle-classness recreated between parent and child via the transmission of advantage, it is also reproduced at an institutional level. If institutions such as schools are sites of middle-classness, then developing dispositions that are attuned to those institutions confirms the status and authority of these institutions, thus replicating their middle-classness (Bourdieu & Passeron, 1977/1990). Since concerted cultivation champions the transmission of cultural

capital from middle-class parents to their children, focusing on the subtle development of a child's talents, tastes and abilities, then its ultimate goal of securing their child's success is obscured (Vincent & Maxwell, 2016). By contrast, the overt practices of visible pedagogy undermine the notion of concerted cultivation via parents' explicitly strategic approaches, in relation to the exchange of economic capital for educational practices (Souralová, 2021; Sriprakash et al., 2016).

Similarly, school choice is an increasingly prominent aspect of Australian family life. Parents vie for their children to be admitted into "good" schools, though this is primarily a middle-class preoccupation (C. Campbell et al., 2009). Indeed, school choice is also increasingly intertwined with questions of economic capital, as children are usually admitted to schools based on their address – residential housing and the ability to purchase property in a desirable school catchment zone are factors contributing to school choice (C. Ho, 2019; Mavisakalyan, 2012; Saporito, 2003; Windle, 2009). In New South Wales as well, there is an increasing phenomenon of selective high schools. The state has over 40 fully or partially selective schools, which are designed to "support students who have high intellectual potential" (NSW Education, 2024). These schools have become increasingly popular amongst Asian-background migrants in New South Wales, a transition that has caused significant controversy on the part of the white majority (C. Ho, 2011; Proctor & Sriprakash, 2017). The composition of these schools is primarily Asian students of high socioeconomic status (C. Ho, 2020), highlighting thus the significant role of class-based resources in facilitating the academic achievements of some Asian-background students.

The delegation of school choice to families and parents is part of a broader trend, in which parental anxiety and overparenting have become the norm, as parents are pushed to ensure that their child is given, or set up with, the "best possible" chances of success, so as to maximise their potential to succeed in a neoliberal environment. Indeed, in New South Wales

in particular, neoliberal reforms to education policy have fuelled increasing competition amongst families for schools and educational opportunities. As noted by C. Ho (2020):

Australia now has one of the most segmented education systems in the world... In the name of providing 'choice', Australian governments have exacerbated inequality and segmentation in our education systems. In this context, families' pursuit of competitive advantage becomes all the more desperate. (p. 209)

In a bid to mitigate potential risks to their child's future successes, parents seek to control every aspect of their child's development – and in doing so, are pushed to exploit every possible resource they have to ensure that their child is given the best possible opportunity (Blanden, 2006; Joelsson, 2019). For instance, Vincent and Maxwell (2016) consider how childhood enrichment activities provide assurance that children will develop important skills and talents that will be advantageous later in life. They highlight that “the promise [to develop skills and talents] becomes a source of pressure, tapping into parents' desire to provide their children with a 'good' – indeed the 'best' possible – childhood” (Vincent & Maxwell, 2016, p. 271). These activities for children, ranging from academic tutoring to extracurricular sports and music lessons, speak to a growing market in which parents are promised their child's success in education, and eventually in the labour market, so long as they invest early in their child's development. However, strategies to negate potential risks to a child's future success are restricted to those who can afford it, or those who are cognisant of it. Class and socioeconomic status powerfully influence parenting practices, as the ability to invest in a child is predicated on the family's capacity to access information and funds.

This is true for immigrants as well, but the efforts of migrant parents are often criticised. Migrant students of Asian backgrounds are shown to be outperforming their

native-born counterparts (Engzell, 2019; C. Ho, 2020; J. Lee & Zhou, 2014a; Yoon, 2017). In spite of this success, these achievements are considered socially unacceptable (Butler et al., 2017; C. Ho, 2017; C. Ho, 2020; Watkins et al., 2017). Popular discourse condemns Asian immigrant students for “cheating the system”, using resources like tutoring to gain an advantage over their native-born peers, even though these are strategies similarly used by families of high socioeconomic status (Butler et al., 2017; Francis et al., 2017; C. Ho, 2020; Watkins & Noble, 2013). To categorise these practices as Asian is to ignore the use of similar strategies by middle-class families more broadly. The tactics deployed by immigrant parents, including networking, information sharing, and supplementary education, are not unlike those deployed by middle-class families – as noted by Francis et al. (2017), “these preparation and social capital-sharing practices adopted by some in the Chinese diasporic community reflect and illuminate practices standard among White middle-class parents” (p. 2334).

Indeed, the furore around the discourse of the tiger parent captures this dichotomy between “Western” and “Asian” styles of parenting and learning. Chua’s 2011 memoir, *Battle hymn of the tiger mother*, sparked intense outrage even though “her approach is not much different from that of some parents who are intensely focused on sports or other physical performance-based activity for their kids” (Lam, 2014, p. 90). In condemning these “Asian” practices and attitudes, commentators “invoke moral boundaries to legitimate both their parenting practices for education and existing forms of symbolic and cultural capital within the shifting terrains of Australia’s middle class” (Butler et al., 2017, p. 2415). That is, “Western” practices are given more legitimacy and authority while “Asian” parenting is shown to be a threat (Butler et al., 2017; Watkins et al., 2017). These binaristic discourses of Asian and Western approaches to learning, education, and parenting speak to the persistence of underlying ethno-racial ideologies that pit an ethnic Them against an idealised (and

Western) Us. It also suggests a fundamental, and somewhat irreconcilable, difference between these styles.

Moreover, Asian styles of learning are assumed to be based on historical philosophies and practices related to Confucianism (J. Lee & Zhou, 2020; Phillipson, 2013; Wu & Singh, 2004). This has the effect of characterising students of Asian background as passive, prone to rote learning, and likely to plagiarise. Their successes are therefore viewed as less legitimate. That is, within Western discourse, success is most often construed as a by-product of genius, in which achievement is effortless (Francis et al., 2017). The attainment of success is therefore valued for its emphasis on individual pathology. In contrast, the achievements of Asian migrant students are generally attributed to their hard work and diligence. Because migrant students tend to use supplementary education and examination preparation classes to assist with for upcoming assessments, their achievements are minimised by the Western construction of success, whereby the provision of effort and practice is seen as contrary to what constitutes achievement.

Additionally, the constant exposure to like-minded peers within a closed network can perpetuate an environment in which social competition is rife. High academic achievement within Asian communities can be deployed as a means to encourage children (Röttger-Rössler & Lam, 2018). Archer and Francis (2006) observe how social competition amongst British-Chinese students “functioned as a source of motivation for social mobility regarding school choice and entry, university entry and achievement and subsequent job market or occupational achievement” (p. 36), where the performance of other students within the community became as important as their own individual trajectory. Through social competition, high academic achievement becomes normalised, demonstrating the role that the wider peer group can have on the academic motivations of individual students. Competing with their learning peers perpetuates the norm that consistently high educational achievement

is attainable, and that exceptionality is the mainstream (C. Ho, 2020; J. Lee & Zhou, 2015; Wong, 2015; Zhou & Lee, 2014). Indeed, it has been posited that Asian immigrants establish their own standards for achievement. Jiménez and Horowitz (2013) observe how high-performing Asian immigrants “set the norms for success, and the evaluative frame through which they judge achievement therefore confers an advantage over whites” (p. 852). This suggests that the high achievement of Asians in education is predicated on an ethno-racial evaluative frame in which other high-performing Asians are the standard, rather than their Anglo counterparts.

Even more simply, ties to their ethnic community can positively influence the achievements of immigrant children as their parents can draw on resources found within these networks, often countering any class-based disadvantage. That is, immigrant parents may model their approach to their children’s educational achievement based on the strategies and resources used by high-achieving members within the community. By emulating the trajectories of successful members in their network, immigrant parents attempt to reduce the effect of their own educational attainment, minimising the link between low parental attainment and low offspring attainment that is typically found in the general population (Feliciano, 2006; J. Lee & Zhou, 2015; Luthra & Soehl, 2015). Reproducing the strategies of a few elite members of the community is made possible within the enclosed environment of the ethnic network through the sharing of information and group-specific resources, such as supplementary education (J. Lee & Zhou, 2015; Pong et al., 2005; Zhou & Kim, 2006). Indeed, reliance on social networks has been construed as a principal avenue through which immigrant parents facilitate their children’s educational outcomes. Immigrant parents may support their children through the mobilisation of resources found from within the community, including tutoring (J. Lee & Zhou, 2014a). Because of the accessibility of these resources, the socioeconomic status of working-class parents is mitigated, and their

children can exploit the resources that are available to students of higher status. Ethnic networks therefore function as a source of information, knowledge, and resources, regardless of class status (Bankston et al., 1997; J. Lee & Zhou, 2015; Shah et al., 2010). By accessing information and investing in resources from within their networks, low-achieving parents can facilitate the high achievement of their children.

This is closely tied to a notion of immigrant selectivity as a determining factor in the educational attainment of immigrants in their destination country. Immigrant selectivity posits that migrants are in possession of higher levels of economic resources, skills and ambition than is typical of their country of origin (Baum & Flores, 2011; Feliciano, 2006). This renders them positively selected to succeed in their destination country (Erikson, 2019; J. Lee & Zhou, 2015). As such, immigrant selectivity becomes a code for pre-migration social origin and status, by emphasising the importance of the resources and orientations that determine a migrant's ability to leave their birth country, distinguishing them from those left behind. Based on their social class and position, migrants are already motivated to succeed, both in their birth and host country. To be positively selected therefore is a reflection of socioeconomic status and class. This is increasingly used to explain the disparity between the low absolute socioeconomic status of migrants and the high educational achievements of their children. Ichou (2014) notes that "immigrants' absolute level of educational attainment cannot be directly compared with that of natives because educational systems vary widely between countries of origin and destination" (p. 751), highlighting how the standards of the host country cannot be applied to the educational achievement of first-generation immigrants. Rather, the high educational outcomes of migrant children are better understood via their parents' relative educational attainment, in that "parental contextual attainment likely influences children's attainment... the *meaning* of parental education in a given context matters, which in turn, affects behaviour" (Feliciano & Lanuza, 2017, pp. 214–215). This

asserts that pre-migration educational attainment is “symbolic” in shaping the attitudes of immigrant parents and thus, their children, regardless of the standards of their host country, but it does not reveal the kinds of practices that are undertaken to support these children’s achievements.

It is important to recognise that the dispositions of migrants entering a host country are significantly determined by the various migration programs under which they are accepted, which remains little acknowledged in discussions of immigrant selectivity (J. Lee & Zhou, 2015). The “selectivity” of particular migrant populations reflects in part the migration policies of the destination country. In Anglophone countries, neoliberal migration policies have facilitated a dramatic rise in the number of well-educated professionals from Asia arriving as skilled migrants (C. Ho, 2020; Watkins et al., 2017). These applicants are admitted on the basis of their professional skills, educational qualifications, and wealth. Thus, the presence of high-performing migrants is the direct result of the selective criteria of particular migration programs. Even refugee populations, whose entry is determined by different criteria including humanitarian grounds, are often chosen on the assumption of their ability to settle well (Viviani, 1984). For instance, Australian policies determining Vietnamese refugee intake were “not only based on economic factors but implied an expectation about class location: that skilled workers are not only more valuable in economic terms, but that they will eventually settle more easily into the Australian middle-class milieu” (Viviani, 1984, p. 124). Nevertheless, these skills did not translate easily into the Australian labour market, as they did not align with skill categories in the Australian context, generally resulting in greater difficulty in settlement (Viviani, 1984). The selection of migrants under various conditions of entry significantly determines the type of migrant that is accepted and that, thus, succeeds in their destination country.

More generally, the role of immigrant family dynamics can play a powerful role in shaping the educational practices of these children. For instance, Rosenbaum and Rochford (2008) consider the importance of siblings in shaping the educational attainment of students, functioning as a resource within the family. Moreover, the curation of an academic home environment has been shown to enable immigrant children's achievements. Though immigrant parents may be burdened by a lack of language proficiency and potentially a lack of educational achievement, they can be instrumental in providing a home environment that allows their children to prioritise their academic pursuits above other interests or needs (Louie, 2012; Peng & Wright, 1994; Rezai et al., 2015; Shoho, 1994). This is achieved by providing academic resources, by offering financial support so as to mitigate the need for part-time employment, and by alleviating them of their household responsibilities so that they may focus on their school studies (Rezai et al., 2015). In his study of three generations of Hawaiian-Japanese families, Shoho (1994) notes that the involvement of first-generation immigrants in their children's schooling was "limited to emotional support and minimizing their children's worries about a low socioeconomic existence" (p. 308). Thus, in spite of their own disadvantages, immigrant parents may provide a stable and educationally encouraging environment that complements their emotional and physical resources.

At-home cultural and academic practices and environments can powerfully shape children's attitudes to learning and education, by enabling the development of a positive or negative outlook to education and learning (Balli, 1996; Bodovski, 2010; Keith & Keith, 1993; Marjoribanks, 2005). Parents play a significant role in the development of a child's educational and professional outcomes, more so than other adults who may exist in a child's life, such as teachers and counsellors (Boerchi & Tagliabue, 2018; Paa & McWhirter, 2000). In particular, the efficacy of home learning is likely to be affected by a parent's capacity to invest in their child's education, highlighting the link between socioeconomic status and

academic endeavour. Existing research has highlighted the various factors that can undermine migrant parents' engagement with their children's education. Language proficiency, compounded by a lack of translation services in schools, is commonly shown to adversely affect the capacity of immigrant parents to participate in their child's education, including homework and school involvement (Byun & Park, 2012; Dyson, 2001; Rezai et al., 2015). Furthermore, migrant parents' engagement with their child's schooling can be hindered by their time constraints, whereby the obligation to work long hours undermines their ability to engage in their child's learning (Aragon, 2018; Portes & Fernández-Kelly, 2008).

These diverse interventions, encompassing both home-based and community-based activities speak to the various strategies of Asian-migrant parents, who seek to facilitate their children's educational performance. These practices are wide-ranging and typically rely on forms of economic, social, and cultural capital, and are often driven by ambitions and expectations for academic achievement. Yet to view these practices only in terms of these instrumentalist goals is an overly simplistic and superficial understanding of these parents' efforts. In particular, what is absent from these discussions of parenting practices is a notion of care, as existing research focuses exclusively on the strategies and motivations of immigrant families in relation to their children's schooling. As defined by Fisher and Tronto (1990):

We suggest that caring be viewed as a species activity that includes everything that we do to maintain, continue, and repair our 'world' so that we can live in it as well as possible. That world includes our bodies, our selves, and our environment, all of which we seek to interweave in a complex, life-sustaining web. (p. 40)

Caring activities also include the ways in which "we meet the other morally, adopt that person's, or group's, perspective and look at the world in their terms" (Tronto, 1993, p.

19). They involve a complete consideration of the cared-for, rather than simply the execution of material tasks. Fisher and Tronto (1990) also conceive of different components of care, including caring about, taking care of, caregiving and care-receiving, which are not explicitly engaged with in these discussions of immigrant parents' practices. Rather, these practices are presented as isolated interventions. To reduce parenting to the performance of various "tasks" and strategies is to overlook the meaning of performing and receiving care (Tronto, 1998). Consideration of how care is entangled with strategic endeavours offers a more nuanced understanding of how and why Vietnamese immigrant parents implement certain practices in the home around education.

Conclusion

Research on parenting and on "Asian" educational success is evidently wide-ranging and extensive. Yet it often overlooks the process through which parenting practices of first-generation Vietnamese migrants can promote certain dispositions within the habitus in their children. That is, aspirations and high expectations do not equate to practice. For instance, the notion of immigrant selectivity fails to consider the class-based practices championed by immigrant parents that enable the educational achievements of their offspring. Moreover, while parents may motivate their children, how these motivations become embodied through habit and practice requires more detailed investigation. Only focusing on parental expectations fails to demonstrate how these aspirations are converted into high educational achievement, as simply possessing high expectations for their children is not sufficient in ensuring that these expectations are met (Watkins & Noble, 2013). Likewise, by reducing education and parenting styles to culturally essentialist explanations, so-called "Asian" approaches to parenting and education provide an overly simplistic understanding of the successes of these migrants in Western educational systems, failing to consider the multitude

of pre- and post-migration factors that contribute to the success of Asian migrants in host countries, while also generalising and tokenising cultural approaches to education (Ryan & Louie, 2013). Moreover, this fails to foreground the significant role of class in terms of the possession of various forms of capital that can contribute to their children's education. In a similar vein, the strategies espoused within the ethnic network can only be effective when complemented by at-home practices, demanding thus the need for greater insight into migrant parents' involvement in their children's schooling. Thus, while these areas have generated significant discussion, this study seeks to expand upon how educational achievement is supported via parenting practice, which should be construed not simply as strategic intervention but similarly as acts of care, both of which are conveyed by practices employed by many parents of Vietnamese background in relation to their children's education.

Chapter 2

The Interconnectedness of Strategy and Care in Parenting: A Conceptual Overview

The focus in Chapter 1 was to provide an overview of scholarship on immigrant parenting and “Asian” educational success. This scholarship does acknowledge that migration, and the downward mobility that may accompany it, can impact on parents’ expectations for their children’s educational and professional goals. Despite the utility of this work, it can reduce parenting to a series of actions and tactics and does not adequately engage with the role of care in these practices. Rather, parental strategy and caretaking are presented as quite separate entities. The focus on strategic interventions, in particular, frames these parents as purely driven by instrumentality and pragmatism, which does not adequately account for the dynamic interplay of migration, parenting, and education. Indeed, this reflects criticisms also levelled at Bourdieu’s conceptualisation of capital, which tends to highlight the more strategic dimensions of academic achievement.

A notion of capital can be used to understand the class-inflected resources and assets that immigrants can draw on, despite the ways in which these can be depreciated or undervalued in their host country (Modood, 2004). It encompasses economic, social, and cultural forms that can be leveraged to achieve different outcomes, though the use of this concept generally prioritises the relationship between agents and structures (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992). Indeed, Bourdieu’s own interest lay, not in everyday interactions, but rather, in structures and structural relations (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992). For him, “what exists in the social world are relations – not interactions between agents or intersubjective ties between individuals, but objective relations” (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992, p. 97). The focus on these objective relations within a Bourdieusian framework is useful in discussions of power and domination, whereby agents are produced by, and reproduce, the conditions in

which they find themselves through their actions. Yet this neglects the ways in which we are affected by the world in which we live (Sayer, 2011; J. Thomas & Correa, 2015).

Thus, to illuminate the relations between agents in the context of these objective structures, a notion of affect is used. As noted by Akram (2012), “agents act, not structures, but structures affect the actions of agents” (p. 45). Affect highlights the ways in which the social, cultural, and political contexts work on, and between, bodies, manifesting as dispositions that are shaped by these external conditions. These contexts inform action and practice, including those of parents in relation to their children’s education. Affect also reveals the ways that parental interventions can contribute to their children’s dispositions for scholarly endeavour (Watkins, 2012). Through this, it illuminates how the acquisition of capital is not purely driven by strategic considerations but is instead interwoven with care as a result of the ways in which structural forces, engendering hardship and disadvantage, can become embodied, lingering in the lives of immigrant parents and ultimately, those of the second-generation children.

Affect has captivated scholars across a number of disciplines, resulting in a proliferation of uses and definitions. Indeed, Demos (2019) acknowledges that “affective phenomena have challenged the intellectual, adaptive, and creative powers of human beings since the beginning of time, and have truly inspired a wide variety of formulations” (p. 96). Conventionally, psychology – with its emphasis on the biological aspects of the human mind and behaviour – tends to focus on affect, using the term to investigate experiences related to emotion, cognition and the body (Zembylas, 2021). Affect and emotion are used within the humanities and social sciences, though these terms are often used interchangeably (Watkins, in press). However, this renders both terms imprecise and vague (Probyn, 2005; Watkins, in press). In some way, affect cannot be fully realised in language – as Shouse (2005) writes, “the body has a grammar of its own that cannot be fully captured in language”. It has

garnered criticism for its ambiguity, with some noting that a distinction between affect and emotion is unsustainable (Leys, 2011). Yet, cautioning against a vague use of the terms, Probyn (2005) notes that “the various emotions and affects are distinct: each makes us feel different and has quite specific effects in society” (p. xvii). Using “affect” and emotion” interchangeably may be further complicated by the term “feeling”. It is important to elucidate the differences between these terms, so as to avoid ambiguity and to maintain conceptual clarity (Watkins, in press). In this thesis, affect refers to the unconscious, biological experience of intensity (Shouse, 2005), feeling is the awareness of the affect that has been triggered (Nathanson, 1992, p. 50) and emotion is the expression or display of these feelings, the recognition of which relies on previous events that have become stored in memory (Nathanson, 1992).

Clough (2007) used the phrase “affective turn” to describe the revived interest and increasing prominence of affect theory within the humanities and social sciences. Indeed, in educational research, there has been an increase in affect-led scholarship (e.g., Dernikos et al., 2020; Springgay, 2022; Watkins, 2006; Watkins, 2016; Zembylas, 2016). Through this “affective turn”, greater attention has been paid to the everyday interactions that comprise life. The ways in which affect is conceived indicate an overarching overlap between the social and the body. The complex interplay between these indicates that affect operates not simply within individuals, but between people, between individuals and their communities, and between individuals and their environments. Affect is therefore infused with social elements (Massumi, 1995). The affective turn describes a move towards understanding “both our power to affect the world around us and our power to be affected by it, along with the relationship between these two powers” (Hardt, 2007, p. iv). This thesis attempts its own “affective turn”, integrating Bourdieusian notions of capital and habitus with affect. While the previous chapter explored the current scholarship on parenting and education, this chapter

offers a conceptual overview of the complexity and nuances of parenting as both strategy and care, which can contribute to the acquisition of forms of capital, particularly institutionalised cultural and economic capital, as well as the formation of the habitus.

Capital, and Life “Off-Field”

In his scholarship, Bourdieu addresses the ways in which social order and social relations are maintained. Bourdieu (1986) asserts that the structure of the social world cannot be adequately explained without consideration of capital, though he rejects a purely economic theorisation of it, arguing that such a conceptualisation reduces the social world to a series of mercantile exchanges designed only for the maximisation of profit. He is particularly critical of the idea of human capital (Robbins, 2019), which refers to the attributes that are considered useful in the production process, such as education, training, knowledge, skills, and health (Becker, 1976; Becker, 1983). In order to move beyond this kind of economism, Bourdieu (1986) provides his own take on capital, defining it as “accumulated labour” (p. 146) of which there are three forms: economic, social, and cultural. These are what he sees as the primary forms of capital, though he also posits a notion of symbolic capital as each form of capital has potential symbolic value on its own (Bourdieu, 2000).

Economic capital denotes the financial and material resources available to an individual, ranging from money to property ownership. It is considered to be the foundation of social and cultural capital, as it is generally the prerequisite for the acquisition of these other capitals (Bourdieu, 1986). Social capital refers to the various networks of relationships to which an individual is connected. Membership of these exclusive groups enables individuals to gain access to resources only made available through those networks. It is often used for tangible or symbolic gains, in that a strong network of connections can be operationalised to advance an individual’s interests (Bourdieu, 1986). Bourdieu’s notion of

social capital is not to be confused with that of Putnam's (1995) and J. Coleman's (1988). The former focuses on the role of community and social networks in generating trustworthiness and reciprocity, while the latter explores the ways in which social structures can benefit the actions of individuals. Rather, Bourdieu's approach to social capital allows for a greater understanding of the ways in which the uneven distribution of capital contributes to, and reproduces, dominant structures of power. Cultural capital can exist as objectified, as institutionalised, and as embodied. It represents the accumulation of knowledge, behaviours, and skills that can be drawn upon to demonstrate cultural competence and to confer social status (Bourdieu, 1986). As objectified capital, this can refer to cultural goods, such as books or art. It can also be institutionalised in the form of educational qualifications. When embodied, cultural capital refers to knowledge and behaviours acquired through socialisation and education, forming long-lasting dispositions of the mind and body (Bourdieu, 1986).

As indicated, Bourdieu also posits a notion of symbolic capital, a form of capital that is bestowed on the basis of honour, prestige, or recognition (Bourdieu, 1986; Bourdieu, 2000). Symbolic capital is about "being known and recognised" (Bourdieu, 1986, p. 37). Unlike the other forms of capital, symbolic capital emphasises the "symbolic" dimensions of social life. It is a source of symbolic profits, and is bestowed *through* others, rendering it a mechanism of power and domination. Bourdieu (2000) writes that:

Symbolic capital enables forms of domination which imply dependence on those who can be dominated by it, since it only exists through the esteem, recognition, belief, credit, confidence of others, and can only be perpetuated so long as it succeeds in obtaining belief in its existence. (p. 166)

It is only through others that symbolic capital exists, but this dependence makes individuals vulnerable to domination. However, it should be noted that Bourdieu oscillates between

discussing symbolic capital as its own form of capital, and the symbolic effects of other capitals (Lebaron, 2014).

All forms of capital profoundly shape an individual's ability to navigate the social world, including the various institutions and communities that comprise highly differentiated societies. Capitals are convertible, in that they can be transformed into other forms of capital depending on the desired outcome. This ensures that those with the appropriate capital are able to navigate different arenas, or fields, by adapting their capital to suit their new environment. As such, this convertibility enables the ongoing production and reproduction of dominant social relations and structures, essentially alienating those who lack the capital to convert. Moreover, its accumulative quality allows for a greater understanding of the way in which advantage is maintained (Savage, 2015).

This conceptualisation of capital enables an understanding of the unequal access to, and distribution of resources, which contributes to class formation and its reproduction (Bourdieu, 1986). For example, high levels of embodied cultural capital, as the competencies and skills that comprise individual behaviour, do not necessarily equate to high levels of economic capital. This can be observed in many migrants, who may possess the required dispositions to obtain educational qualifications, or institutionalised capital, in their birth countries that are not recognised in their host countries, leading them to gain employment and income that is not commensurate with their training (Akresh, 2008; Gans, 2009; Modood, 2004). Despite this downward mobility, however, they may still retain their embodied cultural capital, which they may attempt to transmit to their children via various practices. This then facilitates their children's acquisition of institutionalised cultural capital, which, in turn, can be converted into economic capital. In this way, the pedagogic interventions of immigrant parents are facilitated by their stock of embodied cultural capital, which they can draw on to enable their children's academic achievement, by developing in them dispositions

attuned to scholarly endeavour. This enables them to succeed at school and beyond, by facilitating their acquisition of educational qualifications and stable employment.

Though Bourdieu rejects a purely economic theorisation of capital, he can be complicit in this theorisation. While he maintains that this approach to capital reduces the social world to profit-driven transactions (Bourdieu, 1986), a notion of capital, particularly when considered in terms of relations between agents within a field, is related to profit. Agents in a field are motivated by competition, collusion, and contestation for position and it is their stock of capital that allows them to gain advantage (Prieur & Savage, 2011; Savage et al., 2005). Thus, though these concepts enable a richer understanding of the structure of fields and the place of agents within them, it can be limited by the focus on strategy and competition. As Swartz (1997) notes, “in Bourdieu’s world, all [*social actors*] are capital holders and investors seeking profits” (p. 82). The strategies of agents can often be geared towards the maximisation of material and symbolic profit (Bourdieu, 1990a). Even more simply, Swartz (1997) argues that “at a minimum, the terminology of interest, strategy, investment, and profit suggests some utilitarian orientation” (p. 73), even though Bourdieu does not mean that these are conscious choices or rational calculations.

In particular, the role of capital in relation to field contributes to this conceptualisation. Field refers to the differentiated nature of social spaces (Bourdieu, 1985). Within a field, an agent is defined by their position, which is itself determined by their stock of capital. To maintain or improve their position, agents compete to accumulate forms of capital. In this way, a field is a site of struggle, where agents vie to gain capital through strategies that are themselves determined by the field. Though it can be argued that capital is field specific, and the advantage that it accumulates cannot be carried over into other fields (Savage et al., 2005), the convertibility of forms of capital allows for translation across fields, and even transmitted between generations, resulting in the accumulation of different types of

advantage (Lareau & Weininger, 2003). In this way, the transubstantiation of capital ensures the ongoing production and reproduction of advantage in different social spaces. The notion of capital is used to explain the different stakes of competition within these social fields, revealing their structure and the place of agents within them.

Bourdieu's conceptualisations facilitate a greater understanding of broader social struggles, though the role of family within these contexts is less realised. Bourdieu (1996) writes that:

in order to exist and persist, and to function as a *body*, the family always tends to function as a *field*, with its physical, economic and, above all, symbolic power relations (linked for example to the volume and structure of the capital possessed by each member), its struggles for conservation and transformation of these power relations. (p. 22, original emphasis)

In defining family in this way, Bourdieu (1996) argues that family bonds are upheld by practices and instituted norms, and that those bonds can facilitate the replication of power relations. This conceptualisation embeds discussions of family within broader social struggles (Atkinson, 2013a). That is, the dispositions inculcated in the family as a site of socialisation are “more or less adjusted in advance... to the explicit or implicit requirements of the field, its pressures or demands” (Bourdieu, 2000, pp. 164–165). It is in the family that agents may acquire forms of capital that are attuned to social fields.

However, conflating the notion of “family” with “field” produces an inaccurate understanding of both categories. While Bourdieu himself appears to equate these notions, this is incongruous with his definition of field. Field refers to a social microcosm in which struggles take place for the appropriation for specific “power”, that is, “capital” (Lahire, 2014). To claim that something is a “field” is to denote a particular microcosm that is

organised by competition, with its own historical and social configurations. In contrast, the family “most often constitutes the framework in which the child is born and discovers the social world” (Lahire, 2014, p. 78). While social action does take place there, the family represents a site of socialisation and a configuration of relations that can facilitate the acquisition of capital, instead of a site where capital is appropriated and converted. As discussed by Lahire (2014), “the family does not constitute a space where one essentially observes the appropriation of a – mysterious – ‘familial capital’” (p. 78). To conceive of family as a field is to fall into an overly economistic view of family, overlooking the complexity of these relations – as summarised by Souralová (2021), “the family is the arena where strains and conflicts meet with caring, loyalty, gratitude and affection” (p. 49). To equate family to field is to reduce these relations to those that are purely competition and calculation.

Rather, while agents in a field struggle over capital, individuals are not isolated agents operating solely in terms of this behaviour. We exist in relation to, and with, other individuals outside of the competition over capital. Indeed, Bourdieu (2000) writes that there are “universes without competition, such as the family” (p. 209), which belies his own conflation of “family as field”. Our relationships to people are not purely strategic, they can influence activity and action that lie beyond social reproduction. Lahire (2014) is particularly critical of the lack of interest in the “off-field life of the agents who battle within a field” (p. 74), asserting that agents cannot be solely reduced to their membership of a field. Indeed, “life outside the field... is important for understanding what happens within the field” (Lahire, 2014, p. 64). In that case, if family is not a field where capital is appropriated, then to describe the “off-field life” is to describe how the family is a site where capital is first acquired that can be used to gain advantage within various fields, including the field of education (Bourdieu & Passeron, 1977/1990; Watkins, 2017) and the field of national power

and belonging (Hage, 1998; Tabar et al., 2010). This “off-field life” encompasses the relationships of care that characterise so much of human existence. A parent’s love and caretaking cannot be adequately captured by discussion of competition, nor can a child’s admiration for their parents be reduced to a notion of strategy. The entire scope of human action and relations cannot be systematically organised as spaces of positions and struggles. While the socialisation of agents no doubt plays a role in their behaviours related to the accumulation of capital, it does not allow for a more nuanced view of the ways in which their interactions with others can influence this pursuit. As Lordon (2014) writes:

How to deny that there is interest in the gratitude that is expected for a gift, in the anticipation of reciprocity in love, in displays of largesse, in cashing in the symbolic profits of greatness or of a reputation for charity, just as much as in keeping a balance of profits and losses, but, ‘simply’ in a form other than that of the explicit calculation? (p. 5)

Reciprocation is not a purely economic endeavour oriented towards the maximisation of profit (Mauss, 1950/1990). Much like the notion of the immigrant bargain (Louie, 2012; R. C. Smith, 2006), raised in the previous chapter, the academic achievements of second-generation immigrant children are not about financial compensation nor are they exclusively about profit. Rather, it is about the relations between those who give the “gift” and those who receive it.

The experiences of the participants of my research indicate that achievements in terms of school and work cannot simply be explained by parenting exclusively geared towards strategic competition, but are informed by complex feeling, embodied practices, and social interactions. Social forces play out in the lives of immigrant families, indeed any families, and in the lives of individuals. After all, these forces shape personal experiences as much as

they shape more objective conditions of domination and power (Sennett, 2003). Affect enables an understanding of the relationship between parenting, class and migration, and the embodiment of their effects, as manifested in day-to-day actions. As such, using a notion of affect allows for an understanding of how everyday experiences are themselves structured by inequality. Without this, a notion of capital lacks a consideration of the forces that compel individuals towards educational and professional successes, which represent forms of capital that allow them to move within and through different fields. Indeed, on the place of affect in queer studies, Love (cited in Chinn, 2012) explains that “without attention to affect I think it’s a real struggle to articulate and explain the way that oppression registers at small scales—in everyday interactions, in gesture, tone of voice, etc.” (p. 126). Affect allows for an understanding of how inequalities, such as class-based disadvantage, can be embodied, while also capturing relations that are not simply related to strategy and calculation.

The Affective Formation of the Habitus

Among numerous others, philosopher Baruch Spinoza’s theorisation of affect has had a significant influence on contemporary affect theory (Clough, 2007). His conceptualisation of affect allows for a consideration of the body in relation to other bodies, how other bodies affect us, and how those affects manifest as transitions and modifications in bodily power and activity (Gatens & Lloyd, 1999). Spinoza distinguishes between *affectio* (affection), and *affectus* (affect). *Affectus* is the force of one body affecting another body, while *affectio* is the sedimentation of that force on body’s power of acting (Deleuze, 1988; Watkins, in press). Affect can be conceived as both process (*affectus*) and outcome (*affectio*), which correspond to the continuous variation, or modification, of our power of acting.

While Spinoza’s theorisation of affect has been significant in the humanities, it draws some parallels with affect in psychology, particularly with psychologist Silvan Tomkins’

conceptualisations (Watkins, 2012). Affects not only register sensory information but can amplify these events so that we pay attention to them. This amplification motivates human behaviour, where we act in response to nine affects, which include: distress-anguish, interest-excitement, enjoyment-joy, surprise-startle, anger-rage, fear-terror, shame-humiliation, disgust, and dissmell (Tomkins, 2008). These represent *categorical* affects, which possess positive, neutral, and negative valence. Through these affects and their corresponding valence, we make sense of perceptual information, and are able to differentiate experience in terms of excitement, fear, distress, or rage. Through affects, we are made to care about different things in different ways (Nathanson, 1992; Tomkins, 1968). This draws parallels with Spinozan affect (Frank & Wilson, 2020), in that both highlight the governing role of affects to motivate human behaviour, as a result of how we are affected by everyday experience.

In contrast, psychologist Daniel Stern (1985) offers an examination of what he calls *vitality* affects. Extending on the work of Tomkins, vitality affects can be viewed as more global, occurring “in the presence of and in the absence of categorical affects” (Stern, 1985, p. 55). These vitality affects relate to the quality of experience independent of the actual content of the phenomenon itself, that is, “they are manifest in all behaviour... They concern *how* a behaviour, *any* behaviour, *all* behaviour is performed, not *what* behaviour is performed” (Stern, 1985, p. 157). Vitality affects are not tied to specific events, nor to specific categorical affects, but comprise the general flow of everyday sensation. That is, they “can be experienced not only during the performance of a categorical signal, such as an ‘explosive’ smile, but also in a behaviour that has no inherent categorical affect signal value” (Stern, 1985, p. 56). Moreover, Stern (1985) highlights how similar affective qualities become associated, allowing for these vitality affects to become organised into coherent

patterns that coalesce into perceptual systems. Vitality affects highlight the ways in which interactions are comprised of unconscious meanings.

These concepts proffered by Spinoza, Tomkins, and Stern share certain characteristics. In particular, they emphasise how affects accumulate and modify us. From the categorical affects to the more muted vitality affects, these can impact us in different ways. These impacts can linger, where the repetition of affects can form patterns that we draw on to navigate the world. They shape the ways in which we come to know and respond to the world, forming patterns and internal systems that inform and guide us. Indeed, affects carry “residues of meaning” (Gutiérrez-Rodríguez, 2010, p. 5), which can accumulate and can become stored within us. That is, our interpretation of present moments is guided by past affects that give shape and meaning to ongoing interaction (Prager, 2006). This is what Tomkins calls *scripts*, which involve the compression of all previous events and experiences to enable an individual’s interpretation, evaluation, prediction, and production of experiences (Nathanson, 1992). This notion, which describes how individuals begin to develop patterns that allow them to organise and make sense of experiences, events and interactions, echoes that of Bourdieu’s habitus.

Habitus is one of Bourdieu’s most used concepts (Hadas, 2022). While he did not introduce the idea – precursors of habitus include Aristotle’s *hexis* – Bourdieu’s extensive development of it has been widely used in relation to analyses of embodied practice and social organisation. Habitus refers to “an acquired system of generative schemes objectively adjusted to the particular conditions in which it is constituted” (Bourdieu, 1990a, p. 190). It is comprised of durable and transposable dispositions, which are structured by the conditions of their development but which function as structuring forces. The conditions that shape the lasting dispositions of the habitus guide the behaviour and thinking of the agents, which

appear as self-evident outcomes. The habitus highlights the inculcation of history into personal nature (Bourdieu, 1990b), where past experiences become embodied as dispositions.

Affect allows for an understanding of the formation of the habitus. Bourdieu (2000) describes how “the social order inscribes itself in bodies through this permanent confrontation, which may be more or less dramatic, but is always largely marked by affectivity and, more precisely by affective transactions with the environment” (p. 141). Affect, as process and outcome, constitute dispositions in the habitus, which in turn generate behaviour, orientation and practice. In this way, we learn of the world through affects (Bourdieu, 2000). This is one of the few instances where Bourdieu engages with a discussion of affect in tandem with his own theoretical concepts (Watkins, in press). Under this framing, the development of dispositions that comprise the habitus occurs as a result of affects. As noted by Watkins (2010), “through the iteration of similar experiences, and therefore similar affects, they accumulate in the form of what could be considered dispositions that predispose one to act and react in particular ways” (p. 278). Thus, when Bourdieu (1990b) describes the body as a “living memory pad” (p. 68), he is alluding to the ways in which past experiences are inculcated within the habitus allowing individuals to make sense of, and adapt to, new situations and experiences (Dawney, 2011). Indeed, the habitus is conceptualised as being embedded within the human body, formed by the ways in which we are continually affected by the world.

The development of dispositions within the habitus is therefore an affective process. We are affected by the world we inhabit, affects which become incorporated as dispositions in the habitus. Structural forces, such as the impact of class disadvantage and the effects of migration, can remain present through the habitus, which engender dispositions that are oriented by these forces. Moreover, what we incorporate as dispositions within the habitus are not necessarily homogenous. Our embodied capacity and our embodied beliefs can be

mismatched, as our social conditioning and adjustment to the world is not limited to any particular sphere. Though family may be the primary site of socialisation (Bourdieu & Passeron, 1977/1990), we come into contact with multiple different sites. Indeed, we live in highly diversified societies of multiple fields. Because of this, the dispositions we develop are multiple and at times, contradictory (Lahire, 2003). As summarised by Akram and Hogan (2015), “the *habitus is written deeply* within us by multiple, layered, intersecting and at times conflicting social processes” (pp. 608–609, original emphasis). As we move through different contexts, we may inculcate beliefs that do not have corresponding capacities to act on these beliefs. This gap between what we are able to do, and what we want to do incites phenomena such as “illusions, frustrations and feelings of guilt” (Lahire, 2003, p. 337).

In this way, a notion of affect can illuminate the socially constituted nature of our desires. That is, they are produced and negotiated via encounters with things, with places and settings, and with people. While we might imagine that these desires spring inherently from deep within us, they are actually a product of the social (Burdon, 2020). Indeed, the notion of field as a site of struggle – and the capital that agents in the field compete for – is a contestation that is facilitated by affect. Crossley (2001a) highlights that “individual agents... are bound to social fields by a strong affective grip. The rules and stakes of a specific field might seem worthless and arbitrary to an outsider but players feel their ‘weight’ with a great emotional intensity” (p. 102). In particular, the pursuit of higher education alludes to the affective grip of this field, and its associated capital, for first- and second-generation immigrants, but this is frequently interpreted as a symptom of “Asian” parenting. Affect instead facilitates a greater understanding of the motivations that may arise in contests for status, privilege, and capital, as agents make deeply affective investments in this struggle. As a system of dispositional tendencies that facilitate the interest and the actions we have towards fields, the *habitus* is similarly affective. Indeed, Wacquant (2014) asserts that the

habitus possesses cognitive, conative, and affective dimensions. It is *cognitive* in that it comprises categories of perception that allow agents to make sense of the world. It is *conative* in that it encompasses proprioceptive capacities, complex sensations that comprise movement. Finally, it is *affective* in that it motivates and moves agents – it “entails the vesting of one’s life energies into the objects, undertakings, and agents that populate the world under consideration” (Wacquant, 2014, p. 9). It is the “affective grip” of the habitus (Crossley, 2001a, p. 102) that drives our behaviours both on and off fields.

Thus, the actions and activities we undertake in our efforts to persist are, in fact, generated by the ways in which we are affected by the world. All the things and people that we encounter and interact with have affective resonance. In this way, a notion of affect brings to light the interpersonal and the ordinary scenes of life, occurrences that have, in us, an afterlife (Stewart, 2007). Affect allows for consideration of how everyday experiences sediment within us, whether these be moments of significance that produce categorical affects or whether they are simply the muted but continuous sensations that make up lived experience that, through iteration, still leave a mark. Furthermore, these affective experiences do not dissipate, but rather, linger and accumulate (Watkins, 2005; Watkins, 2010). Affect highlights how our experience of the world is continuously affected by other bodies, and how this experience can become embedded within us as dispositions in the habitus. That is, the patterning and cohesion of these experiences are what forms the habitus. Bourdieu (1986) writes that “the social world is accumulated history” (p. 46). This history is not simply the accumulation of habits, practices, traditions, capitals, and power, each of which has affective force, but it is also the accumulation of these affects. In this way, affect allows us to think about how bodies literally affect one another, which, in turn, shapes and guides practice.

The Inseparability of Strategy and Care

Because of the way in which affect accumulates to become dispositions in the habitus, parents' approaches and practices can be regarded as outcomes of the impact of the world on them. Parents are influenced by specific histories and contexts, which inform how they raise their children. Using a notion of affect underscores the impact of broader social contexts that become internalised in agents, shaping the ways in which parents *parent* their children. As Nathanson (1992) observes, "infants are born into a climate that took a long time to evolve, even before they popped into the picture" (p. 243) – these climates become embedded in parents via affects, inflecting their practices of childrearing and nurturing as "natural" courses of action.

Using affect can facilitate a greater understanding of how the effects of migration can influence the ways in which immigrants experience parenting. The challenges experienced as a result of migration can become inculcated in first-generation immigrants, shaping the ways they parent their children. These hardships can linger as embodied dispositions in their habitus, remaining present for these parents, who may be subsequently moved towards protecting their children from these same difficulties. This belies the stereotypical representation of "Asian" parents, challenging the perception of their instrumentality and instead, contributing to an understanding of the ways in which strategy and care are interconnected in relation to migrant parents' influence on their children's schooling. For first-generation Vietnamese migrants, their strategic investments are a response to the hardships they experienced. While the know-how to intervene in their children's schooling relies on the embodied capital that these immigrant parents may, or may not, possess, the motivation for these approaches stems from the effects of migration, which are inculcated in the body via affect. These parents seek to protect their children from the hardships they endured as a result of migration, and subsequently deploy specific approaches and

interventions to achieve this goal, so long as they possess the required embodied capital to do this. In this way, their strategies and strategic interventions are largely an outcome of care, formed as a result of affects and affective transactions with the world. The inseparability of care and strategy demonstrates how and why these parents move their children towards educational and professional successes.

As such, their practices cannot be reduced to purely strategic interventions. Enrolling their children in tutoring, or sending them to selective schools, are not only calculated investments designed to optimise their children's educational performance but are indicative of their care to ensure their children are shielded from experiencing the same hardships they themselves endured. As noted in Chapter 1, care involves the maintenance, continuation, and repair of our world (Fisher & Tronto, 1990, p. 40). It can also involve different components, including caring about, taking care of, caregiving, and care-receiving (Fisher & Tronto, 1990, p. 40). The practices deployed in the home and elsewhere reflect these mechanisms. Yet care is not always experienced positively. Mol et al. (2011) illustrate that "care is described as a work of arranging, modulating and resolving bonds... it is not presented only as a matter of good sentiments and warm relations between people" (p. 75). Rather, care may be understood as control, involving relations of power (Tronto, 1998) and potentially violence (White, 2010). As Tronto (1998) notes, care can be "filled with inner contradictions, conflict, and frustration than it is to resemble ideal types" (p. 64). This complexity was evident in the relationships between some of the parents and children of this research.

Ultimately, recognising the inseparability of these parents' strategy and care allows for consideration of the objective conditions that necessitated these efforts in the first place. Locke (2017) asserts that "in a rapidly changing world, understandings of what constitutes care are often in flux and within specific locations are also strongly shaped by class and changing aspirations for 'good' parenting, marriage and family life" (p. 281). While migrant

parents may be condemned for their “excessive” and “authoritarian” strategies and practices, this fails to conceive of the ways in which care can manifest in various ways as a result of their transition from one context to another through their migration journey, and the affects these generate. Indeed, Fisher and Tronto (1990) highlight how:

All activities, including those that we think of as political, involve a caring dimension because in addition to acting we need to sustain ourselves as actors. Conversely, all caring activities entail the political dimensions of power and conflict, and necessarily raise practical and real questions about justice, equality, and trust (Smith and Valenze, 1988). (p. 39)

First-generation Vietnamese migrants’ aspirations, and their practices, are shaped by the contexts in which they move. Thus, a consideration of the complexity of care is essential in order to move beyond simplistic stereotypes of Asian migrant parents, showing the ways it may be interwoven with forms of competition and calculation as a result of external forces.

Moreover, second-generation Vietnamese Australian children embody dispositions that are oriented by their parents’ past, or ongoing, struggles. Through affects, their parents’ actions and interventions instil in these children an awareness of the hardships of migration, moving them to act in ways that are oriented by this awareness. This does not mean that they passively follow their parents’ direction. Instead, they may be negatively affected by their parents’ expectations. A notion of affect allows for an understanding of these kinds of intricacies of the parent-child relationship. It focuses on the ways in which interactions can generate affective resonances that can engender love and hate, acceptance and defiance, respect and ingratitude. Moreover, the awareness of their parents’ hardships enables the children to receive their parents’ actions and to respond in kind. That is, as a result of their parents’ actions, they develop their own actions of strategy and care. Much like the return of

the gift (Mauss, 1950/1990), the second generation's achievements in school and in work are not simply outcomes of calculation. Rather, the emphasis on education and professional achievement by immigrant parents is created as a result of various social forces that have shaped the desires and practices of these parents, which become transferred to, and incorporated in, their children via affects.

Highlighting this dimension of the parent-child relationship moves away from discursive categories such as “tiger parenting” and “Asian parenting” to instead bring light to the affective dimensions of strategy and care as it manifests in the relationship between parenting, education and achievement. Indeed, competition and strategy reveal the affective grip of parents' desire to protect their children. To reduce these parents and children to “Asian” stereotypes and discourses is to overlook the connectedness of care and strategy, which stem from the profound effect of migration on parents. This effect appears to be so deeply embedded in immigrant parents that it orients their care, and their subsequent strategies and efforts towards their children's education, in the hope that this will protect them from enduring similar hardships. In this way, the achievements of second-generation migrant children are not only the outcomes of intensive and instrumental practices, designed to ensure the acquisition of institutionalised cultural and economic capital. Rather, they are engendered by the effects of the first generation's experiences of migration, which also manifest in the second generation, guiding their motivations and actions for academic and professional achievement.

Conclusion

To understand the influence of Vietnamese migrant parents on their children's educational and occupational aspirations and trajectories, it is necessary to highlight the relationship between capital, habitus, and affect. The influence of Vietnamese migrant

parents on their children's educational and occupational aspirations and trajectories cannot be wholly explained by a notion of capital, nor by habitus. Rather, consideration needs to be given to the affective development of the habitus, and the ways in which this facilitates the acquisition of forms of capital, notably embodied and institutionalised cultural and economic capital. It highlights the accumulative nature of affect, which allows the social to become embedded as dispositions within the habitus. These then produce actions or behaviours that facilitate capital accumulation. Thus, a notion of affect provides a more nuanced understanding of the ways in which dispositions in the habitus are formed, and the ways in which they contribute to educational and occupational achievements. A focus on affect also allows for an understanding of the minutiae of everyday life, which are shaped by various circumstances and contexts. This is not to overlook the structural forces that shape our lives. Rather, it is to conceive of how these forces manifest in the lives of people and how they linger. As Gatens and Lloyd (1999) explain:

Spinoza's point is that human actions and appetites are as real as the bodies whose dynamic structural powers underlie them. To understand the interactions of affect and imagination is not to make human actions and appetites disappear into lines and solids. It is to exert rational understanding on aspects of human life which have hitherto been treated as unworthy of serious investigation. (p. 24)

Affect enables an understanding of the intricacies of human experience, which can become embedded in the body to form dispositions attuned to structural forces – they are in fact the way in which structural forces are embodied. While this may have been an “unworthy” area of investigation, the effects of these structural powers are visible in practice, that is, in the ways in which parents nurture their children and the ways in which children receive their parents' care. By highlighting how structural forces manifest in everyday life,

affect enriches our understanding of educational and professional aspirations and trajectories to demonstrate that these achievements are more than simply forms of capital.

Chapter 3

Methodology

Writing about her researcher perspective, Stewart (2007) explains that “she gazes, imagines, senses, takes on, performs, and asserts not a flat and finished truth but some possibilities (and threats) that have come into view in the effort to become attuned to what a particular scene might offer” (p. 5). In opening her book in this way, she acknowledges the limitations of her research, highlighting that the purpose of her work is not to provide an absolute truth to what she has observed, but rather, to speculate on the possibilities that are offered by those observations. The same can be said of this research, which seeks to shine a light on some of the experiences of some members of the Vietnamese Australian community. It does not attempt to explain the entirety of this migrant population, but instead, seeks to illustrate “focused points of human experience that can teach something about a more general problem” (Sennett & Cobb, 1972, p. 45). In particular, this research offers a consideration of the ways in which Vietnamese Australian parents influence their children’s achievements in school and in work, achievements that appear at odds with the relative disadvantage of this cohort. Second-generation Vietnamese Australians tend to be well-represented in higher education, despite their parents’ low socioeconomic background (Baldassar et al., 2017; Dobson et al., 1996; N. Nguyen, 2024). These achievements are often attributed broadly to Asian Australian achievement, and to the Asian diaspora’s success.

This is not to say that the Vietnamese diaspora is not carving out an identity of their own. The increasing representation of second-generation Asian Australians in social and cultural spheres – including those of Vietnamese heritage – has likely contributed to this movement. These second-generation children are forging a legacy of their own, exploring questions of identity, migration and family through poetry, theatre, and literature. Indeed,

over the course of this research, several books from emerging Vietnamese Australian writers have been published to great acclaim. These include *The coconut children* (V. Pham, 2021), *All that's left unsaid* (T. Lien, 2022), *Funny ethnics* (Le, 2023), and *Anam* (Dao, 2023). The success of these second-generation stories is still, in many ways, grounded in the experiences of the first generation of Vietnamese Australians (Jacklin, 2012; S. Pham, 2015). The narratives of the first-generation boat people are recontextualised by the second-generation cohort, reframing these experiences in order to shed new light on the histories of their parents. The prevalence of these stories, however, has yet to undo many of the stereotypes that follow Asian-background immigrants in the Anglosphere. Whether it be the model minority myth or the tiger parent trope, these stereotypes are used to explain the kinds of educational and material successes of Asian-background immigrants, while also masking the ongoing inequalities faced by this heterogeneous diaspora. In New South Wales, there exist stereotypes that target specific dimensions of the Asian Australian experience, including those related to selective schools and tutoring. These stereotypes conceal the ways in which these educational and material successes are facilitated and enabled. Yet, while these stereotypes may be overly simplistic and perhaps even deterministic, they are *easy* – they are a convenient way to “package” these experiences. I even find myself using them to explain to others my educational trajectory or joking about these with friends with similar experiences.

By focusing on Vietnamese Australians, this research has provided an opportunity to consider the ways in which first-generation immigrants have contributed to their children's educational and occupational aspirations and trajectories, ultimately looking beyond the stereotypes to explore these achievements. The experiences of Asian-background migrants in the Anglosphere are wide-ranging, and deserve to be understood and illuminated, rather than reduced and standardised. This research sits within a broader project, titled *Schooling, parenting and ethnicity: Asian migration and Australian education*. This project explores the

relationship between ethnicity and schooling and highlights the pedagogic practices of parenting within this dynamic, focusing on Chinese, Indian, and Anglo Australian families with children of primary school age. My own research was envisioned to be complementary to this overarching project, focusing on a cohort within the Asian Australian diaspora. That aside, I was curious to learn about the ways my own parents engaged in pedagogic practices to support my sister and me. My father, a Chinese-background, Vietnamese-born refugee in Australia, never finished high school, and my mother, a Chinese-background, Vietnamese-born migrant in Australia, achieved a TAFE diploma. How was it that my sister completed a master's degree, and I became a doctoral candidate? Undertaking this research project was a chance to answer this question and to shed light on the ways migrant parents like my own support and influence their children's educational and occupational aspirations and trajectories.

Sampling “Vietnamese Australian”

At first glance, “Vietnamese Australian” seems like a straightforward category. It was originally envisioned that the project would focus exclusively on ethnically Vietnamese nationals who are living in Australia and their Australian-born children, using the label “Vietnamese Australians” to capture this cohort. However, this label has its limitations, and is somewhat problematic, particularly when the participants have not identified themselves as “Vietnamese Australian”, but rather as “Vietnamese”, as “Australian” or even, as “Asian”. Indeed, throughout the interviews, participants indicated a reliance on the use of the label “Asian”. As noted previously, in Australia, the panethnic label “Asian” typically indicates people of East or Southeast Asian background (Ang, 2001; Matthews, 2021; C. Stevens, 2018). The second-generation participants in this research liberally used “Asian” in relation to their identities as well as their experiences.

Even more complex is the history of Chinese migration to Vietnam, which cannot be adequately captured by the term “Vietnamese Australian”. China’s relationship to Vietnam dates back to the second century B.C., when China first occupied Vietnam under the Western Han Dynasty. Historically, there has been significant settlement of ethnic Chinese in Vietnam, who became a coherent minority group that possessed significant economic and political power. Ultimately, the separation of North and South Vietnam in 1954 catalysed a decline in the power of the ethnic Chinese. Many fled from the North to the South, though both sought to naturalise the ethnic Chinese, a process that included the mandatory registration of Vietnamese surnames by the Chinese population (K. Tran, 1997). (My own family name, Vuong, is the Vietnamese version of our Chinese surname, 王, which can be translated as Wong or Wang). The reunification of North and South Vietnam in 1975 saw an increased persecution of the Chinese population in Vietnam. Due to this, there is a high level of representation of ethnic Chinese in the exodus from Vietnam in the post-war period (Amer, 1996; Amer, 2009; Boman & Edwards, 1984; Carruthers, 2008a). Some of the first-generation immigrants who participated in this research were ethnically Chinese migrants who fled Vietnam to Australia. Their families had settled in Vietnam from China or other Chinese territories, before fleeing from Vietnam to Australia. They are fluent in Chinese dialects and in Vietnamese, and some still have relatives living in both China and Vietnam.

Given these various factors, it is important to preface the terminology used throughout this thesis. In relation to the first-generation immigrants, the term “Vietnamese Australian” is used to refer to these Australian citizens who were born in Vietnam, encompassing both ethnically Chinese and ethnically Vietnamese participants. This is not to say that their experiences are homogeneous. Rather, in using “Vietnamese Australian” in this way, I am referring to the participants’ country of birth, and the country from which they fled. For the second-generation participants, it is even more difficult – they are typically the Australian-

born children of these immigrants who have varying levels of attachment to their parents' country of birth. Regardless, the same term "Vietnamese Australian" will still be used in order to acknowledge their parents' history. Furthermore, I use "Asian" to refer to the *category* of experience that is conveyed by the participants – it is a term used to highlight the discursive construct of this collective identity. While these are imperfect categories, it is perhaps beyond the scope of this project to provide answers to these questions of identity and ethnicity – if indeed it is possible to do this.

It was initially envisioned that 20 second-generation participants and 20 of their parents would participate, allowing for 40 interviews in total. The second-generation cohort was defined as those who are born in Australia to Vietnamese parents, who represent the first generation as they arrived in Australia as adolescents or as young adults. Including the perspectives of both children and parents was deliberate to gain a deeper understanding of the motivations of the parents as well as their impact on the children. It was also envisioned that the second-generation participants would be categorised by three distinct groups. The first group would include current university students or graduates from disciplines such as medicine, law, arts, and commerce/business. Eight participants would comprise this category, along with eight parents. The second group would have been comprised of TAFE or vocational education students or graduates from disciplines such as cosmetology, art and design, electrotechnology, or automotive trades and services. Eight participants and eight parents would be generated for this category. The final group were to be high school graduates with no tertiary education experience. Four participants and their parents would comprise this category.

Ultimately, as the research progressed, these categories became increasingly blurred. This is in part due to the fluctuating nature of people's experiences of education and work. For example, some participants graduated from university from a particular discipline but

ultimately joined an industry without any formal training or qualification. Others attended TAFE but then progressed to a university degree several years after their initial education. Others completed vocational training but did not pursue employment in the fields in which they were trained. Additionally, the selected disciplines were not closely adhered to, especially for the second group, as it was difficult to attract participants from those areas. Instead, a wider net was cast to ensure that more voices from the vocational sector were included. The initial groups therefore became somewhat imprecise. Moreover, 1.5-generation participants were also included in the project. This was done to showcase their dual perspectives as children of Vietnamese immigrants and as parents of Australian-born children and teenagers. These 1.5-generation participants were able to reflect on the similarities and differences between their parents' attitudes to school and work, and their own attitudes to school and work for their children. Despite the changes to the originally envisioned sample, all generations of participants had a variety of educational and occupational experiences and backgrounds, ranging from hospitality, medicine, creative industries, corporate organisations, and government.

Given the inclusion of 1.5 participants, the different generations need to be more clearly defined. The first-generation participants are those who arrived as adolescents or as young adults from Vietnam in the post-war period. Many of these participants experienced some schooling in Australia, either finishing high school or university in their host country. These participants also have children who are over the age of 18. The 1.5-generation participants are those who arrived as children or infants and grew up in Australia. They either have few or no memories of their lives in Vietnam, and even fewer memories of the migration experience. Many of these participants have become parents themselves. The second-generation participants are the children of first-generation migrants, who are born in

Australia. In this project, they are over the age of 18. The second-generation participants completed their primary and secondary schooling in Australia.

A total of 32 Vietnamese Australian participants took part in this research. Information sheets and consent forms were made in both English and Vietnamese (see Appendices 1 and 2). Though a total of 40 participants was planned for, enough data had been collected by this point where any further interviews would not have produced value-added insights (Glaser & Strauss, 1967). Recruitment and data collection took place during the New South Wales COVID-19 lockdowns of 2020 and 2021. These restrictions prohibited in-person events or gatherings, and even when restrictions eased, the continually high case numbers made it risky to recruit through in-person events. Subsequently, much of the recruitment was completed through personal networks or via online platforms. I used my own networks to generate leads while my supervisors assisted by sharing the research with their personal and professional networks. Social media was also a key recruitment tool. Recruitment posts shared in online forums catering to Vietnamese Australian members, as well as entrepreneurial and vocational training groups, were used to reach a wider network and to encourage potential participants to participate. Local businesses run by Vietnamese Australians were also contacted to gauge interest. Finally, LinkedIn was a useful platform that allowed me to directly interact with Vietnamese Australian professionals of diverse educational backgrounds and working in a range of occupations. While a slower method than recruitment through personal networks, these approaches created useful leads.

Because of these tactics, the participant sample was somewhat skewed. Significantly, there was a higher rate of participation of university-educated first-generation Vietnamese Australians. As I was recruiting primarily through the second-generation participants, it was most difficult to connect with low-educated, non-English speaking, first-generation Vietnamese parents. According to many of the second-generation participants, their parents

were suspicious of the nature of an interview – even the word itself was cause for concern – or were shy about their English language proficiency. When a translator of the same age and background was offered, they remained reluctant to speak in front of an unknown party. Not only that, the children themselves were often unwilling to have their parents interviewed, citing that they didn't want to bother their parents or that their parents were unaware of their education or work history and that an interview could accidentally disclose the truth to them, which some participants were concerned about. Additionally, some of the 1.5- and second-generation participants did not have good relationships or did not have any relationship with their parents. Because of this, the perspectives of the first-generation participants lean heavily towards university-educated parents. Even amongst the second-generation participants, there was a higher rate of tertiary-educated participants. Prior to recruitment, it was assumed that there would be greater difficulty finding high school graduates with no tertiary education experience, which was proven to be the case. Most of the 1.5- and second-generation participants had some level of tertiary education. Overall, the level of education was quite high amongst the participants.

Ultimately, the participants in this research were a self-selected group of first-, second- and 1.5-generation Vietnamese Australians. They generously gave their time in order to help answer questions of family, education and work. While an interview guide was initially developed (see Appendix 3), the interviews typically did not follow any particular structure. Interestingly, many of the first-generation parents consisted of fathers, rather than mothers. The fathers who participated in this research were themselves quite educated, typically holding a bachelor's degree, indicating a level of embodied and institutionalised cultural capital. This may not necessarily be reflected in their professional trajectories, as they may not have been able to translate their qualifications into paid employment within their industry. In many instances, they were able to pursue their education in Australia,

whereas their wives – the mothers of their children – did not continue their education here. Both the parents and children in the research spoke about the maternal figure as being the caretaker, whereas the paternal figure tended to be more involved in their education. This skewed the data in particular ways, wherein the mothers' involvement is perhaps overlooked or is downplayed. This may also hint at questions of the division of domestic labour and caretaking, but also at issues of unequal opportunity for male and female immigrants (Lueck, 2018; O'Dwyer & Colic-Peisker, 2016; Sutherland, 2016; Van & Holton, 1991).

While the original project design and sample were affected due to the unforeseen circumstances of a global pandemic, the participants who took part in this research were dynamic, interesting, and complex, and offered valuable insight into the ways in which Vietnamese immigrant parents have influenced their children's education and work. The first-generation parents, reflecting on their Australian-born children, had powerful stories to share, not only about their experiences of migration and settlement, but also about the future that they had wanted for their children and how they tried to accomplish this. The second-generation children were generally in awe of their parents' experiences and spoke of the ways in which their successes were also their parents' successes. Finally, the inclusion of 1.5-generation participants allowed for a powerful consideration of the different childhoods and adolescences that took place in the 1980s, a time of turmoil and hostility, and the ways in which this was inflected by their parents' and by their own experiences of migration and settlement.

Methods and Challenges

To bring to light the stories of the participants, the project relied on one principal and one secondary methodology. Semi-structured interviews were chosen as the primary methodology, and participants were asked to think of an item to bring or share in the

interview, which comprised the secondary methodology. As noted, a total of 32 interviews were conducted over 10 months. Nine were with first-generation parents, four with 1.5 generation participants, 19 with second-generation participants. Interviews ranged from 40 minutes to 90 minutes, with most being an hour. Barring the first, all interviews were conducted over Zoom or over the phone due to the COVID-19 pandemic and subsequent lockdowns in New South Wales. The remote nature of data collection presented various challenges. The online interview environment was far from ideal – interruptions, such as phone calls or intrusions into the “interview room”, were a regular occurrence, while technical difficulties, including poor Internet connection, were common. Likewise, some participants joined the Zoom call in a shared space, meaning that there were other people in the room with them or nearby. For some, this resulted in a fear of talking openly and for others, they were often interrupted by someone else speaking. Additionally, phone interviews, which were recorded on a separate device, were difficult at times, in that some participants were clearly on the move, resulting in interruptions in their cell service or high levels of background noise. Building rapport online was also challenging, as there was little opportunity to get to know one another before the interview. This was most apparent for interviews with older participants, for whom English was not their first language and for whom speaking openly with a younger person was not a common experience.

Regardless, online data collection was fruitful and efficient. For instance, the ability to record via Zoom (audio only – all video components were deleted) was incredibly useful. Phone interviews were mostly taken up by the first-generation participants, who were unfamiliar with Zoom, though were used by some second-generation participants who had little time during their busy schedules. To some extent, this proved to be an easier medium as well because the phone allowed for a more conversational and less formal interview. These interviews were recorded on a separate device. Overall, while the online interview method

was not the original intention of this project, it was highly effective. The online format presented an opportunity to “conduct a real time interview, with another person, in a conversational format, but be in different spatial locations and contexts” (Lupton, 2020). The role of technology in facilitating real-time co-presence and interactivity was valuable and even moments of interruption were able to be laughed off by both interviewer and interviewee – after all, this was a common occurrence given the circumstances of the lockdown.

Semi-structured interviews were chosen as a way to gain a deeper understanding of the educational and occupational aspirations and trajectories of the participants, and how these were influenced by their parents. They provided opportunities for candid and in-depth discussions on various topics including life in Vietnam, life in Australia, the pedagogic practices used in the home and in the community, as well as the impact of these practices for both the children and the parents. Complementing the interviews of 1.5 and second-generation children with first-generation parents’ interviews allowed for a richer understanding of the educational and occupational aspirations and achievements of Vietnamese Australians, by positioning these within the context of their family history and relationships (Tedder, 2007). Thus, while not all parents were interviewed, those that were provided insight into their experiences of education in Vietnam and in Australia, which was useful in contextualising their attitudes to school and work in relation to their childhood in Vietnam and their migration to Australia. This in turn provided valuable insight into the parents’ approach to their children’s education and work.

In addition to the interviews, participants were also asked to think of an object that was associated with their experience of either study or work, and to describe or display it during the interview. The objects people keep, cherish, or disdain are tangible reminders of the complex and relational histories that are captured by these items (Noble, 2004; Rowsell,

2011). They are symbols of a life lived within specific contexts and families. Rowsell (2011) notes that “artefacts and the stories that they sustain hold promise as a research tool to access information that might not be possible through observation, document analysis, even interviews” (p. 332), providing an avenue through which to engage participants on what they believe to be important or significant to their own experience of school or work. By inviting the interviewees to participate in a self-reflexive activity, they were able to consider aspects of their experience based on their interpretation of the topic. Instructions were kept as broad and open as possible, so as to not influence the participants, though several participants requested further clarification and examples, while some did not supply an artefact.

Despite this, there was a variety of objects shown in the interviews. For instance, a daughter recalled a cherished stuffed toy that her mother had gifted her, even though their relationship was strained and somewhat distant. A son reflected on a handwritten letter he had presented his father following the completion of his Year 12 exams, in which he thanked him for all that his father had done for him throughout his education. Another daughter described a journal that she had kept during her adolescence, in which she would express how angry she was with her parents for making her endure tutoring during the school holidays when what she really wanted was to go the beach. Parents who participated also showed various items that they associated with their children’s education or work. One father proudly showed trophies that his daughter had won at school, while a mother described a favourite handcrafted wooden coffee table in her home that her son had made for his Year 12 major work even though she had misgivings about his decision to pursue carpentry. Other parents displayed neatly organised and densely packed binder folders, filled with documents, reports, awards and certificates, all collected from their children’s time at school, from kindergarten all the way to Year 12. Participants of all generations talked about personal photographs – a mother with her infant son by the ocean at a refugee camp, a family portrait taken at high

school graduation, a group photo from a school sporting event. The various items showcased in the interviews bring to light the deeply personal and relational aspects of the schooling and work experiences of the participants, as well as the relations of care underpinning the parenting the children received.

The artefacts the research participants brought to their interviews are not simply material possessions that represent their achievements and their practices. As Noble (2004) writes:

Our domestic objects, especially those prized possessions we maintain for years, constitute key resources in the ways in which we go about objectifying the complexity and continuity of our selfhood and its relatedness to others, retaining these in the objects and spaces of our everyday environments. (p. 238)

The participants' objects, and the stories they elicited, reflect the complexity and density of their lived experience, offering insight into the *ontological* development (Noble, 2004) of who these participants are, and how they came to be. Moreover, these are objects that are inflected by relations, that is, they are objects that bear the mark of others. The certificates they collected, the trophies they kept, but also the photographs that captured the joy of graduations and the handwritten letters that expressed their gratitude – these are objects that reveal the affective investment and labour of parents into their children's education and work. After all, “the objects in our houses bear the extensive presence of others” (Noble, 2004, p. 239), and this is true of the participants: the items that they brought to their interviews reflect the complex and dynamic ways in which these relationships are created, maintained, and sometimes rejected.

Bringing together interviews and artefacts was an effective method for data collection. Not only did it allow the participants to showcase their perspectives in a unique and more

“interactive” way, it also made for an interesting exercise in reflection. Many participants noted that in the lead-up to the interview, they had pondered over this item and had considered many options before deciding on one, which helped to stimulate their memories around the practices that were used in the home. Furthermore, the combination of both methods ensured that, beyond a verbal mode of thinking, the wider dimension of their experience could be captured, including elements that would otherwise be neglected. Complementing the semi-structured interviews with these artefacts allowed participants an opportunity to elaborate on their attitudes, experiences and emotions as related to the topic. The artefacts prompted additional stories or anecdotes that may have otherwise been forgotten while the interviews provided a forum for them to expand on what they had disclosed. Ultimately, the stories shared through the artefacts and within the interviews cannot simply be reduced to discourses of tiger or “Asian” parenting practices and reflect instead the intensive effort and care that has contributed to academic and professional achievements of second-generation immigrant children.

Recordings of the interviews were uploaded to Otter.ai, an automated transcription application. This was used to generate an initial transcription, all of which were downloaded before being deleted from the account. While it was not always accurate, it was used to expedite the transcription process. After they were cleaned and formatted, the transcripts were reviewed. Initial interviews were checked by the supervisors and myself in order to assess whether the general categories of questions were suitable – adjustments were made and applied to the remaining interviews. Rather than wait until all interviews had been collected and transcribed, coding of the transcripts began once nearly 20 interviews were completed. This was done in order to gauge any emerging patterns. While this process was initially done via the software NVivo, I found it more expedient to manually code the transcripts in Microsoft Word. This was a more fluid process, and it allowed me to familiarise

myself with the stories of each participant. This process continued once the final interview had been completed. Through this process of iterative coding, themes emerged. Where the identified codes represented units of analysis, themes were the patterns of shared meaning that were built from these codes (Braun & Clarke, 2019; Clarke & Braun, 2017; Morgan & Nica, 2020; Tracy, 2020), allowing for a more rich and meaningful approach to answering the research question.

Pseudonyms were assigned to each participant and were reflective of their actual Anglo or Vietnamese names. One second-generation participant had a Vietnamese name but retained his Anglo pseudonym, as his experience aligned more closely with the second-generation Australian-born cohort. In contrast, one first-generation parent introduced herself with an Anglo name, and I kept an Anglo pseudonym for her in case I assigned her a Vietnamese name that was her birth name. A summary of these participants will be provided later in this chapter.

Researcher Positionality

While this project was conceived as a way to better understand the Vietnamese Australian experience, this is not necessarily an experience I can claim as my own. My ethnic background is Chinese, but both of my parents were born and raised in Vietnam. My mum was raised in the district *Cholon*, an area of Saigon (now Ho Chi Minh City) that was dominated by Cantonese-speaking immigrants. In 1975, my mum and her family left Vietnam and moved to Taiwan, which is where her eldest brother was attending university. It was in Taiwan that she finished high school. By the 1980s, her family came to Australia on a family reunion visa, as her older brother had left Vietnam by boat. Rather than go with them to Taiwan, he managed to settle in Australia. In contrast, my dad grew up in a rural district called *Mỹ Xuyên*, situated near the Mekong. My grandfather owned a rice wine factory,

whilst my grandmother came from a wealthy family from Saigon. Unlike my mum, my dad stayed in Vietnam until 1978. He was 18 years old, but he was not able to finish high school due to the communist takeover, which had shut down his school. His brother-in-law secured a small fishing boat, and with his siblings and some of their children, they left the country by boat. They landed in Malaysia and spent around six months in a refugee camp before they were able to come to Australia.

My parents met in Melbourne's south-east, in an area known as Springvale. This suburb housed many migrant and refugee hostels, and even though their families had left the hostels soon after their arrival, they settled in homes nearby. My sister was born in Melbourne, but my parents decided to move to Sydney, where I was born. I grew up hearing Vietnamese language as often as I did Cantonese, eating Vietnamese food as often as I did Chinese food, celebrating the Lunar New Year in both Cabramatta and Haymarket, suburbs in Sydney with high concentrations of Chinese and Vietnamese residents. My participation in both cultures – however superficial it may be – is equal. Regardless, research on Chinese Australian diaspora is more widespread and extensive, occupying a more significant portion of the research landscape. I also found that the Vietnamese Australian experience tends to be limited to the first-generation cohort, with the stories of “boat people” becoming synonymous with the Vietnamese Australian diaspora (Jacklin, 2012; S. Pham, 2015). The stories of these boat people are held up as an example of Australian goodwill, a convenient way to showcase the nation's generosity despite the increasingly stringent migration policies since the early 1990s, which has seen asylum seekers punished and incarcerated for attempting the same journey as Vietnamese refugees (Briskman & Cemlyn, 2005; Huynh & Neyland, 2020; Lusher & Haslam, 2007; McAdam & Chong, 2014; Nethery et al., 2013; C. A. Stevens, 2002; Stratton, 2009).

Throughout the process of interviewing, I was consistently made aware of my position as a researcher. I am a university-educated, second-generation Chinese-Vietnamese-Australian, with very little proficiency in Vietnamese. English is my primary language and I understand Cantonese reasonably well (though my pronunciation and intonations are terrible). I was very cautious of projecting internalised stereotypes, such as those about tiger parents or “Asian” students, as my role as the interviewer was not to listen for the echoes of my experience in the participants’ stories, but to understand their experiences. However, these stereotypes were frequently used by participants, who assumed my experience aligned with theirs. One second-generation participant questioned, “were your parents not like that at all?” while another commented “I like that you're shocked, but that’s classic”. Some parents were also cautious about appearing to adhere to the tiger parent stereotype. When discussing tutoring, one mother noted, “I think it’s good, but some people think that it's no good because you push them too hard [*laughs*]”, alluding to the dominant – Western – criticisms of tutoring. Thus, being made aware of my position as a researcher was a useful challenge in that it required me to think about how people construct narratives around me and for me, and how I may reconstruct them in turn.

Part of the difficulty with this research has been trying to strike a balance between what the participants are saying, and what they may not be saying. I was conscious that they may have been saying things that were “socially desirable”, where interviewees may offer responses that align with what is perceived to be socially acceptable, instead of their true opinions or behaviours (Bergen & Labonté, 2020; Júnior, 2022; Paulhus, 2001; Pauls & Stemmler, 2003). Likewise, if a parent and child dyad had conflicting recollections of particular incidents or practices, I found myself torn between wanting to ensure “accuracy”, wanting to question the contradiction, as well as wanting to let them share the experience as it was true for them. However, as Espiritu (2014) says, “we do this not only for the sake of

accuracy but also out of respect for people's multifaceted and often-contradictory humanity and subjectivity" (p. 173). I therefore chose to highlight participants' voices and stories as they represented them to me. The contradictions are acknowledged but that does not undermine or take away from the fact that this is how the participants' experiences are lived and felt by them.

Furthermore, because the research uses primarily interview-based methods, attempting to research the development of the habitus has been a difficult process. Through the interviews and artefacts, the participants from the different generations were able to share the various parenting practices that took place in the home to facilitate academic success, but these were all retrospective accounts. There was no "real-time" observation of practice. As such, I was cautious of using the notion of the habitus, as I did not feel justified in boldly making claims about the kinds of dispositions they had inculcated through these practices. Nevertheless, the reconstruction of the participants' experiences, particularly when bringing together the perspectives of the first-generation parents and the second-generation children, was fruitful in making claims around their habitus, and how these may have been shaped by the home-based practices that characterised their schooling. These recollections offered an indication of the kinds of dispositions that they may have acquired, providing insight into the habitus and its role in relation to capital accumulation.

In a sense, this thesis has involved researching my own "world", a process that has been uncomfortable. The process of doing research has engendered consideration of both my own and my sister's achievements within the context of our family. My parents are not uneducated: they each speak three to five different languages and are quite savvy at navigating a country in which neither of them grew up in. Yet, by more objective standards: my mum completed a vocational training certificate, and my dad didn't finish high school. In contrast, my older sister completed a double degree followed by a Master of Social Work,

and I became a PhD candidate. The gap between my parents and their daughters' educational attainment is stark, which has been an unsettling realisation. Furthermore, the project has required me to de-mystify the lives of others, which has involved a reworking of my perception of my own experiences. Bourdieu speaks about "participant objectivation" (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992, p. 253), wherein researchers expose the *illusio*, or interest, of one's world. That is, they expose the social magic that makes those worlds meaningful (A. Coleman, 2022). It has been unnerving to have to look beyond the stories of the participants and to see the processes at play – and to do the same for my own experiences. That is, because of the proximity and familiarity of this project to my own experiences, it has inevitably forced a kind of constant exposing of myself to the same lens with which I view my participants. It is uncomfortable, to say the least, to have to scrutinise my own experiences and my relationship with my parents and sister, and to be able to recognise the ways in which these various forces have sedimented within me.

Part of the discomfort is also the misrecognition that has occurred at different points throughout this thesis. As someone who was born in Australia but whose parents are ethnically Chinese but born in Vietnam, there is a process of misrecognition that takes place when I indicate that I am researching Vietnamese Australians. I am aware that I am not *quite* "Vietnamese", or "Chinese", but nor am I "Australian". It seems inappropriate to claim any of these labels, revealing the hybridity and complexity of any ethnonational label. Some of the second-generation participants echoed similar concerns, especially when they brought up instances of racism (against themselves or their parents) as well as instances of internalised racism, where they perhaps used stereotypes as a defence mechanism. Identity is of course multi-dimensional, multi-faceted, and ever changing. Yet, I was still wholly unprepared for how much my own sense of self would be in flux and in question throughout the course of this research.

Meet the Participants

The following tables provides a summary of the participants in this research.

Table 1

Overview of First-Generation Parent-Second-Generation Child Groups

Name	Age	Education	Occupation	Artefact
Claire	30	Bachelor's	Service design	Collage of photos
Chau	59	Bachelor's	Finance manager	Framed photos
Sophia	30	Bachelor's	Public servant	A5 journals
Thao	Unknown	Master's	Retired (Consultant)	Academic trophies
Ashley	27	Master's	Student	Optometry go-bag
Manh and Tien	61 and 59	High school (Year 8 and Year 12)	Sales representative and Business owner	Binder folders of daughters' achievements
Amelia	25	Honours	Lawyer	Journal
Lanh	Unknown	Bachelor's	Engineer	Charles Dickens' novel, <i>Oliver Twist</i>
Alex	18	Bachelor's	Student	Certificate
Vinh	Unknown	Bachelor's	Engineer	Baby albums
Aiden	25	Bachelor's	Medical doctor	Handwritten letter
Huy	54	Bachelor's	Driving instructor	N/A
Jayden	28	Diploma	Furniture designer, business owner	Wristwatch
Hoa	60	High school	Retail assistant	Coffee table
Natalie	28	Bachelor's	Student	School report card
Tram	59	Diploma	Teacher's aide	Folder of daughter's achievements

Table 2*Overview of Second-Generation Children Participants*

Name	Age	Education	Occupation	Artefact
Winnie	24	Bachelor's	Marketing officer	Primary school profile
Vanessa	19	Bachelor's	Student	Family photo, graduation teddy bear
Vera	26	Bachelor's	Consultant	Testamurs
Matthew	29	Diploma	Public servant (IT)	Computer
Cecilia	23	Diploma	Graphic designer	Digital certificate
Caroline	23	High school	Pharmacy assistant	Business t-shirt

Table 3*Overview of 1.5-Generation Children Participants*

Name	Age	Education	Occupation	Artefact
Justin	43	Bachelor's	Public servant (IT)	N/A
Truc	53	Bachelor's	Solicitor	Nguyễn Phan Quế Mai's novel, <i>The Mountains Sing</i>

The empirical chapters that follow draw on the stories that were generously shared by these participants. Yet not all of the participants can be included in the empirical chapters. Some of the participants share overlapping experiences, and rather than include all of these, the participants who had the most significant and detailed responses are featured. Other participants were much more reticent and did not offer much insight into their experiences, making it difficult to build a complete picture of their stories. Likewise, because this research focuses on parenting, I wanted to particularly highlight the parent-child dyads who participated in this research. These stories are powerful because they are interwoven, and the

parallels between them are intriguing. For participants whose parents did not participate, their stories are equally interesting, but I am conscious of the asymmetry that can arise due to the absence of the parents' voice and perspective. Despite this, I am enormously grateful to all participants for their contribution to my project and hope to adequately represent their voices and stories.

Chapter 4

The Role of Affective Migration Stories in Parenting and Achievement

A prominent practice discussed by many of the 1.5- and second-generation Vietnamese Australian participants in this research was the sharing of migration stories. This did not mean that they had detailed, complete accounts of their parents' lives in Vietnam or their journeys to Australia. Rather, despite these potential gaps in their knowledge, they were empathetic towards their parents due to the stories they had heard while growing up. These stories were about their parents' escape from Vietnam, the boat journey, their time at a refugee camp, and their struggles of living in Australia with hardly any English language skill, fitting within the metanarrative of the refugee success story, which focuses on the flight, adjustment, and assimilation of Vietnamese refugees (Espiritu, 2014, p. 111). Moreover, the refugee success story is used to frame the Vietnamese diaspora, both in Australia and elsewhere, as the model of successful ethnic assimilation (Baldassar et al., 2017; Dunn, 1998; Espiritu, 2014; Masanauskas, 2015). It is a story that Vietnamese immigrants themselves uphold, as shown by the second-generation participants, who reflected on the ways in which their parents would share with them the hardships that they endured in Vietnam and Australia – hardships which, for some, may still be ongoing.

These experiences of escape and settlement impacted the parenting practices and ultimately, the parenting the children received and were transmitted from parents to children by migration stories. Migration, and its attendant challenges, powerfully shaped the first-generation Vietnamese Australian parents in this research. As a result, they tended to express particular expectations regarding their children's achievements in school and in work. That is, they wanted their children to graduate from university and secure stable professional employment, which represent forms of institutionalised cultural and economic capital that

they themselves may have had difficulty accumulating. Popular discourse tends to reduce these expectations to stereotypes of “tiger parenting”, a label that is frequently ascribed to Asian-background parents. As noted in the Introduction, these kinds of parents push their children to excel in academics through authoritarian methods (Chua, 2011). However, this does not account for the ways in which these immigrant parents often faced significant challenges and hardships, which inform their expectations for their children. Reducing these to purely strategic endeavours for academic achievement fails to consider the underlying factors that may contribute to the formation of these expectations.

These expectations are conveyed to their children through migration stories. The aim of this chapter is not to evaluate these stories, but rather, to illuminate their productive nature in relation to the achievements of the second-generation cohort, through the affects they generated. On the part of the parents, the act of sharing these narratives is strategic, in the sense that it motivates these children, though it is also imbued with care. That is, first-generation parents hope to shield their children from the same hardships they faced, using migration stories as a caution – the practice of sharing these stories reflects how they take care of their children, protecting while also preparing them for future hardship. Simultaneously, through their parents’ stories, second-generation Vietnamese Australian children develop a deeper, more empathetic understanding of their parents’ seemingly high expectations through migration stories. Yet the stories can engender both negative and positive affects, which can sediment to become their acceptance, defiance, guilt, and also gratitude. These responses become “the motor – what is sometimes called motivation” (Bourdieu, 1990a, p. 194) for the second generation. That is, through the reiteration of these stories, these responses become embedded as dispositions within the habitus, moving the second generation towards success in school and beyond. Affect here captures a process that is social in origin but that has effect in, and on the individual (Brennan, 2004). The affects

created by these stories produce motivation in the second-generation cohort that facilitate their ambitions in school and beyond, contributing to their acquisition of institutionalised cultural and economic capital.

Understanding the “Greed” of Parents

The trope of the tiger parent is framed as an extremely authoritarian style of parenting, in that Asian-background migrants push their children to excel, but this stereotype fails to capture the nuances underpinning these desires. Instead, it emphasises the purely strategic and instrumental motivations of these parents, disregarding the ways in which migration can leave its mark, which ultimately influences their approach to their children’s education. A notion of affect allows for consideration of how the experiences of migration shape the dispositions of first-generation Vietnamese migrants’ habitus, informing and influencing their understanding of the world. The hardships they endured, both during their journey and their settlement, contributed to the development of their high academic expectations. These are framed by Truc, a 1.5-generation father of two teenage children, as Asian parents’ “greed”. That is, he acknowledged that while some parents like himself – parents with refugee or immigrant backgrounds – could be extreme in their parenting, they were not unjustified in their efforts. He stated:

We parents, we are always greedy, you know, we always aim for them to be higher and higher... you do whatever you want to do, as long as you're good at it, that's how I see it, we encourage our children to work hard, to be diligent, to be responsible.

“Greed” implies the intensity of Vietnamese immigrant parents’ desire, but this is itself fostered by their experience of migration. A highly educated man himself, Truc left Vietnam by boat with his older cousin, leaving behind his mother, older sister, and younger

brother. His father had already passed away during the war, and much of the familial responsibility fell on him. He recalled how he regularly helped his mother earn money by selling bicycle parts in Vietnam. Since he was only a teenager when he came to Australia, he was named a ward of the state. After studying for a few years at an Australian high school, he nearly dropped out of school at Year 10 to commence work at Australia Post. This decision would have allowed him to earn money and to bring his family over to Australia sooner. However, a teacher intervened and secured a scholarship for Truc at a private school, where he completed his secondary schooling. Following this, he enrolled in a combined arts and law degree at a Group of Eight university. He himself was surprised by this decision, as he recalled the difficulties he had with English compared to other subjects like Maths, but he was encouraged by his teachers to enrol in this course. It was during university that he was able to earn money and was eventually able to sponsor his mother and siblings to come to Australia. Truc highlighted how:

I think for Asian parents, they have come from difficult lives themselves, so they all want to invest in their children and for Asian parents, you know, they would sacrifice anything and everything, you know, they'll be working 12 hours a day, seven days a week, so that their kids get the best possible education, and for them, it's a duty, and, you know, that's the least that they can do for their kids, and that's the way we Asian parents think.

The high academic expectations, and subsequent “investment” of these parents in their children’s education, are created by and through the migration process, and the “difficult lives” they may have experienced because of it. These experiences have affective resonance, congealing as dispositions within the habitus, which in turn influences their parenting practices.

Moreover, interferences in first-generation immigrants' own experience of higher education often led to precarious and laborious work. In her interview, a first-generation mother, Chau, spoke about the ways in which her experience of leaving Vietnam impacted on her education and career trajectory. She had attended university in Saigon for one year, studying teaching, before she escaped the country by boat with her sisters and partner. Though she and her partner were eventually successful in reapplying to study at an Australian university, they had to defer these offers in order to work and save money. She described how:

We came here with empty handed, no money, nothing, and in order to go to uni, we need some financial support, so then we decided, after we got a place at university, we apply for a deferral for a year, and then we both went to work in a factory, he worked in a factory making sleeping bags and I worked in the factory working car loudspeakers in Alexandria.

She found this work extremely tiring and quite demoralising, which was compounded by the fact that her ambitions of studying were delayed twice: once when she left Vietnam, and again when she deferred her university offer to save money. Eventually, she returned to university and graduated. She was then able to secure work as an accountant and, at the time of her interview, was still working in this area.

Yet migration does not simply represent a single major shift in an individual's life, but rather, has ongoing and resonating impacts. For Chau, these challenging experiences became central to her own approach to her daughter Claire's education and career. She reflected:

I think it's really important because the way that I see, like for me, being a migrant, I came to Australia with nothing, and for me, education is kind of the only, or the easy way to have some kind of comfortable life in Australia.

She elaborated that “all Asians, we think education, with education, you can get a better job and you can have your life more secure and more sustainable”. Like Truc, who acknowledged that first-generation immigrants want to “invest” in their children to go “higher and higher”, Chau’s statement affirms the ways in which the hardships faced by these parents can fuel the desire they have for their children to live a different, or a comfortable, life.

In this way, higher education is not simply about the qualification, that is, the institutionalised cultural capital that it would bestow on second-generation Vietnamese Australian children. Though acquiring this capital would allow them to navigate fields more easily and would allow them to gain economic capital through a process of conversion (Bourdieu, 1986), it cannot be only understood in relation to its utility and competition. Rather, it is envisioned that a university education would facilitate an easier life, one that the first generation were denied – this reflects the “off-field” considerations that Lahire (2014, p. 74) observes, as individuals do more than simply battle for capital in the field of education. Rather, as shown by these immigrant parents, they are preoccupied by things that “do not look a lot like self-interest, but that include sacrifice, love, mistakes, missed opportunities and misinterpretations along with pursuing one’s own economic interests, career or pleasurable desires” (Threadgold, 2020, p. 159).

A prominent hardship for many of the first-generation parents in this research was language acquisition, which was a significant barrier in their education. For instance, Hoa, a first-generation mother of two children, spoke about how she had been denied the opportunity to pursue her goal of teaching music as a result of her poor English language skill. She was

only 17 years old when she left Vietnam, fleeing the country with her family via boat. In her interview, her recounts of living under communism were full of pauses and hesitations, suggesting the devastating impact of these events, and the ways that it may remain present for her. She ended up in a refugee camp in Malaysia, remaining there for several months before eventually settling in Australia. Due to her young age, she was able to enrol in secondary school in Australia and completed high school. During this time, she took up the subject Music and participated in the school band, playing guitar. Through this experience, she aspired to become a music teacher, but this ambition was hindered by her lack of English proficiency. Her high school teachers deemed her to be unsuited to the profession, believing that because of her poor English, she would be unable to teach. Despite these reservations, she still wished to go to university because of her father. He had wanted his children to attend university, as he himself was unable to do so due to his own migration from China to Vietnam. However, her limited English undermined this achievement. After high school, she chose to pursue a degree in banking and finance, a degree she chose because her friends were also doing it. Yet Hoa acknowledged that “that’s where my problem is because of the English, so I didn’t pass the subject so I have to drop out”. After dropping out of university, she found work as a teacher’s aide, which she did for two years. After the birth of her daughter, she worked in a pharmacy as a retail assistant.

Coupled with minimal education, a lack of English became a significant barrier to entry into the workforce, culminating in the high representation of Vietnamese Australians in low-skill roles in the manufacturing and sewing trades (McMurray, 1999; B. H. Ngo, 2014; Sutherland, 2016; M. Thomas, 2001; M. Thomas, 2005). Though she did not participate, Hoa witnessed first-hand the labour-intensive work that many Vietnamese Australians endured. Her older siblings were unable to continue their education in Australia – they were too old to return to high school but did not have the necessary English skills and educational

background to complete university. Instead, they found work in various factories, work that was laborious and difficult. She noted that these barriers contributed to the kinds of aspirations that first-generation Vietnamese Australians have for their children, describing how:

We have problem with English, so we end up to have to do all the hard work, you know, like factory work, and that's why we want our children, the next generation, to be better, so that's why we do all our best to get them to have, to get the good education so that they will have a better job in the future, they don't have to go to hard work like their parents, yeah.

The conditions of their settlement had a profound impact on Hoa and other Vietnamese parents, suggested by her plural “we”. These hardships informed the aspirations this first-generation cohort have for their children, in that they function as a cautionary benchmark for them, who should instead do “better” in terms of education and employment. In this way, the first generation of Vietnamese Australians acted as foils for their children (Bloch & Hirsch, 2017; Francis & Archer, 2005; Pásztor, 2010; Wu, 2022). Their experiences of hardship were used to justify their expectations for their children’s education, reinforcing their “greed” and desire for their children to be educated. This is indicative of their care, and the ways in which past experiences of hardship remain present for them as dispositions in the habitus that inform their approach to parenting.

Even for those proficient in English, they did not experience a seamless transition into the Australian workforce. This is true for the mother, Chau. Rather than continue her dream of becoming a teacher, she pivoted instead to an accounting degree because of her inadequate English language skill, noting that, “even though I studied [*English*] in Vietnam, it's totally different when you come to Australia, like speaking was really weak, so everything you just

have to translate from Vietnamese into English before you actually talked”. Furthermore, while she recalled the challenges of her early life in Australia, this is not to overlook the embodied cultural capital that Chau possessed prior to her migration. Though she did not claim to be from an affluent family in Vietnam, her experiences of schooling and of tutoring speak to a level of financial wealth that other parents who participated in this research did not have. She was able to attend high school without having to also do paid employment alongside her studies and she also received additional help in the form of extra tuition for subjects in order to assist her with her university entrance exam. Her sisters also studied – barring her oldest sister, who married young and did not go to university, all of the sisters attended university before leaving Vietnam. Even the level of English that she had, though she felt it to be inadequate, assisted her in her settlement in Australia. She acknowledged this, saying “I think the route that I went through is quite smooth compared to other people with the English knowledge that I learned when I came here”. Her embodied cultural capital enabled her to continue her higher education in Australia. Her university experience in Vietnam, though interrupted, was continued in Australia, but it led her to a completely different profession than the one she anticipated. Regardless of this embodied capital, Chau was still required to sit additional tests for English language skill and undertook menial labour in order to support herself during university. These experiences justified to her the necessity of education to surmount these kinds of barriers, impacting her approach to her daughter’s schooling.

Moreover, even with appropriate language skills, these immigrants may be denied opportunities to work in professional settings, due to their lack of embodied cultural capital. Indeed, among the first-generation parents who participated in this research, Huy was the only university-educated parent who was not working in the area for which he studied. As a teenager, he left Vietnam by boat. He did not leave with his family, and instead, secured his

escape through a family friend of his father. His son Aiden revealed in his own interview that he spent around two years at a refugee camp in Singapore before he could come to Australia. Like Hoa, Huy was able to complete his senior years of high school in Australia as he was still a minor. He eventually enrolled in an Australian university, becoming the first in his family to ever attend university, and graduated from electrical engineering. Yet, he was not employed in the industry, and had instead spent most of his working life operating his driving instructor business with his wife in Sydney's south-west. When he graduated from university, Huy managed to secure a full-time role in the industry but did not stay in this position. On this experience, he recalled:

I put all full study and when I finished study, when I went out to work in [company name], and you need life experiences to work, you need to know football, you need to know, because that's what they told me in the thing and you got no idea whatsoever and they a bit off at the time I went to work because you don't have so-so skill, you don't have so-so knowledge because all my time was study fully, I don't know what's going on around.

For such migrants, their institutionalised cultural capital, in the form of educational qualifications, is insufficient to compensate for a lack of the required embodied cultural capital. That is, while all of Huy's efforts were poured into his educational pursuits, it was futile. He did not have the requisite knowledge of Australian life to be able to participate in the workforce. He did not have the "correct" habitus, that is, he did not have the appropriate embodied capital to be able to navigate the workplace, which would have disposed him to act in ways that aligned him with his Anglo Australian colleagues. In addition to his educational qualifications, Huy was also expected to have an awareness of socially legitimate cultural knowledge, which that he did not possess as an immigrant. His exclusion from the workplace

based on this perceived lack of knowledge speaks to the ways in which migrants can be excluded on the basis of particular racial and class-based standards that hinder the ascension of these refugees and immigrants in the national field (Hage, 1998). These experiences demonstrate the ways in which cultural capital can be used for social and cultural exclusion. As the possession of cultural capital, and the ability to activate this capital within a given field, is unequally distributed, those without are disadvantaged and are unable to compete at the level of those with the appropriate forms of capital. In this way, structural disadvantage, brought on by migration, underpins the everyday experiences of these parents, affirming the ways in which inequality is embodied and manifested at the level of the individual.

Outside of the workplace, these immigrant parents may experience exclusion. This experience of exclusion can be profoundly shameful. For instance, Huy recalled a moment when, during a high school class, he behaved in a way that was consistent with his Vietnamese school experience but that was overtly different from the norms of Australian schooling. He reflected:

In Vietnam, when the teacher ask you, you have to just sit there and put up your arm on the table and then, when you get called, you stand up straight and talk to the teacher, and yeah, I got used to it, and then when the teacher here call, and then I did what I was taught, and everyone [was] looking at me like, ‘oh my god, what is it’.

The stares of his classmates created a self-consciousness in Huy that he was different, and that his behaviour was odd or strange. In this moment, he was forced to acknowledge his difference, becoming self-conscious of the possibility that his behaviour was “wrong”.

Probyn (2005) writes that this kind of shame manifests due to “the body’s sense of being out of place – a different (migrant) habitus. It is a shame born of the desire to fit in, of an interest in being part of a place” (p. 38). For Huy, his actions in school marked him as different,

producing shame that is “fed by the desire to be unnoticed, to be at home – or to be at ease in someone else’s home” (Probyn, 2005, p. 38). His shame was a sign of his lack of belonging, but it was an embarrassment that he embodied. The affective resonance of moments of exclusion can inculcate in migrant bodies an embodied awareness of their difference, condemning them as “not Australian”.

These experiences of exclusion can manifest in their parenting practice, where the shame of not belonging can influence their choices around their children’s education. In his interview, Huy’s son Aiden revealed a key event that affected the entire family, recalling how:

When we grew up, I remember a time when we spoke Vietnamese exclusively at home then one day, all of a sudden dad told us that we weren't allowed to speak in Vietnamese, and we had to speak English, and I revisited that with dad, and dad said that one time when it was just me and my older sister, my younger sister wasn't born yet, we were at the city, playing, and my sister said something to my parents in Vietnamese across the playground and dad recalls that everybody looked at us as a family and he recalls feeling embarrassed, very embarrassed that, you know, that she was speaking Vietnamese in Australia where everyone speaks English so after that, because of that embarrassment, he made us speak English.

Similar to the stares of his classmates, the scrutiny of the strangers in the park provoked an acute and embodied sense of embarrassment in Huy that highlighted his status, and his family’s status, as different from the Australian mainstream. This moment provoked such intensive affects of shame that influenced the entire family, so much so that their default language changed from Vietnamese to English. By demanding that his children speak only in English, Huy was guaranteeing the development of their language proficiency, whereby his

past experiences of exclusion mediate his children's sense of belonging (Nunn, 2017). The exclusive use of English was at the expense of the children's skill in Vietnamese. Aiden admitted that his Vietnamese proficiency is negligible now, and his youngest sister does not know any Vietnamese. For Huy, minimising his children's use of Vietnamese was a decision made in response to the intense shame that was engendered in this event. This choice generated embodied cultural capital in his three children, that is, the required linguistic competence in the mainstream language, English. In choosing to suppress their use of Vietnamese, Huy was attempting to mitigate their difference, so that his children would not be subjected to the stares of strangers.

Though this event may appear to be "in the past", it is apparent that its effects still linger, alluding to the ways in which they have become sedimented in the habitus, as "that presence of the past in the present" (Bourdieu, 2000, p. 210). This process of inculcation takes place through affects, where the social "inscribes itself in bodies through this permanent confrontation... Always largely marked by affectivity, and, more precisely, by affective transactions with the environment" (Bourdieu, 2000, p. 141). In particular, affects such as shame and fear embed the hardships endured in and during migration and settlement into these parents' habitus, becoming dispositions that inform their parenting practice. It makes it so that the decision to stop their children from using Vietnamese appears logical, as it is a decision justified by past conditions and experiences.

Thus, these experiences of exclusion, rejection and failure become embedded in the habitus via affects. Hoa, having witnessed her siblings' exhaustion from their labour-intensive work, held the belief that her own children should seek gentler work. Huy, excluded from the professional workplace and self-conscious of his difference, enacted choices that ensured his children would not face the same scrutiny and judgement that he endured. Chau, demoralised and exhausted by the harsh and menial jobs she worked as a new migrant,

developed an expectation that her daughter would not experience this same hardship. As observed by Truc, these parents' "greed" has roots in their migration journey, the difficult lives they endured from which they hoped to protect their children. These hardships linger in the habitus, as "embodied history" (Bourdieu, 1990b, p. 56), which go on to inform action in the present and future, guided by the past.

These events of migration orient Vietnamese migrants towards education as a means of protecting their children from those same hardships. This orientation reflects what Fisher and Tronto (1990) describe as "the central skill involved in taking care of... that of judgement" (p. 42). It involves assessing and ultimately, choosing one course of action over another. For these immigrant parents, education is identified as the primary avenue through which they can take care of their children and their futures. This appears a logical choice because of the inculcated dispositions in the habitus, where their past remains a prominent force guiding their orientations and perceptions in the present. In this way, while the notion of investing in their children suggests a purely strategic approach, to frame this desire in only these terms would be to overlook the care that inflects this expectation. It is intertwined with a desire to ensure that their children will not suffer in the same ways they had in their own "difficult lives". As Ahmed (2010) notes, "caring is anxious – to be full of care, to be careful, is to take care of things by becoming anxious about their future, where the future is embodied in the fragility of an object whose persistence matters". The "greed" of these parents is produced by the care they have for their children and towards their futures, a care that stems from their own hardship. This cannot be adequately conveyed by stereotypes of tiger parenting. Rather, the impact of migration in the parents' lives speak to the ways in which care can inform the pursuit of higher education, an expectation that is not purely strategic but that, instead, reflects the resonating impacts of migration on these parents and their children.

The Limits of the Tiger Parent Label

The impacts of migration can be masked by the language of stereotype, but this does not capture the empathy that second-generation children may have toward their parents' experience. That is, while second-generation children may not understand the full extent of their parents' migration histories, they are attuned to the hardships by the implicit suggestions of what migration may entail. This is evident in the experience of a second-generation participant, Vera. The daughter of two immigrants, she was born and raised in Sydney's south-west. Her father works as a bus driver, while her mother worked in Australia Post. Her mother had arrived as a teenager and was able to enrol in an Australian high school, but after graduating, did not attend university, going straight into the workforce in Australia Post. She stayed in this role until her early retirement a few years ago due to health concerns. However, Vera did note that her mother came from a large, but wealthy family in Vietnam, who operated various businesses. This is in contrast to her father, whose family were not as affluent. Her father was responsible for supporting the family from a young age, due to his own father's passing, and while he did finish high school in Vietnam, he escaped not long after. Returning to his studies was not a priority for him when he settled in Australia. Her parents met and married here, moving to Sydney's south-west to raise their own family. Vera attended a local Catholic primary school, and a local Catholic high school, after which she enrolled in a double degree at university, in communications and international studies. During her course, she also completed an international exchange program and, in her interview, spoke of her aspirations to live overseas one day. Upon graduating, she initially worked in retail but eventually found work in the public sector. She has since moved into the private sector. Vera has a younger brother, who has also graduated from university and is working in government. Her parents did not agree to participate in the research.

To some extent, humour was an unexpected means of downplaying the intensity of first-generation experiences of migration. Vera described her mum as having “definitely almost [*pause*] sort of like blocked off that part of her life, yeah, or like she doesn't really discuss it, or she'll use like humour as a defensive mechanism around that”. Another second-generation participant Amelia spoke of a similar tactic used by her mum, where:

If they talked about it, it was kind of like in a jokey way, like I'd come home and tell my mum that I was learning about the Vietnam War, I'd be like, 'Oh, we learned about like the Tet Offensive' and she'd be like, 'Oh, cool, I was under my bed for that whilst like, you know' [*starts laughing*] 'whilst people, whilst communists were running through the streets', I was like, 'cool, cool, cool'.

The use of humour may operate as a diversion from the magnitude of what these parents experienced, suggesting the desire to distance themselves from the memories of war and escape by transforming them into light-hearted anecdotes. By using humour to minimise the devastating reality of their experiences, these Vietnamese mothers were perhaps engaging in an act of care, where they attempted to shield their children. Yet, while this humour may represent a diversion, it is not enough to fully conceal the extent of what was endured through migration. Indeed, Vera recalled how she struggled to comprehend even the brief stories she had heard over the years, describing how:

The way that they've communicated that experience to us is nowhere near what would have been like for them, yeah, I've heard stories but it's not, like nothing gruesome just like otherworldly almost because it's not even something I can fathom, yeah.

Not knowing their parents' migration stories in their entirety was common amongst the second-generation Vietnamese Australian participants. For example, one participant from

western Sydney, Cecilia, admitted that she did not know much about her parents' journey from Vietnam to Australia. She knew that her father had arrived in Australia by boat, and that her mother had come after her father, but could not offer much detail. This made her "really sad, actually, it makes me feel like I don't really know them". She emphasised that she did want to know more about her parents, particularly about their experiences growing up, but acknowledged that "I don't know how to ask without upsetting them, because I don't want to trigger any memories". This silence can be considered a protective measure designed to maintain her parents' peace and to preserve their happiness, despite her curiosity and her sadness, which tends to be the preferred option among second-generation Vietnamese children (Espiritu, 2014; N. Nguyen, 2021a; N. Nguyen, 2021b). However, N. Nguyen (2024) suggests that "while a full account of what the parents endured may be missing, what has been conveyed to the second generation—even if indirectly or by implication—is the extent of the trauma experienced" (p. 152). Indeed, the silence of the parents may reveal more than they intend.

Regardless, the intensity of these stories, and their impact on children, can be masked by the language of tiger parenting. For instance, during primary and secondary school, Vera's parents would often verbally encourage their children. This itself is not unique, as it is acknowledged that immigrants may verbally support and encourage their children to excel even though they may not have a clear understanding of their schooling (Louie, 2012; Portes & Fernández-Kelly, 2008; Rezai et al., 2015). What is interesting is the ways in which Vera describes this practice using the language of the tiger mother. She recalled how her mother would tell her to perform well in school, noting, "it was very much like, 'do well' but yeah, that was probably really only it, as far as like tiger mum tendencies are concerned". The directive of "do well" is framed as a concern only relevant to Asian-background immigrant parents. Of course, this is not exclusive to Asian parents, and can be applied to parents

regardless of ethnicity or class background, though it is conflated here with a tiger parenting style.

This was common for other participants as well. Justin, a 1.5-generation Vietnamese immigrant, arrived in Australia with his parents and older sister at the age of 5. His parents migrated under the family reunion program, as his aunt was already living in Australia. He graduated from high school and enrolled in TAFE to study information technology. While he wasn't sure, he believed that his parents did not complete primary school in Vietnam and did not have much English on arriving in Australia, resulting in them working in factory jobs. Because of these limitations, his parents' intervention in his schooling was primarily verbal communication and monitoring. He recalled how "they probably said, 'study, try to get a good mark', that's it, 'try to do your homework' and yeah, not really, not real detail". By urging him to follow these commands, his parents were attempting to guide him in his education. Yet these directives lacked "real detail" because they had a limited understanding of what schooling in Australia entailed. The achievements were framed vaguely. He also describes his parents' encouragements as "the standard value that most Asian parents would have, as in 'work hard', 'study hard', and 'try to get good marks' and, yeah, 'stay out of trouble', pretty much".

To describe these aspirations as "Asian" is to overlook the various factors that contributed to this imperative. It neglects the ways that immigrants often endure downward mobility as a result of their journey (e.g., Akresh, 2008; Gans, 2009; Modood, 2004; Qin, 2008). Limiting these concerns to the language of "Asian" or tiger parenting fails to take into account how these immigrant parents may have endured hardships that they do not wish their children to encounter. For Vera and Justin, their parents' directives are an action of care oriented towards an expectation of success – wanting their children to achieve in school is not only strategic, but is a means of taking care of them, by preparing them for the future.

Reproducing stereotypes, even by the children of these parents, reduces their parenting style and practices to outcomes of culture and ethnicity, rather than consequences of migration and hardship.

Furthermore, second-generation children may themselves be affected by their parents' experiences, which is not adequately conveyed by the language of stereotype. While she was reflecting on her parents' migration and settlement, Vera began to get visibly upset.

Particularly as she was speaking about her mother's experiences at an Australian high school as a newly arrived immigrant, she was profoundly empathetic to how difficult this must have been, and how challenging it continues to be. When asked why she became teary, she explained:

[Laughs] I don't know, it's just like putting myself in her shoes, it's like, 'oh', like she definitely had it tough, oh my gosh I'm crying, it's weird, I'm getting super teary, yeah [laughs] But I think reflecting on the fact that I've had, obviously, a really, really good upbringing [laughs] God... No, this is good, yeah and just like almost taking for granted that you know, English is like my first language and like I don't even have to think about talking to strangers, like that's not even a challenge that crosses my mind but I think for mum especially, it's still something that she gets really anxious of, yeah [laughs] So weird, oh my god.

Vera's laughter is a stark contrast to her tears. Her experience, and the ease with which she can move through the world as a result of her command of English, facilitated by her education, is in stark contrast to her mother, who does not possess the same embodied capital and cannot navigate the world as easily as her daughter. Her mother's encouragements allude to the ways in which her own experience has been stunted by a lack of English proficiency, undermining her capacity to navigate Australian society. To call them "tiger parent

tendencies” neglects the ways that these immigrant children come to care about their parents’ wishes, as it tends to focus instead on the ways in which Asian-background children passively follow their parents’ instructions, behaviours which are typically attributed to Confucian influence (J. Lee & Zhou, 2020; Phillipson, 2013; Wu & Singh, 2004). Instead, this perpetuates tokenistic notions surrounding “Asian” and “Western” students (Ryan & Louie, 2013). These reified categories fail to conceive of the affective aspects of the parent-child relationship, reducing them to forms of cultural essentialism.

Even without a full knowledge of their parents’ migration journey, these children are cognisant of the way that their parents are constrained by circumstance, and as such, develop a sense of sympathy for what was lost. For instance, when Vera was reflecting on her father, she recalled how:

My dad finished high school back in Vietnam, but you know, when he got here, it was like, ‘alright, I’ve got to make a living, got to work’, like, education wasn’t even a possibility and I don’t know if this would be relevant but my dad is actually hella smart, like the most talented handyman and I think he said he probably wanted to study engineering if he could go to university, but it wasn’t a possibility for him, once again I’m tearing up [laughs] It’s just like, yeah, it definitely puts it into perspective, because obviously, they’re both so smart and talented in their own way but I think, given that period of time, it wasn’t something that they could look at, yeah.

This was echoed by other participants, who spoke about how their parents, despite their intelligence and potential, were unable to pursue education, leading to limited choices in work (Basit, 2013; Louie, 2012; Soong et al., 2021). It is these restrictions that guide their desire for their children to have more choice, which they envision as an outcome of higher education. In this way, wanting their children to enrol in higher education and to find

professional work is not just about strategy and pragmatism, nor are they signs of tiger parenting. It is about wanting to prepare their children for what could happen without education – a life of restriction and limitation.

Indeed, Sennett and Cobb (1972) note that education can facilitate an “escape from becoming creatures of circumstance, more chance to develop the defences, the tools of personal, rational control” (p. 25). For their parents, the choice to do manual work was not their own – it was a matter of necessity, rather than will and autonomy. As such, going to university is about having choices in work, where their children will be able to decide for themselves. This would allow them to be more than simply “creatures of circumstance”. Choice here is not necessarily exclusive to strategy or competition, but about the expansion of possibilities, and about the autonomy to decide what one’s work, and one’s life, could become. This choice is central to immigrant parents’ desires, part of their “greed”, and reveals a class-based dimension to their aspirations, in that academic success and professional achievement can ensure distance from material insecurity and necessity (Bourdieu, 2000).

For Vietnamese immigrant parents, education is thus conceived of as a means of broadening horizons of actions (Hodkinson et al., 1996). For Vera, her achievements in school and in work have expanded her options for what is both possible and desirable. Having graduated from university with a Bachelor of Communication and Bachelor of Arts in International Studies, Vera had two testamurs and used these as her artefacts. Though they were housed in her desk drawer, she did not bring them out to show in her interview. Instead, she laughingly described how “this is the culmination of, you know, x years of education, yeah [*pause*] And what do I use it for? Nothing [*laughs*]”. She felt that she had not “used” her degrees, despite the immense pressure she felt to study hard to get a degree. Listing it on her resume was sufficient – she had never needed to “prove” her tertiary education.

Yet, while the testamurs themselves are not necessarily objects that embody the good life (Ahmed, 2010), they are objects that signify a movement *towards* the good life. It is through her education that Vera is able to seek professional employment and financial stability. Her pursuit of these achievements is not wholly oriented by strategic endeavour. It is the symbolic achievement of the testamurs that allows her to move towards a good life, a life that has opportunities for advancement, security, and also fulfilment (Hage, 1997). Education has allowed Vera to begin conceiving of a life that is both secure and joyful. She described how:

Quality food and quality time with friends and family is key for me, so [pause] Yeah, I think as long as I'm sort of in a job that supports that lifestyle [laughs] That's all that I can ask for... I don't think like money has ever really been a motivating factor for me like I'm not out there thinking, 'oh my gosh, like I need to work to my next promotion', like, 'oh my gosh, I need to be on six figures by 25' like that's never really been on my list of things I need to accomplish, like yes, it would be nice and yes, I think I'm naturally working towards those things but it's never been like the forefront of my mind, like what's important to me is definitely the wellbeing of myself and like those around me and really enjoying life and what it has to offer.

These dimensions of higher education are not adequately conveyed by the language of tiger or “Asian” parents. For Vera, her mother’s directives are no longer just about education, but is also about enjoying her life and using her job and her education to orient her towards activities that facilitate that enjoyment. As mentioned earlier, during her university study, Vera travelled and lived abroad for a student exchange, and this experience expanded the horizons of actions of what it means to “do well”. Moreover, while she laughed off her parents’ “tiger parenting tendencies”, it is apparent from her empathetic tone and emotional

responses that their migration had a profound impact on her. The responsibility that second-generation Vietnamese Australians have towards fulfilling their parents' expectations may commonly be reduced to discussions of strategy. Yet this masks the ways that the event of migration can leave an impact on both the first- and second-generation. Even without a full and comprehensive understanding of their parents' journeys, the children are cognisant of the difficulties they must have endured. While they may use the language of stereotypes to describe their parents' involvement in their schooling, this masks the ways in which they are moved by their parents' migration, no matter how much or how little they know of it.

Defiance and Guilt: The Affects of Migration Stories

If the migration journey itself has a resonating impact on the parents, then it is through the ongoing sharing of stories that these impacts are felt by the children. The first-generation parents, in seeking to ensure that their children avoid the same hardships they faced, impart to their children overt expectations of financial and educational success, conveyed via stories. These stories can also produce negative affective responses in the children, such as defiance and guilt, which can cause conflict between parent and child. These responses stem from the ways in which these stories, through the imposition of certain expectations, can be felt as a burden. This is true for Claire, the daughter of Chau. An only child, she was born and raised in Sydney's western Sydney, where she attended a local primary school, and then attended an academically selective high school. When asked if her parents ever shared stories of their experience settling in Australia, she emphatically and immediately replied "yes, a lot!". She then proceeded to describe the kinds of stories she heard:

Like, 'your grandfather risked his life and all his savings to get us on that boat from Saigon to Malaysia, and he knew life was going to be better for us in Australia, so we

rode dead of the night to this dock, and he dropped all of his daughters off, we could've all been caught and gone to jail, granddad could've gone to jail but he risked it and we did it', and they were in Malaysia in the refugee camp for a few weeks and then they got processed to come to Australia and had no money in their pockets, no nothing, my mum and dad knew some English cause they learnt English during school and university, that helped but they had nothing... yeah they do tell me stories but it was always like a way to remind me 'you have no reason to fail in your life'.

Migration stories can operate as a kind of pedagogic ultimatum. For Claire, her parents' stories instructed her that failure was not an option. By sharing their stories, her parents reiterated the ways in which they, without any resources, managed to lift themselves from this hardship, and that she, with resources, should, or must, succeed. The stories imposed on her particular expectations of success. Similarly, Hoa's son Jayden initially believed that his parents' stories were a means of commanding obedience. The younger of two children, he grew up in Sydney's south-west where he attended primary school. He did not pay much attention to his parents' stories, and instead, believed they were a means of legitimising their authority. He recalled how:

They tell me, 'yeah, it was scary on the boat and stuff', but then they kind of skip forward all that and then they're like 'Yeah we're here now, so the moral of the story is just, you know, don't do this, don't spend too much money, eat all your food'.

Sharing these stories imbued his parents with the authority to be able to command their children to behave in particular ways. By recalling the "scary" details of their journeys from Vietnam, his parents sought to justify their expectations of their children's behaviour. Where her mother used the migration stories as a way to impart to Claire overt expectations of

success, his mother used the migration stories to inculcate obedience in Jayden. The migration journey provided the context for the kinds of “good” behaviour that these parents expected of them, including obedience and success. The lessons of “don't do this, don't spend too much money, eat all your food” were given significance in light of their parents’ hardships. The details of the migration journey did not have precedence, but what was important was that these children followed their instruction as demanded by the fact of their migration. The migration journey was central to parental authority, in that it was framed in such a way as to earn the respect and obedience of the children.

However, these stories also engendered an affective response of defiance. Austen (2023) notes that “their refugee parents’ narratives often entail great expectations of the second generation” (p. 151), but these expectations can be experienced as an unwanted burden on the children, which they attempt to reject. Claire spoke candidly about how “one time I said to them, ‘well I didn’t choose that, I didn’t choose to be born like this’”, where, in the midst of an argument, she bluntly refused her parents’ expectations. Through their migration stories, her parents impressed on her that she could not fail, which generated her defiance towards their expectations. She expressed this rebellion by disdaining her parents’ choices around her academic and non-academic achievements. For instance, her parents encouraged her to consider a career in medicine, a point of contention within the family. She reflected on how:

In Year 12 or Year 11, they wanted me to at least consider doing medicine and I went ‘it’s not on my list, I don’t want to do it’ and they went ‘no, no, no, we’re going to enrol you into the UMAT [Undergraduate Medical Admission Test]’ and I was like ‘why would you do that when I don’t even want to be a doctor’ and they were like ‘just do it, it gives yourself the option’ and I was like ‘I’m not doing it!’ and they

were like ‘we paid for it’ and I was like ‘I already told you I’m not doing it!’ and then I remember it was a huge argument and I was adamant, I was like ‘why would I do something that I know I don’t want to do and I know you already paid for it but I never asked you to’.

This argument between parent and child exemplifies the kind of rebellion that Claire displayed towards her parents’ high expectations. For her immigrant parents, a career in medicine represented an opportunity to earn stable income while also gaining the kind of social status that is attached to within the medical profession (Griffin & Hu, 2019; C. Ho et al., 2023). In defiance of their encouragements, and of their economic investment, Claire rejected this pathway. This conflict between parent and child speaks to the ways in which the migration stories were used to impose explicit expectations of success, and indeed, explicit visions of what that success might look like, but she refused to adhere to these expectations.

This defiance extended beyond education into extracurricular activities. For her mother Chau, participating in sport and music was something she was denied in her childhood, and so, she wanted Claire to experience these opportunities. She described how:

I did not have a lot of opportunities to do things due to restriction of the communists and they confiscated all the property, all the assets and stuff after 1975 so we don't have the luxury like before anymore, so I wanted her to become like a rounded person, not just get high mark, that's not my aim, so I enrol her with a lot of curricular activities, swimming and doing music, anything that outside school.

Yet, as she became a teenager, it became increasingly difficult to encourage her to continue with these. Learning and playing piano was particularly contentious – Chau urged Claire to continue up until Grade Eight, which would allow her to achieve a certificate of performance

and would have provided her with the qualification needed to teach piano. It was not necessarily that she wanted her to become a piano teacher, it was more that she wanted to be able to say that her daughter *could* have become a piano teacher. It was the symbolic gains of the Grade Eight certificate that made it so alluring, as it was a form of cultural capital that carried significant symbolic weight, a form of distinction (Bourdieu, 1984; Vincent & Maxwell, 2016). However, she refused to complete her Grade Eight course, as she had no ambition to become a piano teacher, and as such, felt there was no value in achieving the accreditation. While Chau bemoaned the fact that “other people would’ve definitely done it for their parents”, Claire was determined that she would not continue her piano lessons. She ultimately stopped playing at Grade Seven.

The imposition of these activities, stemming from childhood experience of deprivation, are felt as a burden by second-generation children like Claire. It may be indicative of the ways in which this cohort feel that they may not have agency over what they want to do, as they are instead pushed towards their parents’ own desires. Indeed, as stated by another second-generation participant Matthew:

I can understand from their upbringing and the life that they came from in Vietnam, and their upbringing where they don't have the resources or this was not spoken about... our parents, majority of the time, our immigrant parents would like to live their lives through our lives a lot, you know, they want their ambition, they want us to be the typical thing, but like, it's hard for them to see that we don't want these type of things.

While the parents may have developed specific desires and expectations as a result of their migration, which they attempt to impart to their children, the second generation may not initially respond favourably to these and instead, experience them as profound and unwanted

responsibilities. Thus, while sharing the stories may be an attempt to encourage their children to understand their perspective, it may engender negative responses of defiance. This defiance speaks to the ways in which care can catalyse tension between caregivers and care-receivers, in this case, immigrant parents and their children. Fisher and Tronto (1990) highlight that “to some extent, conflict between caregivers and care-receivers seems unavoidable” (p. 45), as a result of diverging perceptions of what the “needs” of the care-receivers are. For Vietnamese parents, their focus on education, while experienced as a logical choice as a result of inculcated dispositions in the habitus, may negatively impact their children as it does not align with the children’s own requirements of their care. Instead, it can be experienced as a lack of agency in that “care-receivers may have little control over how their needs are defined in the caring process” (Fisher & Tronto, 1990, p. 45).

In some instances, this defiance may not be able to be expressed due to a fear of discipline. While Claire argued freely with her mum, Jayden did not. As a child, he was enrolled in piano lessons and in tutoring colleges. He also participated in weekend language school, with his parents choosing to send him to a local Chinese school on Saturday. He despised these experiences, since they were imposed on him by his parents. He recalled how:

You do not get a say, you do it, you have to do it, or else, you know, you get scolded, that was it, you know, I had to do after-school activities including playing the piano and going to Chinese school and let me say, I know none of that right now and my parents probably spent thousands of dollars, so I think a lesson that I definitely learned out of all that was don't make your kids do things they don't want to do, cause you'll end up with no money and your kids are gonna hate it.

Even now, Jayden cannot perceive the value of these extracurricular activities, in terms of cultural capital, though as a child, he could not reject his parents' choices because of the discipline he would face.

In contrast, for other second-generation participants, hearing of their parents' hardship and difficult upbringings can elicit a profound sense of guilt that can also negatively impact them. Though many of the first generation experienced a lack of opportunity to participate in extracurricular activity, like Chau, this is not the case for their children. This disparity instils in them a sense of guilt for their abundance. For example, the Vietnamese father Huy ensured that his three children developed interests outside of academic work and emphasised the importance of extracurricular activity in their lives. This was a choice informed by his experiences of exclusion, where he was rejected from the workforce due to his lack of knowledge about Australian life – it is both a strategy to ensure they can navigate these arenas, and also a reaction of care that was caused by his own experiences of shame. His son Aiden, as well as his daughters, participated in various activities, such as piano, swimming, art classes, dance lessons and more, which imbued in them the appropriate kinds of skills that would allow them to move across various contexts and settings. This reflects the notion of concerted cultivation (Lareau, 2011), where middle-class parents send their children to organised activities, which fosters in them a sense of *entitlement* to be able to move within institutional settings with greater ease and authority. This entitlement can be understood as embodied cultural capital that allows them to navigate through these settings with the appropriate dispositions. Unlike Claire and Jayden, Aiden did not object to these activities. While they were most likely quite costly, Aiden enjoyed these activities and he was eager to participate in them, and even recalled asking to take on other activities like parkour and summer camps, which Huy permitted. He only stopped once he entered his senior years of high school, preferring to focus exclusively on his studies.

However, Aiden's enjoyment may have been undermined by the sense of guilt that he felt in relation to his father's disadvantaged upbringing. He recalled hearing about his father's experiences in Vietnam and in Australia and spoke about how this created a strong sense of guilt. He reflected on how "growing up, I felt super guilty about everything I had in life, super guilty, guilty that I had so much and he had so little". The abundance that Aiden enjoyed was simultaneously a source of guilt. This can be conceived of as an affect of *vicarious* shame that was engendered by the knowledge of his father's impoverished upbringing. It was a vicarious shame that he consciously experienced as "guilt". Alexander et al. (1995) note that "to the extent to which the individual invests his affect in other human beings, in institutions, and in the world around him, he is vulnerable to the vicarious experience of shame" (p. 159). Here, the connection between shame and interest is made apparent, where interest represents the kinds of affective investments we have in others, and where shame is the deprivation of that interest (Probyn, 2005). For Aiden, his investment in his relationship with his father produced vicarious shame, where he is *shamed by* what happened to his father, even if this was not his intention when sharing his past with his children. Furthermore, Alexander et al. (1995) observe that vicarious shame can be provoked by an awareness of one's own deficit – but for Aiden, it was the awareness of his own "surplus" that generated his vicarious shame. In connecting with his father and learning of his upbringing, he developed an awareness of his father's circumstances, which subsequently catalysed the conscious experience of guilt, engendered by the affect of shame.

While the initial reaction to their parents' migration stories may evoke negative affective responses of defiance or guilt, the second-generation children are ultimately accepting of their parents' expectations as a result of the ongoing impact of these stories. This is shown through the ways in which they negotiate choices in higher education. For instance, the personal experiences of her immigrant mother informed Claire's decision-making process

towards university. For Chau, choosing to study accounting enabled her to alleviate the threat of insecurity via stable employment – which it did, and continues to do. She envisioned a similar pathway for Claire. When she was approaching her final years of high school, Chau urged her to consider what degrees would assist her in securing a job. She recalled how Claire:

highly excel in French at school, so then she just told me she only wanted to do Bachelor of Arts majoring in French, I just said, ‘well you won’t have a job’, but she insisted to do just that, nothing else, and I just said, ‘just choose something else to help you get a job at least after uni’, and she said, ‘okay’, so she did French for her and she did Commerce for me.

Despite their conflicting preferences, the mother and daughter eventually reached a compromise, which suggests remnants of Claire’s defiance while also alluding to her acceptance. In choosing to do a double degree, she sought a balance between what she wanted and what her mother wanted – but the choice she made was underpinned by the expectation to “not fail”. Rather than completely rejecting her mother’s opinion, she was conscious of the importance of financial security. Her compromise was engendered by the repeated storytelling of hardship and loss. By not completely adhering to her mother’s advice, she displayed her resistance, suggesting that she was not wholly influenced by Chau’s experiences. Yet Claire did not reject, nor make light of, her parents’ hardships, but accepted these experiences as true and valid. She was able to negotiate a pathway between her sense of agency and her parents’ choices in relation to her school and work, even if it meant completing a double degree in arts and business. It is her defiance and her acceptance that allowed the choice of her double degree to appear as a reasonable and self-evident choice – her parents’ hardships provided the conditions under which her choice was made and enacted.

The affective responses she had to her parents' stories produced in her dispositions that made this action possible. Hearing her mother's stories contributed to the development of dispositions attuned to the hardships emphasised in these stories. Graduating with a double degree is an achievement made in the light of their parents' sacrifices and efforts.

Negotiating these choices in higher education is not uncommon for immigrant families. Indeed, they may appear to be overly preoccupied with the vocational aspects of education (Basit, 2012; Bhatti, 2003; C. Ho, 2020; Ong, 2006). Such an instrumental approach to education is closely tied to a desire for stability, whereby a university qualification leads to a job, which leads to regular income, and having regular income is a means of deferring, or erasing completely, the threat of insecurity (Zournazi, 2002). Yet, as indicated, this acquisition of institutionalised cultural and economic capital does not rest entirely on strategy and competition. Rather, it is inflected with care. For Chau, her expectations of success in school and work were closely informed by her experience as a refugee. Her first-hand experience of insecurity and precarity constituted her pragmatic approach to her daughter's education, but this approach stems from care and from a desire to protect her daughter. While she frames this care in terms of Claire's success in school and work, it is not a success that is purely instrumental in nature. Rather, to perceive the expectations of educational achievement and financial security as simply pragmatic neglects the various circumstances that have contributed to, and informed, these expectations. Chau's explicit expectations for her daughter to "not fail" speak to a relation of care wherein she does not want her daughter to undergo the same hardships that she did. Through her stories, higher education was positioned as a means to an employable end, where Chau emphasised to Claire that her choice of degree should equate to employment.

In this way, the defiance of some second-generation participants is not as enduring as their acceptance of their parents' expectations. While she was initially rebellious towards her

parents, Claire did ultimately concede to their expectations. The stories she had grown up hearing inculcated an awareness of her parents' hardships, and though she rejected certain options, she acquiesced to her parents' broader expectation of success due to their experiences. These stories, which emphasised danger, risk, and insecurity, produced an affective response of acceptance, in that she acknowledged the validity of her parents' perspective on the importance of financial security. This was not simply a strategic ploy, but a decision prompted by the ongoing impact of the stories she'd repeatedly heard, disposing her to what her parents felt was best. Claire viewed the accumulation of economic capital as a necessity to living a secure and happy life, elaborating that:

Yeah, they were right, I had every reason to, not be super, super successful and make loads and loads of money, that's not what they meant, it was to do something with your life and to do what makes you happy and yeah, to give yourself, not be rich, but money gives you options, it gives you freedom.

In acknowledging the truth of their teachings, she recognised that her parents, by putting these expectations on her, were asking that she use the sacrifices and hardships that they faced as a springboard into building a life that is happy and free – a life that is financially secure. Her rejection of piano lessons and of a career in medicine are in contrast to the fact that she did ultimately adhere to their broader lesson around the value of economic and financial stability. As an adult, Claire's emphasis on economic capital echoes the primary insecurity Chau faced: a lack of money, and the ways in which this led to the deferral of her education. Ultimately, the pursuit of economic capital is central to Claire's own aspirations and visions of what constitutes a "good" life. These aspirations are not dictated, or constrained by competition, but are instead informed by an awareness of hardship. For Claire, accumulating economic capital ensures a life of abundance and freedom. It is an

accumulation motivated by her mother's own experiences of hardships, where the stories disposed her to acquiesce to her demands.

To that end, the affects produced by migration stories can accumulate to become durable parts of the individual as dispositions in the habitus (Hage, 2013). It is a "durable mode of being" (Hage, 2013, p. 82), where the stories and their attendant expectations have been internalised by the second-generation children. It is through sharing stories between parent and child that this process occurs. Sharing migration stories, though simultaneously generating negative affective responses of defiance and guilt, is a means through which Vietnamese parents can instil their expectations into their children. It is also a vehicle through which the parents display their care, by trying to justify to the second-generation cohort why they value education, though this can simultaneously be experienced negatively as a burden by the children. Nevertheless, the repetition of these stories is what instigates their eventual acceptance, as they are aware of the hardships their parents endured. This can subsequently shape their own approaches to academic and professional achievement.

The Gratitude and Debt of Second-Generation Children

As noted, the practice of sharing migration stories can have the effect of generating the acceptance of second-generation Vietnamese Australians towards their parents' expectations. In a similar vein, it can foster a sense of gratitude – that is, by learning of their parents' struggles, the second-generation cohort become grateful for what their parents have done for them. This gratitude can move them towards higher education and stable employment, as it produces dispositions that generate actions oriented by their gratitude. Indeed, many second-generation Vietnamese Australians may feel obligated to repay their parents for their hardship and to take care of them through their successes. It is this gratitude

that operates to give intensity and meaning to the ways in which this cohort move towards educational and professional success.

This gratitude is possible through the ongoing impact of migration stories. The second-generation participant Jayden spoke about how he did not fully appreciate what these stories meant or represented, until he witnessed it through other people's reactions. That is, his parents' migration stories became significant due to the responses that they produced in other people, which altered his own perception of them. While he initially did not completely fathom or even really sympathise with his parents' journey, and the risks it entailed, it had a powerful effect on other people, an effect that, in turn, affected Jayden. He recalled how, as a child:

When I met my friends' parents who were Caucasian and they'd ask me about my parents, and I tell them, 'my parents were Vietnamese refugees who came here by boat', and I'd seen their reactions and they'd be like, 'wow, oh my god, that's incredible', but I never understood it back then.

The memory of his friends' parents' reaction to his parents' own histories left a lasting impression on Jayden. It was a moment that revealed to him that his parents' journey was something to be commended or was something to inspire awe, rather than a story told simply to command obedience. The reactions of other people, notably his Anglo Australian friends, revealed to him that his parents were not simply "authoritarian" for enrolling their children in activities they did not want to participate in. Rather, for young Jayden, who had grown up with these stories, he had never conceived of them as "incredible". To him, they were simply "normal". Yet, witnessing the admiration of other people towards his parents' journey resonated with him. This admiration altered his understanding of them, causing him to reflect on "the sacrifices my parents had gone through to give me such a comfortable and amazing

upbringing”. While the stories were initially perceived as a means of inculcating obedience, they became a means through which to understand the extent of his parents’ suffering but also the extent of their efforts in creating a comfortable home for their children. This was echoed by other second-generation participants. For example, Vanessa, a university student and the eldest of three children, spoke about how, when she would think about her parents’ upbringing and their hard work, it “made me become more appreciative of what I have... your parents work so hard to give you everything the best that they can”.

Through this gratitude, it becomes apparent that the strategic considerations of second-generation Vietnamese Australians represent the care that they have for their parents. That is, their gratitude and appreciation imbue the pursuit of financial success and stability with meaning and intensity, in that they want to use these achievements to take care of their parents. For instance, Jayden’s gratitude engenders ambitions for financial security. He described how:

I just think that I owe them a great, great deal in life... I feel like I owe them a lot in life and so I want to give that back to them somehow and so if I can put myself in a very comfortable position, I can start giving them a great retirement and just a very comfortable, you know, later stage of life.

His gratitude informs his strategic planning for the future, in that being financially comfortable allows him to also help his parents as they progress into retirement. Simmel (1950) writes that gratitude “is a fertile emotional soil which grows concrete actions... it gives human actions a unique modification or intensity: it connects them with what has gone before” (p. 389). In this way, his gratitude is productive (A. Coleman, 2022; Simmel, 1950), as it compels Jayden towards economic capital. This accumulation is not only tied to strategy but is informed by his gratitude and his desire to care for his parents. Their migration stories

produced in him a disposition of gratitude where he, in recognising that he is indebted to his parents, begins to move towards accumulating economic capital so that he can repay his “debt”. His gratitude contributes to actions that ensure the maintenance of the relation that created it in the first place (Simmel, 1950). That is, Jayden’s gratitude allows for the ongoing preservation and continuation of his relationship with his parents, driving his actions towards investing in that relationship. Repaying them through financial support is the means through which he can maintain this relationship, which had initially engendered this action.

Moreover, gratitude represents the motive behind the return of a benefit even when there is no necessity for it (Simmel, 1950). Jayden is determined to repay his parents, but it is a repayment that does not need to exist – his parents poured their efforts into raising their children and ensuring their children grew up comfortably, but these were not actions done in order to seek their children’s remuneration. These are not purely instrumental nor mechanical actions, as individuals act in ways that cannot only be measured in terms of competition over capital (Lahire, 2014). Rather, they are actions of caretaking. For Jayden, his gratitude is produced by the repetition of their migration stories, which become embedded as dispositions that move him to try to financially support his parents as they did for him.

This does not mean their defiance is erased, as it remains embedded as dispositions in the habitus. Unlike Claire, who chose to complete a double degree at university in light of her mother’s hardships, Jayden pursued a different pathway to achieve financial stability. Though his mother Hoa expressed an aspiration for her children to go to university, so that they could secure better jobs than what was available to the first generation, Jayden did not attend university. He instead chose to follow his interest in woodworking. When he graduated from his partially selective high school, he pursued a vocational diploma in furniture making and furniture design. Though he now owns two furniture businesses, his mother Hoa still remains

uncertain about his decision not to pursue university. When asked if she was supportive of his decision, she replied:

Ah, not really [laughs] Because I want him to go to uni and I know that with this job, is hard-working you know, like you do with your hand and it's quite dirty because of the wood dust and I want him to finish uni but he said to me, 'mum, I'm not the kind of person that would like to sit in the office and work in the office', because he likes to work with hands and he likes to go outside, yeah.

Though evidently embarrassed by this admission, shown by her self-conscious laughter, Hoa believed that her son's career in furniture making mirrors the kind of work that her siblings endured when they arrived in Australia. A university education would have allowed him to avoid labour-intensive work, but despite his mother's reservations, Jayden was adamant in following his preference. Unlike Claire, who managed to negotiate between her autonomy and her mother's concern, Jayden sought success in his own way. There is no doubt that she is proud of her son and his work – the artefact that she described in her interview was one of her son's earliest designs, a coffee table that she described as “my favourite one too, and I liked it so much”. She spoke about the care he put into the design and the production of the coffee table, and how she could see how much he enjoyed the work. Regardless, she remains uncertain of the kind of security that his work provides. Her interview took place during the 2021 COVID-19 lockdown of New South Wales, and she expressed concern about the precarity of his work, maintaining that completing university would have been a way for her son to avoid financial insecurity.

In spite of this, gratitude remains the overwhelming force behind the achievements of second-generation Vietnamese Australians in this study. It provides them with the drive to continue to succeed. Jayden frames his past and future achievements in the light of his

parents' hardships, which reflects the ways in which the migration stories of his childhood still linger in the present. They are stories that generated dispositions in him, resulting from gratitude, which drive him towards the acquisition of economic capital, but this is an achievement made on his own terms. While Hoa's experiences of migration and settlement, shared to her children via these stories, were framed in such a way as to command their obedience, they produced an affective response of gratitude in Jayden that, over time, appeared to sediment as a disposition within his habitus. This disposition compels action that moves him towards accumulating economic capital. The stories of his childhood, and the awed reactions of others, indicated to him that his parents endured significant sacrifices that allowed him and his sister to enjoy a comfortable childhood, and that as the second generation, it was now up to him to offer his parents the same level of care and attention. This "debt" prompts Jayden's actions towards financial stability. Through these stories, his parents' past remains at the forefront of his present and also his future, facilitating his action towards accumulating economic capital. Achieving financial security is the means through which Jayden can demonstrate his gratitude. This represents a key aspect of the "comfortable life" that some of the Vietnamese parents spoke of wanting for their children.

Moreover, this gratitude shapes the care that the children have for their parents. For instance, while the second-generation participant Vanessa also spoke about her parents' encouragements, she herself had developed ambitions to protect her parents as well. Her father is a Vietnamese refugee while her mother arrived under the family reunion program, and both were still working. Her father is an electrician while her mother works as a process worker in a food factory. The eldest of three, Vanessa was an undergraduate student studying economics at the time of her interview. She spoke about how her parents would encourage her to work hard now so that she would have an easier life. She reflected, "I see why my parents are always like 'you study hard now, later on, your life will be so much easier'",

emphasising how education is presented as a pathway to work that is easier and more comfortable. Yet for Vanessa, it is also a pathway to making her parents' lives easier and more comfortable. She hoped that, once she started earning money, she would stay with her parents on their property, potentially building a duplex for them to stay in, or for them to earn extra income by renting it out. While this may only be an aspiration, as she was still completing her degree, it reveals her desire to protect her parents by ensuring financial stability and a comfortable home – it is a display of care. As Noddings (2013) highlights, “to care may mean to be charged with the protection, welfare, or maintenance of something or someone” (p. 9). For second-generation children like Jayden and Vanessa, their ambition to work hard, and eventually support their parents emerges from the gratitude they feel, which is itself inculcated via migration stories. This gratitude shapes their approach towards work and financial security, facilitating their strategic actions which would allow them to take care of their parents in the future.

In the same way that gratitude can be productive, so too can negative responses of guilt. That is, the guilt that second-generation children may experience as a result of the circumstances of their parents' upbringing can in turn fuel their own achievement. For instance, the context of his father's upbringing and eventual achievement provided a kind of impetus for Aiden, in that his father Huy's achievements in the face of adversity became a benchmark for his children's own successes. In his interview, he remarked how “it was always in the back of my mind that, you know, if my dad could do it, I should be able to do it as well”. The consciousness of his father's experiences – a man who managed to graduate from an Australian high school and university while learning English at the same time – indicated to him that he had no excuses. He was imbued with a sense that he “should be able” to do what his father “could do” in spite of the challenges he faced. The stories of his father's upbringing provoked guilt prompting his efforts towards academic achievement. Indeed,

Aiden acknowledged that his achievements in school were generated in response to the vicarious shame that he experienced. He described how these were a way to “make up for, like the guilt and all that”. His achievements are impressive: at the time of his interview, he had graduated from a medical degree and was completing his medical residency interstate. He was preparing to undertake examinations to enter a specialisation.

These achievements are borne from the compounding impact of the stories shared between parent and child, which contributed to a sense of guilt. The migration stories engendered affects that accumulated to become dispositional tendencies which oriented and moved Aiden towards doing well at school. His guilt compelled him to work hard in school and beyond, as he was eager to show his father that his struggles were not in vain. Aiden’s artefact encapsulates the ways in which his father’s migration stories and the subsequent guilt they generated contributed to his achievements. After his final examinations, Aiden wrote a letter in which he thanked his father for his support throughout his schooling. The letter, as a symbol of the efforts of both the father and the son, speak to the ways in which Aiden’s achievements were shared with his father as a way to alleviate the guilt that he felt. His educational success was a means through which Aiden could demonstrate to his father that all of his sacrifices were in fact, worthwhile. For Aiden, his academic performance was the repayment of his “debt” to his father, where his guilt drove his efforts in school and university in order to compensate for Huy’s hardships.

In this way, first-generation hardships formed the basis of second-generation achievement. When asked if he still felt guilty, Aiden noted that this guilt had transformed into pride. He acknowledged that:

Now, I don't feel as guilty, I think I feel more just privileged that he's come from such grassroots and had nothing and he's made something of himself and because of all his hard work, he's paved the way for us.

No longer viewing his father's "grassroots" beginnings as a source of guilt and vicarious shame, Aiden is imbued with awe for the ways in which his father managed to give his children a clear pathway forward in their own pursuits, while he himself had no such support. Aiden has begun seeing his father as an impressive figure who overcame immense hardship, rather than perceiving his impoverished upbringing as a source of guilt. Yet it was this initial guilt that facilitated his educational achievements. While Huy enacted particular choices in order to develop linguistic and cultural competence in his children to protect them from exclusion, his migration stories were the source of his son's guilt, which became layered in him as dispositions in the habitus that moved him to work hard in school and beyond. His educational achievements were facilitated by the guilt he felt upon learning of his father's hardship, and he sought to give back to his father through his own successes.

The effects of migration are not exclusive to the first generation of Vietnamese immigrants. Their children also experience these effects as a result of the sharing of stories, which produce affective responses, forming dispositions that guide their actions, as well as their choices in relation to their school and work. Gratitude in particular can shape the strategies that second-generation children have in their academic and professional trajectories, where they hope to eventually be able to provide a comfortable life for their parents. Guilt is a similarly powerful motivating force that imbues their achievements with the need to repay their parents for their sacrifices (Basit, 2013; Bloch & Hirsch, 2017). In this way, strategy in education and beyond is intertwined with care, where the effect of migration stories can impact on the second-generation children to such an extent as to develop

motivation for academic and professional achievement so that they can begin to repay, and take care of, their parents.

Conclusion

Through the practice of storytelling, the impacts of migration are felt not only by first-generation Vietnamese parents, but by their Australian-born children as well. Second-generation Vietnamese Australians learn of, and become empathetic towards, their parents' hardships through migration stories, and it is these stories that facilitate and sustain their efforts towards academic and professional success. Yet, while these stories may engender affective responses of defiance and guilt, they can simultaneously inspire acceptance and gratitude in the children. These are what move the second-generation cohort towards academic and professional success. By highlighting the role of migration on Vietnamese parents' expectations, and by considering the impact of their stories on the second-generation children's own motivations, this chapter has sought to emphasise that high academic expectations are not simply about achievement – rather, they are about circumventing hardship for the second-generation cohort. They are born from a desire to take care of their children. This is also true of the second-generation cohort, whose achievements are often oriented towards caring for their parents. While the sharing of migration stories may incite an array of affective responses, this serves to reiterate that the impact of these Vietnamese parents on their children is more complex than suggested by stereotypical discourses of tiger parents. Rather, it reveals how the impacts of migration can become embedded in first- and second-generation Vietnamese Australians, manifesting in their care and in their practice of sharing stories to guide educational and professional achievement.

Chapter 5

The Affective Dimensions of Parents' Pedagogic Practices

The previous chapter focused on the ways that migration inflected the parenting of Vietnamese Australians, and its subsequent impact on their children in relation to their schooling and beyond. It showed how these parents and these children were motivated as a result of experiences of hardship. This chapter explores the ways in which these motivations can be actioned, examining the pedagogic practices that are strategically implemented in order to enable academic achievement. For Vietnamese immigrant parents, the use of these practices was often oriented around the accumulation of institutionalised cultural capital, including high Australian Tertiary Admission Rank (ATAR) scores and university degrees. Fundamentally, these parents' knowledge and competence to implement pedagogic and strategic interventions are enabled by their class-inflected embodied cultural capital. Yet this alone does not explain the educational achievement of second-generation Vietnamese Australians. Though it facilitates an understanding of the resources and class-based advantages that contribute to educational success, it does not adequately capture the underlying care that guides this achievement. That is, pedagogic practices, guided by the embodied cultural capital of parents, reveal the strategic approach that these immigrant parents have, but they are also enacted as a form of caregiving. This is the "concrete (sometimes called hands-on) work" (Fisher & Tronto, 1990, p. 43) that is involved in care, work that is dependent on actions and resources. Moreover, these practices enable the inculcation of embodied habits and dispositions for scholarly endeavour in children via affects, dispositions that are conducive to academic achievement (Watkins, 2005; Watkins, 2012).

However, these interventions can concurrently foster an array of negative responses in those whom care is directed (Fisher & Tronto, 1990, p. 44). A notion of affect can illuminate how pedagogic practices can be experienced as a burden, and while they may reflect the care of parents, care itself can be more than “good sentiments and warm relations between people” (Tronto, 1998, p. 75). Rather, care may also be experienced as control (Tronto, 1998). This was the experience of some of the second-generation participants, for whom the imposition of these interventions generated negative affective responses of doubt and resentment. These affective responses can prompt action and behaviour that may be at odds with their forms of embodiment oriented towards academic endeavour. This speaks to the way in which individuals possess a multitude of complex and contradictory dispositions (Lahire, 2003). Striving for academic achievement can exact a toll on the second-generation children, which offers a more nuanced understanding of the process of its acquisition.

This chapter therefore demonstrates the complexity of care, in relation to strategic pedagogic interventions. It draws on a notion of capital to affirm that educational success is not arbitrary, while also using a notion of affect to highlight the processes that contribute to this success. Affect here provides the means by which particular dispositions are embodied by the children, while also illuminating the affective responses that may be at odds with those same habits. This emphasises the ways in which pedagogic practice does not entail a linear process of development, where parents transmit capital to their children, but instead, it is a layered, complex, and intersubjective process (Noble, 2004). By focusing on the affective dimensions of practice, in relation to the development of dispositions for academic endeavour, it becomes apparent how dispositions for academic work are acquired, and how this process is interwoven with affects of doubt and resentment that may be contrary to the activation of these dispositions.

At-Home Interventions and Strategies

For some Vietnamese Australian parents, the pedagogic practices they employ at home can be highly effective, producing strongly embodied dispositions that move the second-generation children towards educational success. That is, the implementation and habituation of home-based academic practices and routines can generate affects that accumulate as dispositions, which contribute to independent learning and ultimately, to educational achievement (Watkins, 2005; Watkins & Noble, 2013). The efforts of Vietnamese parents were varied and affirm that educational success cannot be construed as an outcome of natural talent or genius. Yet it is important to acknowledge how the implementation of practices is a culmination of parenting strategy, effort and resources. It is largely an outcome of the parents' own embodied cultural capital, that is, the know-how and skills that facilitate cultural competence.

The parents discussed in this chapter hold various qualifications, from vocational diplomas to postgraduate degrees. While education alone cannot entirely capture the class background of these parents (Colic-Peisker, 2011), it suggests that they still possess a level of embodied cultural capital relative to other Vietnamese parents in this research, who may not have completed high school. Likewise, job title and income level are also insufficient indicators of class background (McLeod & Yates, 2022; Savage, 2015). A notion of cultural capital allows for a more nuanced understanding of class outside of simply economic capital, represented, for example, by income and occupation (Bourdieu, 1986), and enables a consideration of the ways in which these immigrant parents' educational level can facilitate their deployment of particular pedagogic practices. It is also difficult to fully capture the complex class backgrounds of these parents, whose lives were marked by war and resettlement. As such, the class locations of these parents are described in terms of their own educational achievements, both in Vietnam and Australia, as it produced in them the required

embodied cultural capital, including knowledge about education, that they then used to guide their approaches to their children's schooling.

One prominent strategy used by some parents in this research was the supervision of homework. A first-generation father, Vinh, adopted this strategy with his older son Alex, and continues to do so with his daughter. From the time that Alex started primary school, his father would sit beside him while he studied. He expressed that it was much easier to supervise his son Alex than it is to supervise his daughter, Riley, noting:

I find difficult to deal with Riley than Alex at that time, I spent a lot of time with him but I feel it easy, because maybe the way he studies by himself and he has capability or something, everything he'd done by himself so I just sit there with him, but not like with Riley, I have to help her, 'do this one, do that one' but with Alex [pause] He take it easy, I just buy the book for him and he did it by himself.

His own parents had a similar approach – though his father was a former soldier, who became a farmer after the war, he would often sit near the children while they did their schoolwork. His mother was a housewife, and Vinh described her as a “supporter only”, suggesting she was not actively involved in the children's education. In contrast to his parents, Vinh's own working career has been remarkably different. Among the parent participants, he was the only one to arrive under a skilled migration visa, rather than refugee or humanitarian visas. He had graduated from university in Vietnam in mechanical engineering and spent some time working around Southeast Asia. It was the birth of his son, Alex, that prompted him to apply to migrate to Australia through this program.

For this family, the practice of supervision was highly effective. Indeed, Vinh believed that Alex was more “naturally” capable of academic work compared to his sister, allowing him to adopt a passive role where their time together appeared to pass smoothly and

was “easy” for him. Yet this is an overly simplistic understanding of the ways in which this practice was itself affective. This practice inculcated in Alex an embodied ability to complete academic work, habituating him to the act of sitting still and working. Here, the parental gaze was an intervention that produced affects that instilled in Alex an ability to focus and work (Watkins & Noble, 2013). Watkins and Noble (2013) highlight how the function of the parental gaze is “more a matter of trying to instil a level of concentration, or the kind of ‘productive stillness’”(p. 83). Of course, this stillness was not automatically known to the body. Rather, it was the outcome of Vinh’s supervision over time. This practice was central to the development of his disposition to remain still and focus his attention, which, while it may have initially required much focus to engage in this way, is crucial to the cognitive dimension of learning (Watkins, 2005; Watkins & Noble, 2013). Indeed, Crossley (2001a) acknowledges that “thinking... is an embodied activity involving acquired skills and competencies or know-how” (p. 52). For Alex, the supervision of his father engendered affects that were conducive to his cognitive engagement with his schoolwork.

Similarly, the effectiveness of pedagogic practice lies in its repetition and routinisation. As noted by Noble (2017b), “the pedagogic is necessarily cumulative and iterative” (p. 27). This is shown through the experiences of the first-generation father Thao, who was, among the first-generation participants, the most educated Vietnamese immigrant. Born and raised in the former capital city Saigon, he was the oldest of nine children. His father worked in the forestry industry, and his mother did not work. After high school, he enrolled in an undergraduate degree, where he met his wife, who was studying chemistry. She later went on to teach at university in this same discipline. After his own degree, Thao moved into a full-time role as an engineer, though by this time, the communist government had already taken control of the country. He spent some years working under this new government. Ultimately, he decided to flee Vietnam with his wife and young son. Because he

escaped via boat, he did not arrive as a skilled migrant, but qualified instead as a humanitarian refugee, a classification often masking the class differences between migrants. He spent some time working in Australia Post, as did his wife, though he was also devoted to studying English during this time. Eventually, he was able to leverage his Vietnamese undergraduate degree, and his newly gained English proficiency, to complete a postgraduate degree in hydrogeology in Australia. He then proceeded to work in a professional capacity in this field until his retirement. His wife stayed at Australia Post until her retirement. Their daughter, Sophia was born five years after the family's arrival in Australia and was raised in Sydney's south-west. She attended a local primary school and graduated from a top-performing selective school.

As discussed in Chapter 4, English language acquisition is a significant barrier for many migrant parents, which they seek to alleviate for their children. Though Thao eventually surmounted this challenge to complete a postgraduate degree in Australia, he utilised various strategies to ensure that his daughter did not have this problem. This was achieved through the routinised practice of daily writing, where her parents implemented scheduled writing time, completed under parental supervision. For her interview, Sophia brought along a variety of A5 notebooks as her chosen artefacts and elaborated that writing in those journals was a deliberate and scheduled activity. The everyday routine of writing was a practice that produced affects, which accumulated to train the body in the act of sitting still and practising writing. Like Vinh and Alex, the parental gaze of Sophia's mum also facilitated the development of a kind of productive stillness (Watkins & Noble, 2013), allowing her to acquire the necessary discipline for this kind of academic work. Even though her parents did not feel confident in their English proficiency, the act of implementing a task and supervising its completion was key to fostering in her the discipline needed to focus on

her writing. It was this repeated practice that led to the development of a disposition for writing.

These notebooks are testament to the intensive structuring of her time in order to develop dispositions oriented towards reading and writing. Watkins and Noble (2013) highlight that “habits of learning are the consequence of particular and productive forms of routine and repetition” (p. 138). Sophia’s routinised and habituated practice of writing produced affects that trained her body. Through this daily practice of writing, she became capable of sitting and focusing for sustained periods of time, a bodily capacity that then contributed to the development of writing skills. Thus, the inculcation of this bodily capacity for work was the “condition of possibility” (Watkins & Noble, 2013, p. 62) that allowed Sophia to cognitively engage with writing tasks, facilitating the mental capacity to do this kind of work. It was this “condition” that allowed for the development of an embodied capacity for academic work such as writing. The routine of writing as well as the provision of notebooks and other reading materials were all deliberate interventions.

Moreover, the use of additional academic materials was another intervention that proved effective for some Vietnamese parents and children. For Vinh, when his son started high school, he began to assign him additional study materials that he himself had used as a student in Vietnam, in subjects such as Maths and Science. He also purchased materials, though did not elaborate on which types of workbooks he supplied. By providing his son with extra materials on top of his schoolwork, he was inculcating in him a familiarity with academic work, not just at school, but also at home. These efforts reflected the development of an academic home climate (J. Campbell & Verna, 2007), wherein the domestic setting mirrored the school setting. By providing additional work and by supervising its completion, Vinh was able to reinforce what was learned in the classroom by bringing it into the home (Watkins & Noble, 2013). For Alex, doing extra work at home, under the supervision of his

father, reinforced the development of the bodily dispositions to be able to complete academic work. These interventions were favoured over tutoring – Vinh recalled how “instead of doing tutoring outside, I got my material and I asked him to work, so he listened to me and he does his homework and do my homework as well”. While Vinh asserted Alex’s seemingly “innate” talent for working independently, this fails to take into consideration the ways in which he assisted him in the development of his capability to do homework. The practices he implemented, however “passive” they may have seemed, generated affects that contributed to his disposition towards learning.

However, the use of extra workbooks and materials rests on particular conditions. For example, one second-generation participant, Caroline, described how her parents would purchase workbooks for her and her younger brother, though these were ineffective as they were not adequately enforced. Caroline’s parents arrived in Australia as adolescents, completing their secondary schooling there, but neither of them went to university. Both still work: her father is employed as a metal welder while her mother operates a day care centre out of the family home. Beyond purchasing their children workbooks, these parents were not actively engaged in their schooling. As a result, when her parents “would buy those like, Excel books or something like that, yeah, those Maths and English books, that was pretty fun to do for one whole day [*pause*] and then I just stopped [*laughs*]”. While her parents had the economic resources to be able to buy additional school materials, they did not have the embodied capital to be able to implement additional practices that would have helped Caroline persevere with these materials. The disparity between the parents discussed in this chapter, and Caroline’s parents, shows these parents’ different levels of embodied cultural capital and its impact on parenting practice. It alludes to the ways in which embodied capital contributes to the implementation of pedagogic activities that can facilitate academic success. While the provision of additional academic resources may speak to the intention of some

parents to facilitate their children's schooling, they must be additionally supported by practices that are often reliant upon embodied cultural capital. However, this is unequally distributed, in terms of the capacity of dominant classes to engage in practices and tastes that "secures both them and their children a clear advantage within the field of education" (Watkins, 2021, p. 190).

Ultimately, the goal of these various interventions is to facilitate their children's aptitude for academic endeavour and beyond. For example, the 1.5-generation father Truc, introduced in Chapter 4, invested extensively in his children's education. He recalled how he would take them to bookstores and let them choose their own books to buy and read at home. He also purchased additional workbooks for them to complete alongside their school homework – he would mark their work, similar to their teachers at school. He noted that, through these efforts:

I tried to build in them a sense of diligence, you know, I say to them, 'look, if you do your study six days a week, then you are diligent, doesn't matter what you study, chances are you'll be doing okay, you will survive, you will have a job, because you are diligent enough', so, you know, I want to build those basic sense of responsibility, control, diligence.

These parenting interventions were done to "build" in his children particular traits, or dispositions, that would contribute to their development. Responsibility, self-control, and diligence are understood to be the outcome of this intensive work, allowing them to "do okay" and "survive". The implementation of additional materials and parental supervision speak to the strategic efforts of these Vietnamese parents to be able to inculcate in their children necessary competencies to be able to study and work hard.

Furthermore, some Vietnamese parents may take on the role of teaching their children themselves. This can begin earlier than school. For example, a first-generation mother Tram, recalled that she would teach her children the alphabet and numbers even before they commenced school. When she was younger, Tram was herself an avid student. In her interview, she recalled with great fondness performing well in school, and proudly remembered how she was consistently ranked within the top ten students of her class. Moreover, as one of 10 children, she was responsible for her younger siblings, as her mother passed away and her older sisters had already married and left the family home. This may have impacted her own approach to her children's schooling, as she recalled how:

I help them since they went to preschool, I taught them ABC, how to count and how to write their name, I taught them how to hold the pencil and write their name and the alphabetical, everything before they went to preschool, since then I involved in everything.

This involvement reflects how the act of writing requires first and foremost the embodied ability to hold a pencil. This alludes to the “body work” (Wacquant, 1995, p. 73) that is built through practice, which allows the individual to learn postural sets, patterns of movement and subjective states that make them competent in the area for which they are training – in this case, for academic work. Tram may have been aware of this, and as such, in teaching her daughters to hold a pencil, she sought to facilitate their learning as it related to the body. These practices produced affects that modified and trained the body. Without these bodily postures, which promote what Truc refers to as children's “diligence”, that is, the ability to sustain concentration, writing and academic endeavour (Watkins & Noble, 2013), the process of learning may prove more challenging. As such, through her interventions, Tram may have attempted to advance her children even before they began formal schooling.

Even when children are in primary school, parents may still be inclined to teach their children. For example, Tram remained directly involved in her children's schooling when they entered school. When they would return home from school, she "checked their bag and I took all the books out and I sat with them and help them in everything". This can be considered a version of the parental gaze also exhibited by Vinh and Sophia's parents (Watkins & Noble, 2013). Like these parents, she would similarly check that her children had schoolwork, and would supervise its completion, though rather than simply watching over her daughters, Tram would also actively teach them their homework. This is in contrast to Vinh, who adopted a more passive role with his son Alex. Simply sitting beside him was sufficient, though Vinh did admit that with his younger child, he has taken on a more active role in her schoolwork. For Tram, observing was not enough – she was directly involved in teaching, and checking their work.

To some extent, this intensive and hands-on involvement is a reflection of, and a manifestation of, parental care and concern. That is, care is not simply an attitude but also encompasses practice (Tronto, 1998). For Tram in particular, her aborted educational and professional trajectories may indicate her desire to ensure her children do not experience this. Unlike Vinh and Thao, Tram did not have the opportunity to continue her higher education in Vietnam nor Australia, despite her own aspirations to do so. As a teenager in Vietnam, she was unable to leave her family home to attend university, as it was too costly, and she still was responsible for caring for her younger siblings. In the mid-1980s, she left the country by boat and ended up in a refugee camp in Singapore. Her older brother, who had left earlier than her, sponsored her to come to Australia. Once settled, she attended English language classes, after which she completed various vocational diplomas to gain skills such as typing and bookkeeping. She was ultimately unsuccessful in leveraging these certificates to gain professional employment and instead, found work in a factory due to her lack of English

proficiency. While working, Tram was regularly sending money back home to her family in Vietnam. After she married, she found work in aged care, a role she stayed in until her children were born – she left the workforce after this to care for her children. In her interview, she explained that “I’m so worried if they can’t finish their homework so I have to sit with them, make sure that they understand everything, make sure that they complete their homework”. Her fear of their academic failure is not unreasonable due to her own aborted career and guided her approach to their schooling. To alleviate her fear, Tram adopted an intensive and involved approach to her daughters’ schooling. Teaching them their work was a practice as much for them as it was for her. This alludes to the acts of caregiving that underpin these parents’ interventions in their children’s schooling. Through their extensive involvement, Vietnamese parents like Tram may be attempting to ensure that their children are able to perform well in school.

Furthermore, while these interventions require the investment of time and resources, their effects can be mistaken as natural talent. That is, parents may frame their children’s “aptitude” for academic work as natural talent, downplaying the pedagogic practices that they implemented. This is evident in the comments of first-generation father, Huy, who was introduced in Chapter 4. In his interview, he spoke about his various investments in his children’s schooling. His children have all successfully completed university – his son Aiden was the only second-generation participant to have graduated from medicine. This academic achievement was not arbitrary. Rather, he asserted that “to be successful is about how you attack the problem”, that is, the strategies and practices he deployed to advantage his children in school. From setting up a shared study space, complete with a whiteboard to solve problems together, to providing extra homework tasks in the form of purchased workbooks and daily quizzes, to teaching them himself, he dedicated significant effort and expenses to ensure that, through these practices, his children would be able to perform well at school.

Yet, despite these deliberate efforts and conscious planning, the success is still conceived of as a product of natural temperament. Huy recalled how “every day, they [*his children*] spend a period of time, I don't set the time but I see them working... luckily, I don't have to tell them, they just do it as natural way of life”. However, this “natural way of life” is belied by the range of activities that he implemented to support his children’s performance at school. Rather, it speaks to the ways in which these practices become inculcated into the children as dispositions in their habitus. Through these interventions, Huy’s children developed habits that enabled them to work independently to the point where he himself did not have to become involved.

This aptitude for scholarly work requires bodily discipline that allows a child to learn various habits that can contribute to their achievements in school. Actions, such as holding a pencil or sitting still, must be first learned before the cognitive dimension of learning can take place (Crossley, 2001a; Watkins, 2005; Watkins, 2010). Though these actions may take conscious effort at first, they gradually become more habituated – that is, as the individual becomes more attuned to pedagogic practices, the performance of these actions becomes increasingly unreflective. They are not simply mechanical habits but are instead, embedded in the body (Crossley, 2001b). Through the habituation of these practices, they become incorporated, modifying the behaviour and actions of the individual to such an extent that they are able to unreflectively draw on these forms of embodiment to perform improvised action – they become dispositions within the habitus (Watkins, 2010; Watkins & Noble, 2013). Though the term “habit” may suggest repetitive or mechanical action (Camic, 1986; Crossley, 2001a), embodied habits, and dispositions consist of flexible though unreflective improvisation. The embodied habits that an individual possesses entail “an intelligent and strategic adaptation to contextual exigencies and are purposive” (Crossley, 2001a, p. 53). It is

these habits that facilitated Huy's children to be able to study independently, as they no longer required his active intervention.

Ultimately, these strategic interventions are themselves produced as a result of class-based advantages. Immigrant parents like Vinh, Thao, Truc, and Huy possessed embodied capital that enabled them to have the competency to put in place particular resources and practices to facilitate dispositions in their children that make working and studying a "natural way of life". Their implementation of home-based pedagogic interventions reflect their level of education, through which they developed an understanding of how to facilitate their children's academic successes. Though she was not university-educated, even Tram still had a level of embodied cultural capital that allowed her to engage in her children's schoolwork. Only Caroline's parents, who completed high school, did not possess the necessary embodied capital to be able to enforce particular practices and to support their children's schooling in a more deliberate and effective way.

Ultimately, the intentions of these parents reveal a dimension of care that guides their strategic approach to their children's schooling. Wanting their children to perform well at school is not only about facilitating their academic success. Instead, investing in their children's future is also about care and caregiving. That is, these home-based pedagogic interventions reflect these Vietnamese parents' actions of caregiving, in which they draw on their own experiences and skills to prepare their children to be able to navigate the world in which they live. As noted by Fisher and Tronto (1990), caregiving requires access to time, knowledge, skill, and resources, and any absence of these can impede the caregiving process. These knowledges, skills, and resources reflect the embodied cultural capital of parents, but they are unequally distributed due to a lack of education and professional opportunities. For those who are able to draw on their embodied capital, they do so to be able to facilitate their children's schooling. These are not simply standalone strategic interventions. They are

instead oriented towards education in response to their own experiences, which inflect their caregiving efforts.

Practices Beyond the Home

At-home parenting practices are not the only means through which parents may support their children's education. Community-based resources can also play a part in these parents' approaches to their children's educational achievements, as they seek to maximise their children's academic outcomes. In particular, school choice as well as the use of tutoring were often key decisions and investments of first-generation Vietnamese parents.

As noted in Chapter 2, school choice is an increasingly important concern for Australian families (C. Campbell et al., 2009). This is true for Vietnamese immigrant families as well. In particular, many of the parents in this research decided to send their children to selective schools, which are aimed at supporting "students who have high intellectual potential" (NSW Education, 2024). Entry into these schools is a placement test, and parents may seek to improve their children's chances of performing well on this test through deliberate and strategic interventions. This is seen by Sophia's father Thao, who designed a study program that involved home-based and community-based practices in order to improve her chances of performing well on the entrance test and thus, entering a selective school. She recalled how "there was definitely scheduled time for, you know, education across the board", which included English, Maths, and General Ability. For Sophia, this "scheduled time" was implemented in the hours after primary school but prior to dinner, where she would be assigned additional work to complete in preparation for these subjects. By developing a schedule for her and by ensuring that she adhered to it through careful parental supervision, Thao facilitated Sophia's proficiency in the subjects that were relevant to the selective school entrance examination.

This desire for a selective school education is framed as a desire for a like-minded community. Thao explained that “the best environment in my view, if they [are] capable they should be in the better environment, so they can study better”. Her parents were strategic about the high schools they wanted to send Sophia, wanting to ensure that she was in an environment that matched her “better” capability. This sentiment is echoed by other parents. The father Truc also believed in the value of selective schools. At the time of his interview, his daughter was attending a highly ranked selective school. He described how:

Selective means that the kids themselves have to be of a certain, have certain standards... when they get into such school, the chances that they will meet with their friends who are similarly smart kids, and they will encourage each other to study.

This appears to have been the case for his daughter, as he laughingly recalled how his daughter and her friends used a mobile app to track and compare their hours of study. Another father, Lanh, similarly explained, “I thought if a child is going to a school with like-minded, a like-minded group, that should be conducive to success, academic success in their school”. For Lanh, the selective school environment was the right choice because his elder daughter Amelia would be joining “a like-minded group”, a group composed of students who share similar dispositions towards academic performance. Indeed, with reference to Indian migrant parents in Australia, Aris (2017) highlights that “the presence of a like-acting peer group was crucial to Credentialists who sought school environments populated by families like themselves, that is, those who were serious about academic achievement and would facilitate a competitive learning environment to achieve this” (p. 2448).

For these parents, the environment of the selective school has a motivating quality, in that competition between high-performing students would function in a self-fulfilling way. That is, high-performing students would contribute to an environment where the cohort

would become motivated to stay high-performing (Archer & Francis, 2006; C. Ho, 2020; J. Lee & Zhou, 2015; Wong, 2015). Yet what these parents forget is that it was their interventions that made their children “like-minded” with other “capable” students. Indeed, these fathers were all extensively involved in their children’s education, deploying various strategies that inculcated in their children aptitude for scholarly work. The capability of these “better” students is itself a product of parenting. In contrast, the father Huy did not seek a selective school education for his children. His children attended their local public high school – a school in a local government area dominated by Vietnamese-background children of immigrants (Australian Bureau of Statistics, 2021a). For him, school rankings and reputation were less of a consideration, explaining that the school environment was not the only factor that contributes to school outcomes as he believed that “to be successful is not about the name of the school, is about how you attack the problem”. This “attack” was discussed in the previous section.

Beyond selective schooling, school choice can be strategically planned. The father Lanh is testament to this. Similar to Thao, he was born and raised in the former capital city, Saigon. He completed his primary and high school in Vietnam, and was able to enrol in university, studying mechanical engineering. He recalled that his decision to enter engineering was influenced by his older siblings’ friends, who he observed studying in this discipline. He ultimately left university after one year to flee the country. Once in Australia, his education was deferred, as he worked full-time at a biscuit factory. He used this time to improve his English language skills. Eventually, he returned to complete his tertiary education in Australia, and has remained in the professional workforce since his graduation. His two children were born in Sydney, though each had different educational experiences. He sought a selective school education for his elder daughter Amelia, and a private school education for his younger child. For Lanh, the decision to send his younger daughter to a

private high school is similarly informed by a desire for her to be within a “like-minded” community – albeit a different type of environment and student altogether. He elaborated that his youngest daughter:

Is in a sense not academically as advanced as her older sister, she's relaxing, she's very pleasing personality but work ethics, if you may say, an ability to maintain a schedule and the dedication to a certain subject is not as strong as her elder sister.

Having observed this particular work ethic in his younger daughter, Lanh decided that she was more suited to a less rigorous, less competitive school environment than her sister. Lanh felt that in a private high school, his younger daughter would flourish, and would have “more chance to catch up to build her, to build her character in a supportive environment rather than throw her in the deep end and let her swim”. Yet Lanh does not acknowledge that his daughters cultivated these seemingly disparate dispositions towards academic success through his own interventions in the home, which enabled them to develop different orientations towards learning and school. The deliberation involved in the school choices of his daughters reflects Lanh’s effort to ensure that his daughters are able to participate in school environments best suited to their educational needs.

Beyond school choice, another prominent intervention used by immigrant parents is tutoring. Amongst the second-generation participants, tutoring was a common though often critiqued practice. For some, it was a practice used as remedial support to assist them in their schoolwork, but for many, it was to ensure that their academic performance was consistently satisfactory. Regardless of the reasoning, many framed tutoring as an inevitability within their school experience – one second-generation participant described how “it was sort of just like natural, I didn’t even have to question it like I knew it was coming”. Tutoring is a popular practice among ethnic minorities living in the Anglosphere, typically imported from

Asian countries such as South Korea, Japan, Vietnam, and China (C. Ho, 2020; J. Lee & Zhou, 2015). In Australia, it is estimated to be a billion-dollar industry (Chapman, 2020). This is not to say that Anglo Australians do not use tutoring, but tutoring is an industry primarily associated with ethnic minorities, inflaming popular discourse around how ethnic minority students are “cheating the system” by using resources like tutoring to gain an advantage over their native-born peers (C. Ho, 2020). This discourse conveniently forgets that tutoring is a resource used by non-Asian groups as well (Francis et al., 2017).

To some extent, tutoring was a resource which was used to facilitate school choice. One participant, Ashley, described how her parents found out about selective schools through the tutoring centre. The younger daughter of two refugees, she was born in Thailand – her parents had tried to flee Vietnam and spent a few years in a Thai refugee camp where she and her sister were both born. Eventually, they were able to settle in Australia. Both of their children attended a popular tutoring franchise, and while it was originally used to support their schooling, it allowed their mother to learn about selective schools. Because of this, her and her elder sister went on to participate in the entrance examination and attended a selective school in Sydney’s south. Ashley recalled how:

At the tutoring centre, they look at your marks cause when you’re doing like selective school you do like mock ups like the school test and they look your marks and then they’re like, ‘oh, yeah, with your marks, you can probably get into like these schools’, so I think that's how my parents found out about it.

The tutoring centre became a source of information for these parents, helping them to better understand the educational system in Australia. This alludes to the ways in which “tutoring centres are helping parents to conduct family pedagogic work” (Sriprakash et al., 2016,

p. 435), facilitating and enriching immigrant parents' participation in their children's education.

Moreover, tutoring was used for examination practice, which could not be replicated in the home. For Vinh and his son Alex, tutoring allowed the latter to gain practice in the lead up to the selective school entrance exam. Alex grew up in south-west Sydney, and Vinh had wanted his son to attend a local, partially selective high school. Several of his Australian-born cousins were also enrolled at this particular school. This contributed to the desire of both the father and son to attend this same school, suggesting the social capital they accessed in order to learn about secondary school options. To prepare for it, Alex participated in weekly exam preparation courses at a local tutoring college. He began doing this at the end of Year 5, indicating that he only participated in this practice for a few months before sitting the entrance exam. This practice may have enabled him to become accustomed to exam conditions as well as the structure of the selective school entrance exam. He described it as "just a bunch of trial tests, so you go in, they mark the roll, and then you sit down and you just do some trial tests". As with his father's supervision, these exam preparation classes may have engendered affects that modified the body, enabling the development of dispositions that ensured that Alex became familiar with the act of sitting exams, something his father may not have been able to imitate in the home. Similar to how he developed an embodied capacity to sit and do his work at home, the routine of the exam preparation may have contributed to the development of an embodied capacity to complete tests under exam conditions.

Moreover, tutoring was often used because it reflected the experiences of the parents themselves. Ashley spoke about how tutoring was commonplace back in Vietnam. Her mother Tien participated in this research with her husband Manh. Though he was unable to advance beyond Year 8 in Vietnam, due to the communist takeover, Tien was more fortunate,

and was able to progress to Year 12. Both parents acknowledged that tutoring was a popular service when they were young, describing how “before, for the tutoring, you can either go to tutoring classes and, or like you actually, for the richer families, you can hire teachers to come to the home to do afterschool classes, yeah for the richer families”. Tien and Manh each experienced going to the tutoring classes, but this stopped after the communist takeover because “they didn’t allow any tutoring, like any extra classes to happen”. For Manh, she noticed that tutoring did positively affect her education, describing how “before 1975, I had always gone to tutoring and I always did well, and so after 1975 and after the communists came, I didn’t attend tutoring and I could see that my results weren’t great anymore”. These experiences indicated to Manh that tutoring was beneficial, leading her to similarly replicate it for her children’s schooling.

Tutoring may also be used by Vietnamese immigrant parents who do not perhaps have the capacity to keep up with their children’s schooling. As noted in Chapter 1, preferencing visible forms of pedagogy can reflect parental desire to be more engaged and proactive in their child’s learning (Sriprakash et al., 2016). Even when she could not actively assist with their homework, the mother Tram did not slow down her efforts to support her daughters’ education. Though she was very hands-on when they were young children, she enrolled them in tutoring when they were in Year Three and Four, to prepare for the opportunity class (OC) examination, and also undertook exam preparation for the selective school tests. Beyond the selective school examination, her daughters continued tutoring until they had graduated high school. On tutoring, Tram reflected that “I just make sure that if they don’t understand, they can get help from the tutor, just make sure that they understand everything”. As her children’s schooling progressed, she used tutoring as a proxy through which she could assist their performance in school, since she could not participate as actively as she once did. Similarly, the parents Manh and Tien highlighted the importance of

supplementary education for their daughters, as they felt they could not be involved. Though she tried, Tien acknowledged the limits of her participation in her children's education, noting:

I only helped during the lower years, up until Year 7, I would just look over the work to make sure that they were doing the work right and that they were on the right track, but after Year 7, I wasn't able to follow it anymore as it was more advanced than what I was capable of.

She elaborated that "we relied on tutoring because, me particularly, I wasn't sure if I did help, whether what I taught was true or correct and I didn't want to confuse them". Supplementary education was thus a way of guaranteeing their children could understand and complete their schoolwork, which was often more advanced than their own knowledge.

This is reflected in the experience of Amelia. She attended an opportunity class during primary school and gained entry into an academically selective school. Though she described her father Lanh as being more involved, she noted that her mum did not feel adequately equipped to help her, noting "my mum never had a university degree, so she always felt super unqualified to help me". Lanh met his wife in Australia and while she did not complete any higher education, it is unknown how far she progressed in her secondary schooling. She previously owned a nail salon in Sydney's north, and at the time of this research, she had sold her shop in order to retire early. These feelings of inadequacy were even shared by Lanh, despite his own educational background. Amelia acknowledged that:

He knew like there was some stuff he just didn't know like, with the selective school test or the OC test, he's like, 'I don't know what they're going to ask you, so you go through and do it, I don't know what they're gonna ask you in English, or general

knowledge, so you have to go to tutoring'... I think they thought they didn't have the resources to teach me.

Tutoring was rationalised as a way for these immigrant parents to support their children, to compensate for their own limited experience or knowledge with the Australian schooling system.

For the children, tutoring can have powerful but varying effects on their experience of school. Ashley felt that tutoring had an important influence on her schooling, describing how:

I think it did, especially maths, I would say because the way that the tutoring centre works, I was always ahead of what I was doing at school so for me, for maths especially, what I was learning at the tutoring centre was like the first idea, so to me, school always felt like revision for what I've learned and to consolidate it.

The effect of tutoring was to thus strengthen, and even advance, her knowledge from school. This is a source of contention in public discourse, where tutoring is often considered “cheating” (C. Ho, 2020). However, while the efforts of Asian Australian parents are frequently condemned as “tiger parenting”, this criticism fails to take into account how “similar styles of ‘overparenting’ exist among white middle-class families, as evidenced by the extensive public discussion of ‘helicopter parenting’” (C. Ho, 2020, p. 196). Indeed, while the use of tutoring and other interventions may inspire outcry, the educational strategies of Anglo Australian parents may also reflect similar intensive efforts (C. Ho, 2020).

Yet, for other second-generation students, tutoring had a more detrimental impact. The participant Natalie felt that because tutoring was so advanced, it did not provide her with the appropriate foundation for learning. In her interview, she did not reveal her father’s level of education, but reflected on her mother Tram’s intensive involvement in her schooling.

Tram, herself an avid student in Vietnam, did not attend university despite her ambitions, and sought to facilitate her daughters' achievement in schooling to ensure they attended university. Yet enrolling her daughters in tutoring did not have the intended effect. Natalie remembered how:

Once I got into tutoring, because it's advanced, you're not doing what your year level is, like Year Six kids will be doing Year Eight maths and stuff, and I was having trouble, and I remember, I'd stay up till like 2am just trying to finish all my tutoring homework.

She would even bring her tutoring homework to do at school, as her school-assigned work was “easy stuff, I could get that done in an hour compared to my tutoring work”. Unlike Ashley, Natalie found the experience of tutoring undermined her school learning experience.

Regardless, engaging in tutoring practice is assumed to be a normal “Asian” tactic by the second-generation Vietnamese Australians. For example, Vera, the second-generation participant introduced in Chapter 4, relied on tutoring from a young age to support her in her study. This was a practice that she began during primary school and continued up until her Year 12 exams. At this point of her school career, she attended tutoring for an array of subjects, including Maths and Biology. Vera went to a Catholic high school in a local government area which has a high representation of Vietnamese and Chinese-background migrants (Australian Bureau of Statistics, 2021c). Tutoring was a popular practice amongst her peers. When questioned about the rationale behind her tutoring, Vera explained that “I think it's very much the norm to have been sent to tutoring, growing up as an Asian kid [*laughs*]”. Tutoring is framed as a rite of passage – it is “normal” for “Asian” children to attend tutoring. Similarly, Jayden, another second-generation participant introduced in the previous chapter, recalled that “there was that kind of culture around that as well, so you

know, parents were like, ‘okay, we got to spend more money to get them kids into tutoring to get their grades up to get them into selective’”. The framing of tutoring as a “norm” or “culture” conveys a sense of the ways in which tutoring was so widespread as to become a standard experience for many second-generation Vietnamese Australians.

Though tutoring was certainly a strategic endeavour on the part of Vietnamese immigrant parents in this research, it was often facilitated by connections to community, a form of social capital. Many participants of all generations spoke about how they learned of tutoring through their friends within the Vietnamese community. This practice of sharing information reflects current research, where membership to an ethnic group can enable migrant parents to overcome their lack of knowledge about the schooling system as well as their lack of language proficiency (J. Lee & Zhou, 2014b; Shah et al., 2010). Because of these shortcomings, immigrant parents turn to their co-ethnic counterparts in order to surmount these barriers. This represents a form of social capital that can be used to their advantage. Shah et al. (2010) note that “these social networks are important for gaining information about the educational system and the changing demands of contemporary labour markets” (p. 1116), signifying how ethnic networks play a significant role in situating immigrant families. Membership of, and connection with, these migrant communities provides individuals with the opportunity to access and utilise resources that are shared by the collective, regardless of class and socioeconomic status (J. Lee & Zhou, 2015).

Moreover, for the first-generation parents in this study, their motivations for sending their children to tutoring can also be related to what they believe is their “intrinsic” duty as parents. The father Truc described how:

When my wife takes the kids to the tutoring, she will be running into all these Asian mums and all the Asian mums are sharing their experiences, ‘oh, my son goes to that

tutoring, it's really good, that one, that is really, really good' and it makes [her] feel guilty that if, you know, 'that mum send their kids there and if I don't do the same thing and my kid doesn't get enough mark, it's my fault', I understand so we do it... To send a kid to tutoring, it involves a fair bit so somebody has to drive them from the house to the tutoring centre, somebody has to pick them up, so for us, it's like, 'yes, we are doing something for our children', it's a sacrifice that we are making but we feel it's like, you know, we feel happy about it because we feel like we are doing something for our kids, so it does give us that sense of fulfilment as a parent.

Not only is tutoring a means of engaging in the pedagogic work of their children's education, it is a way of contributing more generally to their success. This contribution is guided by what Truc describes as "guilt" – their "guilt" speaks to the belief that they have inadequately supported their children's education. It is this that drives their continued efforts to supplement their children's academic endeavour. The practice of enrolling their children in tutoring and taking them to and from their activities provides an outlet for these immigrant parents, allowing them to channel their "guilt" in ways that are reflected and justified by those around them.

Moreover, guilt alludes to the way in which their children's education is a responsibility for these immigrant parents. Failure to uphold this duty contributes to their guilt. Under this framing, enacting strategic interventions is their responsibility as parents, which alludes to the ways in which care can be related to control (Tronto, 1998). The efforts of these parents are a means of taking care of, and taking responsibility for, activities that sustain them and their children (Fisher & Tronto, 1990). Thus, when Truc describes his wife's feelings of "guilt", he is perhaps alluding to the way that these parents believe they are charged with their children's success – any failure reflects a failure on their part for not

having exerted more effort. In this way, their pedagogic interventions are a means of managing their children's education, of alleviating their guilt and of performing a duty that offers "fulfilment". They are actions of caregiving that are fuelled by a sense of responsibility, but this also renders them accountable for any failure.

Ultimately, community-based resources are a significant avenue for Vietnamese parents to contribute to their children's education. Typically, these are guided by their level of social capital, where they are able to learn from other parents with similar ambitions and expectations, countering any potential disadvantages related to their level of education. The practice of relying on networks for information reveals the dimension of care that underpins these efforts, where first-generation immigrant parents are compelled to enrol their children in tutoring and to seek out school environments where their children may flourish in order to protect them from educational failure. As with the home-based pedagogic practices, the ability to draw on community-based resources relies on a level of economic capital to be able to afford to enrol their children into these activities. However, caregiving in this form can also involve forms of social capital, as parents seek information and advice from others in their networks to compensate for their own lack of embodied cultural capital.

The Myth of "Giftedness"

The pedagogic interventions of these parents may be deployed in order to guarantee their children's high academic achievement, a desire that is itself a symptom of parental care. That said, these interventions may result in high expectations that can be difficult to reach or maintain, including a belief in their "giftedness". As a result, any perceived failure can negatively impact the second-generation children by diminishing their self-confidence, where the second-generation cohort may feel that anything less than perfect grades is a sign of their

own deficit. Yet the discourse of giftedness shifts the focus away from potential causes of disadvantage and frames any academic failure instead as individual deficiency.

Because of immigrant parents' desire for their children's academic success, they may enact intensive interventions to ensure their children achieve well in school. This dually builds in them dispositions for academic endeavour, as well as affects of self-worth and recognition (Watkins, 2010). For the father Thao and his daughter Sophia, the prioritisation of academic performance was supported by various practices. As shown in the previous sections, this alludes to the embodied cultural capital of these parents that allowed them to be more strategic in their interventions. Thao and his wife deployed an array of practices to help Sophia succeed at school. In her interview, she noted that her father was quite deliberate in his investments, recalling how:

My dad loves to read and I have seen a book titled *How to raise a gifted child*, but you he didn't tell you that... I think I did show more of an ability in some areas, and I do think that that's what caused him to buy that book and to kind of think seriously about like, you know, 'if I do have a gifted child, then what does that mean? And how can I maximise the outcome for that?'

To support this "giftedness", Sophia was supplied with various resources to assist with her learning. For instance, as her parents felt less confident in their English language skills, they would not read to her directly, but instead, purchased cassette tapes for her that would recite stories to her. By listening to these tapes, she would be able to follow the stories, and would relay these to her parents. They also provided her with other academic resources, supervised her work, and enrolled her in tutoring.

In strategically planning and implementing specific practices, parents can nurture the competencies of their children, which can become embodied as dispositions, though these can

appear as “naturalised” qualities. For Sophia, seeing the book on “gifted children” in the home was an affective experience. It indicated to her that she was “gifted”, contributing to affective sensations of recognition and self-worth (Watkins, 2010). It was an experience that exerted an affective force on her, contributing to an embodied belief of her status as a gifted child. While Thao did not mention this book in his interview, the competence and know-how to research and implement practices highlights the ways in which his own embodied capital facilitated his investment in his daughter’s schooling, emphasising the ways in which academic success is an outcome of strategy. Ultimately, these efforts paid off. Sophia was frequently praised for her writing capability by her teachers. Thao recalled how, “[*Sophia*] already start writing in Year Three, and her teacher say she very good in communication and English, so we encouraged her in that area”. He overlooks the fact that her outstanding performance in English was facilitated by his ongoing interventions at home. The praise of her teachers occurred *after* he had already implemented an array of practices that allowed Sophia to develop her capability in the areas of reading and writing, but he mistakes their praise as the catalyst for his interventions. Similarly, he reflected on an event where Sophia’s teacher suspected he was writing her work for her, describing how:

I remember one teacher at that time, she called me up, she say ‘did you help Sophia to write all of that?’, I say ‘no’ but she didn’t believe me [laughs] She didn’t believe me at that time, because at that time I think, Sophia is Year Four or Year Five, but she already very good, she use the computer to write the essay, yeah, and she [the teacher] didn’t like it, she say, ‘no you need to write by your hand’, she didn’t believe that, she thought all of that is from me [laughs].

Sophia's ability to write was clearly quite advanced, which delighted Thao, shown by his laughter. Yet, it was an ability that was inculcated by him through intensive interventions of daily and supervised writing time, one that was "naturalised" as an outcome of "giftedness".

Ultimately, at her primary school in south-west Sydney, Sophia was a top-performing student. Thao was extremely pleased with his daughter's achievements, demonstrated by his artefact. In his interview, he brought with him a selection of trophies she had earned during her time at primary school and in her tutoring centre. He held each trophy up, describing:

This one is [tutoring centre] Year 5, she got the second prize, I think maybe in all subjects... this one is the prize for the dux in [local] public school, yeah she dux in Year Six, and this one in [tutoring centre] excellence award in Year Four.

Sophia was not simply high performing, but she was also consistently "the best". These achievements contributed to her sense of being as an outstanding student. They contributed to her perception of her "giftedness", whereby the awards, her recognition by teachers and by her parents, as well as her high performance all reinforced a belief of natural talent – but this was inculcated through deliberate interventions. Indeed, the trophies are testament to these achievements, but they also reflect her father's intensive labour and efforts towards these successes (Noble, 2004).

As noted in the previous section, selective schooling is a popular pathway for immigrant background children (C. Ho, 2020). Sophia's father felt that the local high schools were not suitable for his daughter, explaining that "we see that in most of the high school, local high school or the, or the government high school here, the way they teach it is, in my view, is very relaxed [*laughs*]". This local area has high representation of migrants and lower educational attainment than the state and national average (Australian Bureau of Statistics, 2021d), which alludes to the socioeconomic disadvantage of students in the area. As such, he

advocated for her to attend a selective school, where she would be with more academically capable students. As a result of their interventions, Sophia gained entry into a top-performing and well-known academically selective school. Yet this transition to this environment, where she was one of many high achieving students, caused her to feel that she was incompetent. Now in an environment that was more competitive, surrounded by students who were equally capable, she was confronted by the reality that she was no longer “on top”. That is not to say that she was by any means “poorly performing”, but her less-than-perfect grades were acutely felt, particularly given her previous outstanding achievements. This was reinforced by her parents’ shock, and she described how:

I remember my first report from Year Seven, they were kind of shocked, and they were like, ‘whoa, you're below average for quite a few of these subjects, you're going to have to perform better’, yeah, so it was a bit of a shock like to have a child who seemingly was overachieving, and then suddenly Year Seven hits, and then you find out you're below average, whatever average means, you know, and so, yeah, they were like, ‘oh, okay, we have to re-configure our expectations, and it looks like we can't expect her to be at the top, but we're just gonna have to hope that she is above average in a new environment like this’.

In a school where many students were high performing, she could no longer stand out as “gifted”.

To ensure Sophia was “above average” in her selective school, her parents tried to reinforce their pedagogic interventions. They continued to allocate a set number of hours for her study and enrolled her into more tutoring. In adopting the same interventions that they did in primary school, her parents hoped to increase her performance in high school. Yet these did not boost her performance – instead, they reinforced her diminishing confidence. While

these interventions had allowed her to thrive within the academic environment of her primary school, where she was celebrated as a “gifted” student, the new, and more rigorous high school environment appeared to contradict her competence. Sophia’s experience of high school was ultimately very challenging. Though she was still a capable student, her new and highly competitive school environment abruptly caused her to perceive herself as a poor student. She described how, during high school:

I felt like I was never good enough... Yeah, it's a heavy thing to carry for your entire high school life, which is why I bombed so hard, because it was like, I'm not enjoying this, like, I'm just trying to meet some standard that I'm just not good enough for, yeah.

Lahire (2003) highlights the ways in which the legitimacy of the school setting can instil in students a negative belief of their competence, where they may depreciate themselves because of their poor school performance. This may itself be indicative of the ways in which students of low socioeconomic status may be dominated. Bourdieu (cited in Bourdieu & Eagleton, 1992) observed how:

When you ask a sample of individuals what are the main factors of achievement at school, the further you go down the social scale the more they believe in natural talent or gifts—the more they believe that those who are successful are naturally endowed with intellectual capacities. And the more they accept their own exclusion, the more they believe they are stupid, the more they say ‘Yes, I was no good at English, I was no good at French, I was no good at mathematics’. (p. 114)

This demonstrates the ways in which the dominated may incorporate beliefs about their own disadvantage as naturalised outcomes. For Sophia, whose father attempted to prepare her for

an academically rigorous environment through his interventions, her competencies were called into question in a new environment that differed significantly from her primary school. The class-based disadvantages of her local schools were masked by the ways in which Sophia was able to excel through her father's interventions. Instead, the new selective school environment imposed on her standards that produced a perception that she was lacking in some way, that the problem was within herself. Again, this is not to suggest that her dispositions towards learning had dissipated. Rather, she encountered conditions that were so different to her previous environment that were contrary to her previously inculcated beliefs about her "giftedness", resulting in a profound sense of doubt.

Though this may allude to Bourdieu's notion of habitus *clivé*, that is, a habitus "torn by contradiction and internal division" (Bourdieu, 2000, p. 160), Sophia's dispositions were not necessarily "torn" nor incoherent in the new setting. Rather, she was still able to perform in a highly ranked selective school. The practices that had inculcated in her embodied habits for learning helped her to keep up in school, in spite of her diminishing confidence. They still allowed her to complete her secondary schooling, and while she may not have been "on top", she still graduated from a well-known and high-performing selective school, indicating that she remained a capable student. However, she did not experience it in this way due to the discourse of "giftedness". Though being in an academically rigorous environment may align with the strategic endeavours of immigrant parents, it can have negative consequences on children's embodied beliefs. As shown in the experiences of Sophia, the transition to a selective school had a profound impact on how she perceived her own ability, and how her parents perceived her own ability. She was no longer performing to the same standard she had become accustomed to, which had previously contributed to affective sensations of recognition and self-worth (Watkins, 2010).

The notion of giftedness disguises the class-based advantages that are required to succeed. Much like meritocracy, which advocates that anyone can achieve so long as they work hard enough while disguising the class-based advantages that allow some people to achieve, the discourse of giftedness also fails to take into account the class-inflected resources that can enable academic achievement. However, as noted by Zipin et al. (2015), “through discourse and practice, certain beliefs and assumptions circulate powerfully across diverse settings of everyday life, constituting underlying logics that seem more-or-less unquestionable for many” (p. 231). While natural talent is upheld as the exemplary standard against which individuals are measured, this carries with it assumptions about capacity and capability, which are, in fact, enabled by class-based resources. Yet, because of the ways in which it is framed as “natural” and “intrinsic” qualities, those who fail to live up to this standard, or those who fail to maintain it, are made to believe in their own inadequacy. This speaks to the dominance of class-based systems, and the ways in which this may become embodied at the level of the individual.

The Costs of Academic Success

Evidently, Vietnamese immigrant parents may exert significant effort in their children’s schooling, deploying strategic interventions as part of their caregiving efforts. From home-based interventions to deliberations on school choice and tutoring, the parents in this study sought to instill in their children dispositions that would facilitate their academic success. However, for some of the second-generation participants, these successes are not straightforward achievements, as a result of affective responses to the pedagogic practices themselves. This alludes to how parental caregiving can be variously received by children.

Intensive parental interventions may engender an affective response of self-doubt. In the case of the father and son dyad, Vinh and Alex, rigorous interventions of the former

created in the latter self-doubt around his own efforts and diligence in his studies, even though, since childhood, he had developed an array of embodied dispositions that oriented him towards academic achievement. Overall, his father's interventions were successful. Alex gained entry into his father's preferred school. While in high school, he developed his own routines and study habits, where he was able to work independently on his schoolwork. He became a top-performing student and was enrolled in various elite subjects. The practices that his father had implemented were highly effective, highlighting how academic endeavours require the provision of resources as well as the implementation of practices. Alex's discipline and hard work did not come naturally to him but were the outcome of his father's investment in his education, and his caregiving. These are not simply related to tutoring and other academic materials, but also include the investment of his time, where the ongoing practice of sitting and working together was contingent on his father's dedication and access to resources. Bourdieu's notion of cultural capital, in this case its embodied form, thus allows for a richer understanding of the ways in which parents draw on their own experiences and competencies to support their children's educational trajectories. It is this deployment of embodied capital that facilitates scholarly achievement, moving away from discourses of natural talent and merit.

However, changes in the style of pedagogic intervention can negatively impact these students. That is, as Alex progressed in his high school career, his parents' efforts became more intense. In particular, when he was approaching his final school examinations, his parents began to express doubt around his study routines. This new practice was perceived as intrusive by Alex, who recalled how:

My parents just mainly came in to make sure I was studying sufficiently... It did bother me and that was kind of part of my stress because I felt like I was studying

enough but then at the same time, because they're like telling me I'm maybe not studying enough, it kind of felt like, 'huh, maybe I should actually study harder'.

His parents' more intensive supervision generated an affective response of doubt. Alex began to feel that he was not adequately preparing for his final examinations. While he had been accustomed to his father's more passive supervision, a supervision that his father himself experienced as "easy", this new practice inculcated in him self-doubt that he was not exerting sufficient effort at this critical phase of his schooling.

His parents' intensive questions and monitoring, as affective transactions (Bourdieu, 2000, p. 141), produced doubt and stress, but they exerted a productive force. Alex noted that while his parents' intrusion bothered him, it also "kept me grounded with my studies", suggesting that this practice helped him to stay focused. Doubt sedimented to ultimately move Alex to act in ways that were conducive to his achievement. The stress generated by his parents' intervention actually *compelled* him to keep working steadily so as to mitigate that doubt. Moreover, when asked if he was obedient to his parents' commands and was happy to receive their advice, Alex reflected:

[Pause] When it came to like telling me to study hard [laughs] Maybe at that moment, no, but I guess, at that moment, you don't really like appreciate that kind of stuff but when you look back, then you kind of see that it was worth it.

While his pause suggests he was unhappy with his parents' commands at the time, he acquiesced to the notion that their intervention, despite the stress and doubt it engendered, was ultimately a productive practice that contributed to his achievement. It was only by moving beyond this circumstance that Alex recognised its value.

Unfortunately, the development of doubt does not simply dissipate but instead lingers in the habitus. For Alex, while his doubt was productive and compelled him to exert greater effort towards his senior high school studies, he remained doubtful of his academic aptitude. It was also evident in his surprise at his own academic performance. For his interview, the artefact that he chose was a framed certificate from the New South Wales chapter of a prominent Vietnamese-Australian community organisation. His parents are members of this group. The certificate was awarded to him because of his impressive marks in the Higher School Certificate (HSC) examinations. He expressed surprise at this commendation, describing how:

The artefact I have right now is actually a certificate that I got last year regarding my HSC, yeah... The reason why I thought it was like significant was because [pause] firstly, it was recognition from the Vietnamese community itself... it was, like, really significant to me, and second of all, I am not that type of person to like, hardcore study and go to tutoring and even my parents would support me in this as well, so I guess, having all that combined into, like, just one certificate is like really significant to me, like I never thought I would get a high ATAR, let alone be recognised from the Vietnamese community so, you know, all of that was like surreal.

Alex did not believe that he was capable of achieving such a high mark, nor did he perceive himself as a diligent and hardworking student. He also did not expect to be commended by his community. The doubt he experienced as a result of his parents' more intensive intervention manifested as surprise at his own achievement and indeed, his own capability.

It may be argued that parents' doubts become their children's doubts. For example, Vinh, who perceived his son as having a "natural" talent for academic work, acknowledged his own surprise at his son's achievements and aptitude. Throughout his interview, Alex

spoke of his ambition to become a medical doctor, which he developed partly through his parents as well as through his own experience with the medical system. At the time of his interview, Alex was studying a Bachelor of Medical Science and planned to transfer into medicine after his first year of university. While he had achieved extremely well in his examinations, Alex was unable to pass the interview component required for entry into this course. However, on his son's ambition and on his achievement, Vinh noted that he "feel [pause] doubt [pause]". He elaborated:

I'm not sure he is good enough to be a doctor because people talking about 99, 99 something, and then a couple of rounds to get in so when he apply, he chose five options and then I just thought that 'okay, whatever you get for the HSC, 95 is good', I thought, but lucky that in the end, he had more than 99 and he passed the UCAT [University Clinical Aptitude Test], and then he need to pass the interview but in the end he didn't pass the interview so that is why he has to go into medical science, rather than medicine.

Evident not only in Vinh's words, but also in his pauses, his son's high marks during his final high school examinations were considered lucky. Yet this minimises the dispositions towards academic work that he developed as a result of his father's interventions, which allowed him to act in ways that contributed to his academic performance. The parental supervision, in both passive and active forms, the provision of additional materials, and the exam preparation courses were all practices that produced affects that accumulated as dispositions to learn, contributing thus to his outstanding performance in his final examinations. This alludes to the transmission of affect, which posits that "the affects of one person, and the enhancing or depressing energies these affects entail, can enter into another" (Brennan, 2004, p. 3). That is, Vinh's doubt around Alex's study habits, conveyed via intensive questioning, became Alex's

own doubts, transferring and coalescing in him. The doubt thus is social in origin but becomes embedded in, and shapes, the individual (Brennan, 2004).

Regardless, these doubts were no stronger than the embodied dispositions that were developed through routinised and regular pedagogic practice. The various practices deployed in the home are a reflection of the various resources that Vinh had access to as a result of his own stock of cultural capital, indicating that the educational achievements of his son are neither “lucky” nor random but are instead outcomes of his own investments. Indeed, Alex’s educational achievement was contingent on the inculcation of embodied habits and dispositions that facilitated his independent learning. Because of these consistent and habituated practices over the years, Alex was able to apply himself in his final years of high school and achieve well in his examinations. The habituation of various pedagogic practices had been so strongly acquired by him that they had become a durable part of him, that is, as dispositions in his habitus. While he might not be in his preferred course at the moment, the habits he has embodied will no doubt hold him in good stead as he progresses in his tertiary education. Indeed, the certificate he brought to his interview is testament to the ways in which his dispositions towards academic work have contributed to his achievement – it is a form of objectified cultural capital that symbolises his educational success. At the time of his interview, Alex was progressing in his tertiary studies and is equipped with the competency needed to perform well in this setting too.

Moreover, doubt is not the only affective response that can arise from intense pedagogic practices. The father Lanh played a very active role in his daughter’s education, and in her interview, Amelia described an array of practices that her father did to assist her performance in school, including teaching her at the dinner table, purchasing additional resources, and sending her to tutoring. This involvement often frustrated her. For her artefact, she described a childhood journal that she had kept. She described how:

I remember writing in it, especially when I was younger, about how pissed off I was with my parents because like on the weekends, I had to go to tutoring and then in the holidays, I had to go to like five day tutoring camps, like oh my god, I just want to be a kid, like I wanna go to the beach with my friends, blah, blah, I feel like I didn't have as much of a childhood as I wanted, because I had to keep going to do all that.

The pedagogic practices that were used to move Amelia towards educational success engendered negative affective responses of anger, encapsulated by her artefact. Though the practices were effective, in that she developed dispositions for academic endeavour, it generated an intense bitterness towards her parents. Only through a consideration of affect does this become apparent – it reveals both the development of dispositions for scholarly work as well as the affective dimensions of pedagogic practice. Indeed, though tutoring was a means of supplementing school, it was a practice that often produced resistance. Amelia highlighted how doing tutoring “had the opposite effect as well, because like, the more you your parents push you to do something, you’re just like ‘I don't want to do it. I hate it’, yeah”. This contributed to her bitterness towards her parents, where she felt they were undermining her childhood.

Furthermore, the fulfilment of high academic expectations can be measured by academic marks, which can negatively impact their children. For first-generation parents, school marks were understood to be objective and provided an easy way to understand their children’s performance. Indeed, for Lanh, marks were “a reflection of your competency, your achievements, your performance”. Yet, for Amelia, this focus was detrimental. She described how:

I always thought I could do better if I just didn’t bloody procrastinate so much, because I always know that what I churn out is never something that I’m completely

happy with [pause] Like I did fine but just hearing my parents, they were like, my ATAR for example, I still remember, it was like 95 point something, and like to my parents, they were just like, 'You could have gotten higher, you could have gotten 99 if you just tried' and that's what I hear like my whole life, like 'if you just tried, you would have done better', so I don't know whether or not I'm internalising that or if I genuinely think 'maybe this is it' [laughs] Maybe this is the best I can do, but I think because of what I heard from my parents and then maybe what I like internalise from that, I'm not completely happy, I think I could have done better.

Even though she had achieved well in high school, Amelia noted that her parents' expectations for academic success had the impact of making her feel that she had not done enough to earn higher marks. The compounding effect of such comments reveal not only the intensity of parental expectations, but the ways in which these can become layered to form dispositions in the habitus.

Such intense pressure can also manifest as a fear of failure, leading some second-generation Vietnamese children to become hesitant to do or perform academic tasks. For Amelia, she noted that:

I've thought about this a lot, I feel like it made me quite a perfectionist when it came to all of my exams or assignments or tests, like I always had to do the best I could but then that was in a way kind of crippling as well, like I'm so guilty of procrastinating because I feel like I can't do it to the standard I want to do it and then it just ends up being like a huge rush at the end.

She even described how for her honours thesis, she had begun the academic year with high aspirations of winning the university medal, but delayed her thesis until the final few weeks

before submission because she was afraid to do it. That is, she did not think she could do it to the standard that she wanted. The impact of high academic expectations had an inverse effect, in that it created in her such intense pressure to be the best. For Amelia, the weight of performing extremely well culminated in a “perfectionism” that itself became a burden, resulting in a habit of procrastination. Such aspirations for high academic achievement can have profound implications on the ways in which some of the second-generation cohort approach their school and work.

Moreover, pedagogic practices can produce negative affects of anger and resentment that can be so strong as to disable the habits inculcated by the practices themselves. For the mother Tram and her eldest daughter Natalie, this was evident in the ways that the latter’s academic competence was undermined by anger and frustration. On one level, it appears that Tram’s pedagogic interventions did culminate in her children’s academic success. Natalie gained entry into an opportunity class during primary school, and she was accepted into a well-known co-educational selective school. After graduating from high school, she enrolled into a Group of Eight university, and thoroughly enjoyed her undergraduate degree, to such an extent that she decided to enrol in a master’s degree in linguistics to continue her education. At the time of her interview, she had been completing vocational certificates in order to retrain in cyber security. Tram’s other daughters also had impressive academic trajectories. Like their elder sister, the younger two children also completed the selective school examination and were also accepted into well-known selective schools, though different ones to Natalie. Tram’s second child completed an undergraduate degree in speech pathology, whilst the youngest daughter had completed a double degree in business and science.

However, the practices that facilitated this success also engendered simultaneous affective responses of anger and resentment towards not only the parent, but towards

schooling in general. Natalie became highly resentful of her mother's interventions and impositions. For instance, the practice of doing work at the table with her mother was annoying. She recalled how "I didn't find it fun as a kid, sitting there in the dining table, like hours on end just doing maths problems and all that stuff". Though simultaneously training the body, the repeated practice of doing academic work at home also generated anger, which moved her *away from* these practices. Rather than accept these interventions, she rejected them as bothersome. Moreover, Tram's use of verbal monitoring was a practice that exacerbated her children's anger towards academic work, and indeed, towards her. In her interview, she noted that "yes, of course, I always check but sometime that make them [*pause*] angry [*laughs*] Yeah, they were not happy [*laughs*] Because I just keep asking, yeah". Though she attempted to laugh it off, her questions evidently impacted her children, which she was reluctant to admit, as shown by her pause. She also did not confirm whether she stopped asking these questions. This mirrors the kind of intervention that Vinh deployed with his son as he approached the end of his high school career – but it was this kind of intense supervision that engendered in Alex doubt around his diligence. For Tram's children, this intervention provoked resentment. This anger saw Natalie reject her mother's parenting.

Affective responses of anger and resentment can thus have a disabling effect in relation to educational achievement. By the end of high school, Natalie did not care about her schoolwork. She admitted that "I stopped doing my homework, I did the bare minimum to get through it... I was staying up to 2 or 3am because I was gaming [*laughs*]". Her mother's interventions had provoked such intense anger against schoolwork that it incapacitated the embodied habits that were facilitated by those practices. Furthermore, though she was in a selective school environment, she did not pursue subjects typically associated with such high performing schools. C. Ho (2020) describes the "Asian five" as a combination of senior high school subjects that are typically chosen by Asian Australian students who attend selective

schools – these subjects include Physics, Chemistry, Legal Studies, Economics and Maths. These subjects are also known to be high-scaling subjects, which can assist students in getting higher ATAR scores. These subjects were rejected by Natalie. Rather, she chose subjects during her senior years that she perceived to be easier, such as Studies of Religion. She described how it was “kind of a bludge class because we did it by correspondence, that’s it, so it was just me and a friend sitting in the library, just chatting [*laughs*]”. Natalie expended little effort towards her schoolwork. While seemingly at odds with her embodied disposition for academic work, her lack of engagement in school reflects the ways in which her resentment caused her to reject her mother’s interventions, and ultimately reject the purpose underpinning these, which was academic success. In hoping her children would not fail in school, Tram implemented an array of interventions, though these were inhibited by her daughters’ resentment, which oriented them away from academic work due to the intense affective burden of fear transmitted from parent to child.

That is, the affective response of anger emerged as a result of the transmission of affects that occurred via the deployment of practices. These pedagogic practices were also the vehicle through which Tram’s fears were conveyed to, and imposed on, her children. Because of her own experience of “failure” (i.e., being unable to complete her own dreams of going to university), she invested heavily in her children’s schooling so as to protect them from this same experience. Yet, as Brennan (2004) observes, “affects deplete when they are introjected, when one carries the affective burden of another, either by a straightforward transfer or because the other’s anger becomes your depression” (p. 6). For Natalie, her mother’s fear was transmitted to her via these pedagogic practices, but this fear became her burden. It was this introjection of fear via practice that had a depleting dimension (Brennan, 2004), in that the transmitted affects from parent to child engendered a strong affective response of anger in Natalie that was directed *against* academic work, which led her to reject these practices.

Tram's fears around her children's educational performance were not unreasonable, given her own experience of hardship and insecurity, but this fear was an affective burden that was transmitted to Natalie through the pedagogic practices her mother employed.

The transmission of affects created such an intense burden that it became a disposition that was in fact, contrary to her embodied habits. For Natalie, the most enjoyable aspect of her educational career was her university degree. Graduating from high school, entering university, and eventually enrolling in a postgraduate degree – these are significant accomplishments and it is clear that she is more than capable of academic work, due to her mother's interventions. Even at the time of her interview, she had completed a number of vocational diplomas in cyber security to retrain in this industry. Yet she perceives education with trepidation, as encapsulated by the artefact she brought with her to the interview. At the end of her interview, Natalie held up a blue high school report card. When questioned why she chose this item, especially considering she had expressed how difficult her high school experience was, she responded:

It represents a lot of things and not a lot of good things either because as much as I enjoyed uni and stuff, I did still struggle, it was a push to get my degree done [pause] And that just reminded me [pause] So many feelings, you know, the fear of coming home and giving this to your parents, like I'd put this on the table and I'd just run, I don't want to be there when they read it.

The idea that doing her undergraduate degree was a “push” suggests that Natalie had perhaps nearly abandoned her tertiary studies altogether. The dispositions she had acquired for academic work were undermined by the anger she experienced through her mother's interventions. Thus, while she did eventually achieve in higher education, it was an achievement that came at a high cost.

Fisher and Tronto (1990) highlight that “because caregiving acts upon something or someone else, there will necessarily be some response to it, although the response may not be intentional, conscious, or even human” (p. 44). For second-generation Vietnamese children, the pedagogic interventions of their parents engender responses, not all of which are related to their academic achievement. Affective responses of doubt and resentment can arise and can cause conflict between parents and children. Though these may in fact be productive for some, such as Alex, these sentiments can also have an incapacitating effect on the second-generation cohort, in that they can undermine the embodied habits that were developed by pedagogic practice. It may also jeopardise the relationship between parent and child, where the tensions and anger caused by the parenting they receive can undermine those connections.

Conclusion

This chapter has sought to explore the ways in which home- and community-based pedagogic practices can produce dispositions for academic work. Such practices contribute to the educational success of second-generation Vietnamese Australians. The implementation of these practices is a class-based endeavour, in that it is contingent on the embodied capital that immigrant parents possess. This affirms that educational success is not arbitrary, nor an outcome of ethnicity and race, but rather, rests on strategic interventions. It reflects a deliberate attempt by parents to guide their children towards academic achievement. For Vietnamese migrant parents, these strategic investments are profoundly shaped by the effects of migration, which inform their caregiving efforts to prevent their children’s educational failure. Nevertheless, these investments of Vietnamese parents into their children’s schooling can negatively impact their children, through the transmission of negative affects. These affects can coalesce as doubt, and also as resentment. As such, though academic achievement

may be realised, this success is turbulent and can often be marked by conflict between parents and children.

Chapter 6

Affective Aspirations: Children's Care, Interest and Shame

For Vietnamese Australian parents, the aspirations they have for their children are profoundly shaped by their own circumstances. As shown in Chapter 4, the migration journey, the downward mobility, and the interrupted educational and occupational trajectories have all impacted on the ways in which they move their children towards achieving a university-level education. Moreover, these aspirations require interventions that can enable children to move towards these achievements, which was explored in Chapter 5. This chapter considers the ways in which children themselves may possess aspirations that are shaped by, or oriented towards, their parents.

As discussed, while aspirations for higher education, and for traditionally prestigious jobs, may appear strategic, this masks the ways in which second-generation Vietnamese children may be moved to care about their immigrant parents' aspirations. Illuminating the role of affects in creating, and sustaining, aspirations allows for a greater consideration of the ways in which second-generation educational aspirations and achievements are produced and desired as a result of care. This removes the assumption of desire as something purely personal or subjective – rather, it emphasises our impressionability to the world. A notion of affect allows for a conceptualisation of aspiration, not as an interior, psychological phenomenon, but as an outcome of the cumulative impact of the world on us. As such, an aspiration for higher education is not only exclusively about the strategic acquisition of institutionalised cultural capital. To reduce it in this way is to neglect the impact of the social on the formation and maintenance of these aspirations and desires. Rather, they are aspirations through which second-generation children display their care for their parents.

Care as Consideration of Parents' Aspirations

Parents can have a significant influence on the choices that their children make in terms of their education and careers (e.g., Diemer, 2007; Dietrich & Kracke, 2009; Fuligni, 1997; Marjoribanks, 2002; Sawitri et al., 2014). Indeed, Ball et al. (1999) observe that “in almost all families parents provide a general framework of aspirations and hopes for their children, a space within which choices are made and validated” (p. 217). For first-generation Vietnamese Australians, these frameworks of aspirations were often informed by their own experiences of hardship, which were explored in Chapter 4. These parents may attempt to inculcate in their children aspirations towards more prestigious degrees and professions, which is not uncommon amongst immigrant communities (Griffin & Hu, 2019; J. Lee & Zhou, 2014b; B. Ngo, 2006; Yu, 2006; Zhou & Lee, 2014). These parental aspirations are generally more obviously realised by the families with the required cultural capital, including in its embodied form (Louie, 2012; Maire & Ho, 2024; Watkins, 2021). For the children however, their orientation towards these aspirations speaks to their care for their parents. As Noddings (2013) writes:

Caring involves stepping out of one's own personal frame of reference into the other's. When we care, we consider the other's point of view, his objective needs, and what he expects of us... Our attention, our mental engrossment is on the cared-for, not on ourselves. Our reasons for acting, then, have to do both with the other's wants and desires and with the objective elements of his problematic situation. (pp. 22–23)

In this way, second-generation children's care may entail consideration of their parents' aspirations, which can be produced through the latter's interventions. As part of their participation in their children's schooling, many first-generation Vietnamese parents may try to speak to them about possible career choices, often focusing on elite professions including

medicine, law and engineering. For example, most second-generation Vietnamese Australian participants in this research expressed a childhood aspiration to become a medical doctor, which were aspirations inspired by their parents, yet these were framed as “Asian” aspirations. In New South Wales, entry into medicine is very difficult and competitive, and students in this course continue to be a socially elite cohort, while disadvantaged students continue to face barriers in applying to and studying medicine (C. Ho et al., 2023; Watkins, 2021). Indeed, despite the high number of second-generation participants mentioning this aspiration in their interviews, only Aiden, the second-generation participant introduced in Chapter 4, was practising in this profession. For the second-generation participant Winnie, this was an aspiration instilled in her by her parents and was exemplified by her artefact. She brought an “All About Me” profile, completed in primary school. In addition to questions like “what’s your name?” and “what’s your star sign?”, the profile also included a question on future professional goals. As a child, she wrote that “my goal is to be a doctor because I would like to help people get well”. When asked where this ambition came from, Winnie remarked:

It’s probably my parents to be honest, like me being an adult now, I understand why they would want me to shoot so high, their rationale is that they just want me to be in a better place than they were when they were my age, so they would always say ‘you should try out stuff like’, like really traditional Asian career paths, like ‘try architecture, try being a lawyer, try be a doctor, try be a pharmacist’, so doctor was the one that stuck because doctor was the coolest one and doctor made the most money, and when doctor makes the most money, doctor can do like really cool stuff with that money and help people, that just sounded like the best thing, and that one stuck for a really long time, being a doctor.

Labelling particular career paths as “Asian” was not an uncommon amongst the second-generation participants. This stems in part from the relatively closed environments in which they grew up, where the “Asian” label was normalised. For instance, when asked about his high school peers, Aiden reflected that nearly every student had migrant parents. He grew up in Sydney’s south-west, in an area with a high representation of Vietnamese migrants (Australian Bureau of Statistics, 2021a). He and his sisters attended the local primary and high schools, and he noted in his interview that:

Growing up for me, it was very normal until I went to uni and talked to other people and realised that the environment I grew up in was not normal at all, first thing is [his suburb] is completely, the majority of the population’s Vietnamese, Chinese, you know, Asian, so I think the big stark thing was, I grew up in a very, I grew up in an environment where everyone was basically the child of a first generation immigrant... everyone’s a second generation, you know, child of immigrant family, and so everyone's always talking about ‘oh, we gotta work hard’, you know, yeah, so that’s my childhood, yeah.

The effect of this “closure” is that particular aspirations are circulated and championed within these networks. Aiden noted that because all of his peers were children of immigrants, “we all had that shared experience of our parents telling us to be doctors, lawyers, dentists, whatever”. The aspirations for such elite professions, conveyed by immigrant parents to their children, became affirmed in this kind of closed educational environment.

Existing research has highlighted the ways in which particular norms and expectations are circulated within closed social networks of migrant parents and children (e.g., Chakraborty et al., 2019; Fuligni, 1997; Luthra & Soehl, 2015; Modood, 2004; Shah et al., 2010). Dense networks are considered to be of paramount importance in shaping immigrant

children's educational outcomes. Using the term "intergenerational closure", J. Coleman (1988) describes how a closed social structure can effectively impose various sanctions that monitor and guide behaviour of those in the group. Through intergenerational closure, norms are successfully transmitted within a close-knit community, as interlaced networks of parents and peers become a prominent force in shaping the behaviour of children (J. Coleman, 1988). Intergenerational closure therefore emphasises how a closed social structure becomes highly effective at limiting the negative impact of external influences while stimulating positive internal influences for many ethnic minority youth (e.g., Basit, 2012; Carbonaro, 1998; Pong et al., 2005; Shah et al., 2010). As suggested by J. Coleman's notion of closure, these children of migrants are exposed to other children of migrants with similar ambitions and experiences, allowing for the normalisation and also the proliferation of specific aspirations, by providing them with a clear set of goals while also fostering a sense of community amongst the second-generation children who moved towards these aspirations together. Certain professions are reinforced at the level of the family and the school community, meaning that it is *normal* to aim to be a doctor, lawyer, or dentist.

However, knowledge of these kinds of professions and pathways may be contingent on parental levels of social and cultural capital. For instance, the father Lanh began having conversations with his daughter Amelia about potential career pathways while she was in high school. As mentioned in Chapter 5, he had obtained a bachelor's degree in Australia and had worked for many years as an engineer. His discussions with his daughter were heavily guided by his own experience. In his interview, he reminisced that his daughter had spoken to him about various careers that she was contemplating. He recalled how she "had some fancy thing about becoming a psychologist and even once, in one case, dietician... I do remember she mentioned those two careers, psychologist and dietician [*laughs*]". His laughter may appear cruel but may instead stem from his surprise, as he had not anticipated that his

daughter would be drawn to these professions. Indeed, he thought that she would be more drawn to writing-related professions, as reading was a significant aspect of her education and was an activity that she enjoyed greatly. (His artefact for his interview was a paperback edition of Charles Dickens' *Oliver Twist*, which he showed as an example of how he influenced her education.) Lanh's laughter at the idea of Amelia expressing interest in becoming a psychologist or a dietician may stem from a sense of embarrassment about his own limited understanding of careers in Australia. He lacked the social capital, in that he knew no dieticians nor psychologists in his own networks, as well as the embodied cultural capital to be able to understand what was expected or required in these careers.

Ultimately, even though Amelia had "fancy" thoughts of pursuing health-related professions, she did not choose to follow either of these. Instead, she began her university career in an arts degree, majoring in history. It was a degree she was very passionate about, and noted that this is still an area she is incredibly interested in. Regardless, she was quick to point out that both her and her parents required some convincing, as:

I really, really like history and I think I convinced myself and my parents that it was a viable option because if you go into teaching at university, it's actually quite, it can be quite like lucrative, so I think they were happy with that and I really, like I still do, I really, really loved history and I think that's what I wanted to do.

Though her desire for "lucrative" and "viable" pathways appears instrumental in nature, this reveals her consideration of her parents' perspectives.

Such perspectives stem from parents' experience of migration, and the downward mobility that may accompany it. In his interview, Lanh spoke about how he questioned Amelia's original degree choice. He reflected on how "as parents, I do remind her, 'What are you going to do for a living once you're graduated in Bachelor of Arts, majoring in history?' I

did raise that question.” Yet he acknowledged that he cannot fault parents like himself for their fears, highlighting how:

We start from zero, my generation started from zero so therefore you need to be self-supporting, you need to stay on your own feet, financially speaking, so that is a major factor and quite a consideration, and I'm not ashamed to share that with her [pause] It is realistic.

The downward mobility that can occur through migration inflects these parents' aspirations for their children, specifically their desire for financial security.

Extending on Hage (1997), A. Coleman (2022) highlights that “security, specifically economic security, is a particularly important ingredient for a good life and desires for economic security were fuelled by class realities” (p. 17). These class realities are also evident in the lives of Vietnamese immigrants like Lanh and his wife, who worked in labour intensive and low status jobs. While he has been able to surmount some of the barriers imposed on him, this does not indicate that his concerns were no longer of importance. Rather, they remained present for him as dispositions in his habitus, guiding how he parented his children. He moved them towards more traditionally “stable” work due to reasons that cannot be categorised as wholly instrumental. His fear for his daughters' lives was informed by the experience of hardship and insecurity that he did not wish his daughters to “inherit”. Yet Lanh was apologetic for this concern and believed that his concern was too narrowly focused on the instrumental dimensions of education. He felt that Amelia's love for history was of utmost importance:

Parents shouldn't be blamed for living true and therefore believing in a certain priority in life but imposing that on this generation is, can be detrimental, I'm speaking with

all my shortcomings in my parenting that I discovered later on in life, yeah you should be passionate about certain area, that means you may have no income but you really, really cannot live without passion, that is important.

Though seemingly at odds with his previous comments about the necessity of employment, Lanh acknowledged the limitations of immigrant parents such as himself, where the imposition of their fears and concerns onto their children may divert their children away from pursuing their passions. However, in some ways, this is an overly simplistic understanding of the impact of migration on these parents, including the devaluation of their educational qualifications, the challenges of learning English, and no doubt, the racism endured in Australia (Mellor, 2004; T. Pham, 1994; Teo, 2000). These are structural barriers that shape the first generation, which go on to impact the lives of the second. Their concerns emerge from their own circumstances, for which they cannot be faulted, and their effects resonate within the lives of their Australian-born children.

For the children, their care for their parents entails agreement with, and adoption of, their parents' aspirations, which takes place through affects of interest. Drawing on Tomkins, affects of interest function to "interest" the individual in what is *necessary* for existence and also what is *possible* (Alexander et al., 1995). That is, the affect of interest sustains human activity – to engage in any activity, the individual must care, must be excited, and must also be rewarded. Without the affect of interest, then any achievement cannot be sustained. Probyn (2005) particularly highlights the relational dimension of the affect of interest, highlighting how it "describes a kind of affective investment we have in others" (p. 13), the care we have for others. As Noddings (2013) explains, "I *care* for someone if I feel a stir of desire or inclination toward him. In a related sense, I *care* for someone if I have regard for his views and interests" (p. 9, original emphasis). However, this regard or this inclination is only

possible through affects of interest – Nathanson (1992) asserts that “whatever is important to us is made so by affect. Affect is the engine that drives us” (p. 59), affirming the importance of interest in motivating an individual towards caring about another.

In this way, second-generation Vietnamese Australians reveal their care through the way in which they adopt their parents’ aspirations as their own, influencing their choices in relation to higher education. Reflecting on her experiences of university, and the role her parents played in shaping that choice, the second-generation participant Caroline reflected that her parents strongly encouraged her to go to university, even though she had no inclination to do further study. Noted in the previous chapter, her parents arrived in Australia as adolescents, completing their secondary schooling there, but neither of them went to university. Her father works as a metal welder while her mother runs a day care centre out of the family home. Despite her lack of interest in higher education, Caroline recalled how “it was something that would make them happy, and I went through that pathway because I wanted to make them happy”. For her, going to university became an aspiration, because of her parents. It made them happy that she went to university. Her choice to enrol in higher education was generated by her parents, in that it was a choice made for them, and because of them. When understood in this way, higher education cannot simply be perceived as an instrumental choice, but rather, is an aspiration that is negotiated within the parent-child relationship. As Appadurai (2004) notes, “aspirations are never simply individual (as the language of wants and choices inclines us to think)” (p. 67) – in the case of second-generation Vietnamese Australians like Caroline, their aspirations are formulated within the wider biography of their families and the structural forces that influence this. This desire to make them happy speaks to the care that these children have for their parents, which involves consideration of them and their needs. In this way, aspirations are constructed socially – they are produced within particular contexts.

Furthermore, parents' desire for financial security can become their children's desire as well. For Amelia, while she began in a Bachelor of Arts, she ultimately combined it with a Bachelor of Law after one year. This decision was justified by her as:

Because my marks were quite decent, I was like 'oh, I should just try for law, like I'll try and transfer it and if I don't like it, I don't like it but it'd be nice to have something backing up my arts degree like I can't have just the arts degree'.

A degree in law provided the security that her degree in arts did not appear to have, but this consideration was only possible through her father's interventions. Her passions had to contend with what was envisioned by her father, and ultimately, herself, as safe.

However, the need for stability, in terms of economic capital, can have limits – it can reach a point of diminishing returns. That is, while certain forms of capital may continue to be gained, the advantages of this accumulation diminish. As noted by Bourdieu (2000), “there is a happiness in activity which exceeds the visible profits – wage, prize or reward” (p. 240). This happiness, he continues, stems from “the fact of emerging from indifference (or depression), being occupied, projected towards goals, and feeling oneself objectively, and therefore subjectively, endowed with a social mission” (Bourdieu, 2000, p. 240). This “social mission” may entail the pursuit of what Hage (1997) describes as a “deeper sense of security” (p. 102) that arises when an individual has, and is empowered, to seek more than the satisfaction of their needs – to go beyond the class realities and find fulfilment.

For example, though Lanh's experiences as a refugee significantly impacted Amelia's decisions in school and work, this focus on financial security, and on the accumulation of economic capital, may be finite, despite the fact that it is shaped by their parents' experiences. At the time of her interview, Amelia was working as a graduate lawyer – though she loved her arts degree, she ended up pursuing employment in law. The security of her

employment was certainly important to her, though she acknowledged that working and earning money were not her primary drivers. During a discussion with a colleague, also of immigrant background, they questioned the “return” on the investment of their efforts. She recalled how:

We were talking about, like, at what point you've earned enough money and like the return on happiness or utility is just not enough anymore... We're both at this law firm, but looking at the amount of effort we had to put into get there, it's just like, if it gets any harder, I would just leave, it's not worth it to me anymore, I feel like there's a kind of compromise between happiness and money whereas I think, like my parents, not necessarily my dad but my mum would have just kept working until she was like partner [in the law firm] and continue to work and make more and more and more money, whereas for us, it's like 'no, I'm very happy like just cutting it off here', maybe not progressing any further but like, that's enough.

For Amelia, the accumulation of economic capital can plateau – it can reach a point where it is no longer “worthwhile” to expend effort on work. The return on the money earned would not be infinite. Instead, it would lose its utility *in terms of personal enrichment*. Amelia compared this to her mother, who, had she been educated and trained as a lawyer, may have continued to push her way to the top and continued to work and earn increasingly larger sums of money and earn more and more prestigious job titles. For Amelia, the return on the economic investment in contrast to her happiness has the potential to be maximised, but she assumed that this is not the case for her mother. In this way, higher education is not only about getting ahead, but about a deeper sense of security and fulfilment (Hage, 1997).

As such, while the care that second-generation children have for their parents entails consideration of their aspirations, they may also expand on what these aspirations can be due to their experience of social mobility. Atkinson (2013b) highlights how:

For if class is indeed defined by shared conditions of existence, then these are constituted not merely by ownership or not of the means of production, even if, as economic capital returning economic capital, that undoubtedly contributes to them, but by relative distance from material necessity given by possession of multiple forms of capital — economic but also cultural and social capital. (p. 13)

For second-generation children like Amelia, their care for their parents' aspirations can facilitate the acquisition of institutionalised cultural and economic capital, which in turn provides them with distance from material necessity.

Beyond the material, this accumulation of security via economic capital can engender symbolic gains as well. From the age of three, Amelia was enrolled in piano lessons, but grew to despise the instrument, recalling how “they [her parents] pushed me a lot to play piano and that kind of backfired because I got to 15 years old, and I was like, ‘I hate this and I never want to play anymore’”. Her frustration with playing the piano stems from the ways in which the activity was an imposition, and this burden generated negative affects of defiance. Her enjoyment was undermined by the pressure her parents put on her to play the piano, which itself may have emerged from a socially oriented desire to gain distinction (Bourdieu, 1984) or respectability (Sennett, 2003). That is, playing piano was done to earn the regard of others, to perhaps gain the approval of a society that had devalued them, but it adversely affected her. Ultimately, the acquisition of this cultural capital could not be sustained. However, now an adult, playing piano is no longer a purely pragmatic consideration for Amelia. She has instead rediscovered enjoyment in learning and playing

piano, and, at the time of her interview, was considering purchasing an electric keyboard to be able to play in her share house. While her childhood practice instilled in her the necessary posture and skills required to play, this created negative affects that were contrary to the activation of this competence. It is only now that Amelia has begun to enjoy playing – it is when she is no longer accountable to others that she can play and find joy in it. The accumulation of this embodied cultural capital is no longer about the capital itself, and its symbolic effects. Rather, it is about facilitating a life that is enriched, though this is possible only when a level of security is achieved. It is when Amelia has graduated from university and has found stable employment, that she can begin to discover fulfilment and meaning in her pursuits beyond security.

This is not the case for first-generation parents, who may still be conscious of the material consequences of class realities (A. Coleman, 2022). Amelia's mother, in particular, had to be "forced" to stop working despite the harsh conditions of the nail salon she owned. On her mother's dedication to her work, she reflected:

She ran her salon for 15 years and opened a couple more and she worked so hard, like seven days a week, pretty much worked herself to the ground, we had to force her to retire two years ago... It was just to make sure that we had enough as well, like, she'll be like, 'oh you know, you can't buy a house this market, I need to have enough saved so you can get a house later'.

As immigrants, her parents are conscious of the ways in which economic capital can facilitate their children's safety and security. Her mother worked tirelessly in order to save money, a sign of her own care, though for Amelia, this safety and security represents only one facet of her capital accumulation. It alludes to the desire for security and stability, as a symbol of material and ontological security and stability (Dupuis & Thorns, 1998; Saunders, 1990). It is

this “distance from material necessity” (Atkinson, 2013b, p. 13) that is perhaps less accessible to these parents.

Evidently, Vietnamese immigrant parents play a significant role in their children’s choices in higher education. Yet second-generation children themselves display care through their consideration and adoption of their parents’ views, which is enabled by interest. While it may be easy to assume that the pursuit of social mobility is wholly driven by authoritarian and culturally informed parenting strategies, or by strategic and instrumental motives, this overlooks how this aspiration can be guided by care on the part of the second-generation children. Moreover, this consideration of their parents can, in turn, facilitate happiness beyond the visible profits (Bourdieu, 2000), in that some second-generation Vietnamese Australians may find security beyond classed realities.

Children’s Search, and Sacrifice, for Recognition

As noted, affects of interest make second-generation Vietnamese Australians care for their parents, through consideration of their perspectives and wants. This can also be understood as the search for their parents’ recognition (Bourdieu, 2000, p. 167). That is, a child “makes renunciations and sacrifices in exchange for testimonies of recognition, consideration and admirations” (Bourdieu, 2000, p. 167). This exchange is charged with affectivity, where affects of interest accumulate as dispositions in the child that move them to earn their parents’ approval, their recognition and their admiration. This motivates and sustains their efforts and actions, engendering relations of care about their parents’ perspectives. Yet this search for recognition can compel them to make choices that align with their parents’ aspirations, which can exact a toll on the children when they forfeit their own ambitions.

For second-generation children, interest can coalesce to become their desire to win their parents' favour. To achieve this goal, second-generation students may be moved to enact choices that are more closely aligned with their parents' perspectives and needs, even at their own expense. Though the participant Sophia (introduced in Chapter 5) had a difficult time in high school, she was eager to go to university, and enrolled in an arts and media degree. This degree lived up to its expectations, and it was here that she flourished. In spite of her enjoyment of, and her success in, her chosen undergraduate course, Sophia's parents were doubtful of her degree choice. To them, a degree in arts and media did not necessarily translate into viable job opportunities. She recalled that "they just couldn't see where this education was leading to, in terms of a career, even though my marks were really good in my first year of uni". As such, they began to question the value of her degree. She described how:

They would say things like, 'oh, you know, your grades are good enough to do a master's, but why do that? Like, what's the point in getting a master's in media studies? What are the job opportunities after that? You're better off trying to either start looking for internships or something like that, but you know, it's hard. What are you going to do?'

Her parents' fears are not unfounded. As immigrants, Sophia's parents understood the challenges of the job market – indeed, her father Thao noted that "because as a migrant, what we thought is with our children, the only way to go up that is education [*pause*] without education, the life will be more difficult, that's our view".

However, second-generation Vietnamese children display their own care by orienting their decisions towards their parents' perspectives, and towards what matters to them (Noddings, 2013), which is enabled by interest. Like Amelia, Sophia cared about her parents, but unlike Amelia, her care entailed prioritising their needs above her own, to the extent that

she changed from her arts and media degree to law. As caring about another is a process by which we attend and pay attention to others, this can lead some second-generation Vietnamese Australians to make decisions that are contrary to their own desires, in that they prioritise their parents' own perspectives. While care may be "to act so that the happiness and pleasure of the cared-for will be enhanced... We are sometimes thrown into conflict over what the cared-for wants and what we think would be best for him" (Noddings, 2013, p. 23). Indeed, for Sophia, she recalled how "I once again, let myself kind of cave into their way of thinking, and I enrolled myself in law school after my first year of uni". In part, this decision was a means of alleviating their concern, and assuring them of her employability and her future stability. Yet Sophia also undertook the choice to transfer into law as a show of care, in spite of her own conflict over the decision. She "caved" to their way of thinking, acquiescing to their doubts. This compromise speaks to her care for them, in spite of her own misgivings, because of the ways in which her interest in their feelings produced in her a profound care for their perspectives and points of view.

Choosing to transfer into law was not arbitrary. When Sophia was growing up, her parents had often discussed the possibility of her becoming a lawyer as they recognised her aptitude for writing. She reflected:

I think they were worried though, like, 'I don't know what she's gonna do after high school, she likes to write, maybe she can be a lawyer, she was good at debating, so maybe she can do that, like that's pretty respectable', but because of their limited knowledge on what you could do after high school, it was hard for them to imagine a future for me where I was going to be financially secure and stable, and have the status that I think is important in the model minority mindset, yeah.

This decision is fuelled by more than pragmatic concern. Sophia's parents possessed their own aspiration – having their daughter graduate from law represented a pathway towards different forms of capital. It was a means of securing institutionalised cultural and economic capital, ensuring that she would have employment and stability. Moreover, it was a means of securing symbolic capital, whereby a degree in law would enable their daughter to earn recognition from others, as it is typically associated with prestige and status (Binder et al., 2016; Granfield, 1992; Schleef, 2000). In referencing the model minority mindset, Sophia alluded to the ways in which her parents sought to ensure that she would become a model citizen, who would be praised for her hard work and material successes that were acceptable to white, middle-class society (G. Park, 2015; Suzuki, 1995). This speaks to the level of care that underpins their aspiration – these parents are guided by their own experience of hardship, and their own lack of social standing, and as such, they sought to protect their daughter from experiencing instability but also from enduring a lack of social recognition. Her transition into law was received favourably by her parents as “they were like, ‘oh my god, she's gonna be a lawyer! Even if she isn't a lawyer, at least she's got a law degree’”.

Yet interest is central to making human activity stimulating and ultimately, rewarding. Alexander et al. (1995) acknowledge that “there is no human competence which can be achieved in the absence of a sustaining interest” (p. 77). That is, though Sophia had gained her parents' praise, she had no interest in pursuing this new degree and she eventually dropped out of university altogether. In her interview, she described the transition as a mistake, noting that her experience in the new degree was:

Oh, horrible because why was I even there? I wasn't interested in learning any of that stuff, I did that purely to try and see my parents be proud of me, it was a mistake, I shouldn't have done that, yeah.

Her parents' praise and approval was what she was interested in, rather than law itself. While a child may act in ways in order to gain their parents' favour (Bourdieu, 2000), the interest Sophia had in gaining the recognition of her parents was what motivated her decision. This could only go so far as her interest was only in her parents' approval, not in the degree itself. When Sophia told her parents that she had dropped out of university, she remembered that "oh, they were horrified". Her father Thao did not even mention this event in his interview.

After a few years of working, Sophia ultimately returned to university to complete her original degree in arts and media. This decision was made partly in response to a new job opportunity in the Australian public service. For Thao, obtaining her undergraduate degree was a practical choice in order to meet the requirements of her new role. Outside of this pragmatic reason for completing her degree, she returned to university because of her relationship with her parents. Even though she was completing her undergraduate degree in arts and media, a degree that initially inspired their trepidation, it was a choice that allowed her to mend her relationship with her parents. While she did not elaborate on this, Sophia alluded to the ways in which her relationship with her parents had deteriorated after she dropped out of university. She reflected on how:

By the time I got into the council job, that's when my graduation ceremony was, that's how I finished my degree, and that's when they were relieved, they were like, 'oh, thank goodness, she's got a degree', but yeah, that's how things panned out, and that's what I think kind of mended that part of our relationship.

For this family, the completion of the undergraduate degree was a turbulent, though necessary, aspect of their relationship. To her parents, the degree symbolised an opportunity to find success in terms of economic and symbolic capital. To Sophia, her attempt to study law was a means through which she could assuage her parents' fears and gain their pride.

While it temporarily worked, this was not enough to sustain her efforts. While finding secure employment did partially alleviate the stress of her decision to leave her studies, it was her return to finish her undergraduate degree in arts and media that allowed her to repair her relationship with her parents.

Caring about another requires a process of consideration of them in such a way as to orient choices and actions towards them, even though this may entail the sacrifice of one's own aspirations. While Vietnamese immigrant parents are guided by their understanding of hardship, their children often bear the burden of these experiences. The consequences of migration remain present in the habitus, as revealed in the parenting of the first-generation Vietnamese Australians, but these also manifest in the lives of the second-generation cohort, who may take on the responsibility of their parents' aspirations at the expense of their own interests.

“Bad” Aspirations and the Experience of Shame

The development of their academic and professional aspirations can reveal the ways in which second-generation Vietnamese Australian children care about their parents, yet they may experience a profound sense of shame when they fail to fulfil these aspirations. That is, while interest may engender the ways in which they care about their parents, affects of shame emerge from an interruption to interest. Shame instead reveals the depth and intensity of the initial interest once it is impeded. Drawing on Tomkins, Probyn (2005) writes that “interest involves a desire for connection. At a basic level, it has to do with our longing for communication, touch, lines of entanglement, and reciprocity” (p. x). Indeed, as Fisher and Tronto (1990) highlight, “love and affection connect us to others; caring about assumes a connection with others” (p. 42). However, when this connection is thwarted in some way, shame erupts.

As noted previously, high academic aspirations may focus on entry into prestigious university courses and professions and can often be reinforced at the level of family as well as community. However, while it may appear to benefit them by encouraging them to “work hard”, as described by Aiden, this closure can have a negative effect on those who feel that they do not conform. This is demonstrated by the experience of Natalie, a second-generation participant who grew up in western Sydney. Introduced in Chapter 5, Natalie attended a well-known academically selective secondary school, which, like Aiden, she described as being heavily dominated by Asian-background students. She also discussed how her cohort was comprised of different types of students. She recounted that some of her peers were “the ones that listen to their parents, go whole hog and become doctors, lawyers, whatever, good Asians”. Becoming doctors, lawyers, “whatever” was seen as something that a “good Asian” student does. She continued, “or you get the other one that completely rebels against everything” – the “bad” Asian students. She believed that she fitted into this second category because, unlike the “good Asians”, she did not listen to her parents and did not pursue medicine or law. Instead, she commenced a media degree but switched to linguistics, and at the time of her interview, she was retraining in cyber security. By characterising her school peers as either “good” or “bad” Asian students, Natalie renders the experiences of these students into specific categories that align with the model minority discourse (Y. Choi & Lim, 2015; Noble, 2017a; Yu, 2006).

As mentioned elsewhere, the model minority is used to describe Asian-background migrants who have achieved material success via hard work and compliance (R. Ho, 2015; Sun & Kim, 2014). In relation to education, it describes students who possess “model” qualities and who are high achievers. However, this monolithic identity, imbued with high expectations of success, “situates what ‘people like us’ should be within education” (Wong, 2015, p. 736). Those that do not perform as they are expected to, therefore, experience

increased burden and self-doubt (Wong, 2015; Yu, 2006; Zhou & Lee, 2014). Indeed, Natalie's identification as a "bad Asian" speaks to the ways in which her "failure" to conform puts her at odds with what is socially acceptable behaviour for Asian-background students like herself. It leads her, in some ways, to reject the popular "Asian" identity, an identity built upon restrictive parameters such as being a doctor or lawyer or being obedient to their parents. This can allude to a sense of shame, where students like Natalie may distance and dissociate themselves from their ethnic background due to the exclusionary nature of the "good" Asian stereotype (Lew, 2006; Noble, 2017a).

However, being a "good Asian" assumes a particular class background. For Natalie, her status as a "bad Asian" stems from a lack of middle-classness. She elaborates that:

My mum's always said that if we weren't poor, she would have put us into like tennis and piano and stuff, classic middle class Asian pursuits, but all that money went to tutoring, after-school tutoring, weekend tutoring, you know, tutoring to get into OC and selective, yeah.

Ironically, the family did have some level of economic capital – it simply was redirected towards tutoring. The act of labelling these activities within the stereotype of middle-class Asian migrants feeds into the essentialism of Asian migrants. Piano and tennis are upheld as markers of Asian-ness, but a specific type of Asian-ness that is class-based. They are a sign of "Asian" parenting and thus, "Asian" achievements. Of course, enrolling children into music and sport lessons does require economic capital – it is an ongoing commitment that requires financial investment. Yet to reduce them to a racial and ethnic dimension is to diminish the purpose of those investments, that is, to gain social distinction (Bourdieu, 1984). Rather, participants like Natalie believe that because they do not measure up to this class-inflected standard, they are stigmatised as "bad Asians".

This designation reflects the ways in which class as a category can be interwoven with one's character, where one's place in a socially determined hierarchy is a reflection of individual pathology. Social patterns of wealth, education, health and housing are merely symptoms of inequality – they are not explanations for them (Kuhn, 2005). Despite this, they are taken to be explanations for inequality and, through neoliberal discourse, are used to promote the assumption that, by possessing particular personal qualities, such as diligence, individuals can seemingly overcome their unequal positions. For some second-generation Vietnamese Australians, there is a “right” and a “wrong” way to be “Asian”, with middle-classness mediating this categorisation. Those who do not conform to this are characterised as “bad Asians” and the shame of not being a “good Asian” is internalised as individual pathology.

Yet this identity and label, like the model minority myth, masks the structural barriers that may contribute to lower academic performance amongst Asian-background students. Natalie herself acknowledged that her peers were not necessarily of a high socioeconomic status, calling her school full of “all povov Asians too, you know, we weren't, it wasn't middle class rich Chinese”. She elaborates that these are “the Viets, Cantos, some of the poorer Indians and stuff like that” – she assumes that her peers came from families who, like hers, did not arrive under skilled migration visas, though they may still have had some level of embodied cultural capital. Instead, she believes that their families came under refugee or family reunion visas, and seemingly possess lower levels of capital than the Australian-born population as well as other Asian-background immigrant communities. She also believes that her and her peers share the same socioeconomic background, as “not middle-class rich Chinese”. While Natalie's statements conflate various cultures and ethnicities into one homogenising category, it reflects the ways in which class and socioeconomic status can

impact on students' experience of schooling (Andersen & Hansen, 2012; Erikson, 2019; Portes & MacLeod, 1996; Watkins, 2021).

In this way, to reduce certain professional goals and achievements to the language of stereotype is to ignore the ways in which aspirations are constructed socially. They are produced within particular contexts and power relations, which become inculcated into the individual via affects. The experience of hardship amongst first-generation parents becomes embedded as dispositions in the habitus, where they promote particular expectations in an attempt to guide their children towards specific professions that are associated with stability and status. In relation to higher education, certain pathways are considered to be more desirable than others in that they are perceived to be more prestigious and secure: a perception that alludes to the ways in which higher education can facilitate economic, institutionalised and also symbolic capital. Yet the proliferation of the "Asian" label renders these aspirations an outcome of ethnicity and culture, overlooking the impact of migration on the parents and subsequently, the children. It also renders class inequality invisible, furthering the shame of the second-generation children who simply perceive themselves as "bad Asians", where they internalise the effect of structural barriers as personal deficit. Indeed, the stereotype of "Asian" successes "punishes underachieving students by masking real obstacles and needs for many students, fostering a sense of not fitting the stereotype and contributes to their 'self-silencing'" (Noble, 2017a, p. 2466).

As discussed, migrant parents can significantly shape their children's aspirations, yet this influence can be reduced by the "Asian" stereotype. In her own interview, Natalie's mother Tram spoke about how her attempts to persuade her daughter to become a doctor were rebuffed. Noted in Chapter 5, as a young girl in Vietnam, Tram was drawn to professions like pharmacy, dentistry, and medicine, and she had hopes of attending university. Ultimately, she was unable to realise these ambitions, as it was too costly to leave

her family home and she still was responsible for her younger siblings after the passing of her mother. Because of her own failed dreams, she particularly wanted her children to pursue the aspirations she was unable to – a career in healthcare was her dream that she hoped to pass onto her children. These are undoubtedly high expectations for her daughters' careers and speak to the ways in which Tram's disappointment in her own career inflected her aspirations for her children. Ultimately, this was not effective. Instead, Natalie rejected her mother's goals as "Asian". Tram recalled how:

Yes, I talked to them, but they said, 'mum [pause] You are so Asian, that's Asian talk, okay, let me do what I like, I don't want to be a doctor, mum, don't try to talk me out' [pause] So, so that's why it's hard for me to talk to them... Because they said, 'mum, all Asian mother wants their children to become a doctor, to become a dentist, pharmacist, nothing else', they said 'mum, all the jobs I would do, not only doctors or dentists or pharmacists', so what can I do [pause] I can't change their mind.

Tram's use of "Asian", learned from her daughters, is derisive. Being "Asian" is seen as negative and restrictive. Rather than facilitating a richer understanding of why Tram may want these aspirations for her daughters, the label of "Asian" frames her as the pushy and demanding tiger mother who wants her children to do medicine, instead of a mother whose own dreams were undermined.

Nevertheless, for some second-generation children, aspiring towards elite professions such as medicine or law is deeply enmeshed in their parents' circumstances. For Winnie, to become a doctor would be to ensure that she would not experience the same hardships as they had endured. Though she participated in this research alone, she shared what she knew of her parents' lives in her interview. She described how her father came to Australia as a refugee with his brother, having spent some time in a refugee camp in either Indonesia or Malaysia.

He married a Vietnamese woman when he arrived in Australia, and they had two children together. Eventually, Winnie's father and his first wife divorced. He travelled back to Vietnam, where he met and married her mother. The new couple then returned to Australia. Her father had finished high school in Vietnam, while her mother completed up to Year 10. Neither attended university. Since being in Australia, they were employed in various manual labour jobs – her father was still working as a fruit seller while her mother had retired after working in a meat factory.

Having their child graduate from a prestigious degree such as medicine would lead her to different forms of capital, echoing the perspectives of other parents in this research. For instance, it would allow Winnie to secure the required institutionalised cultural capital, which could then be leveraged into economic capital through stable and ongoing employment. Further, it would bestow on her symbolic capital, in that a degree and eventual career in medicine would enable their daughter to earn the recognition of others – indeed, participants of all generations tended to associate this profession with social status and prestige, which is a common perception (Griffin & Hu, 2019; C. Ho et al., 2023). These considerations speak to the care that underpins their aspiration – Winnie's parents were guided by their own experience of hardship and their own lack of social standing, and as such, they sought to encourage their daughter to aim high so that she could “be in a better place” than they were. These considerations reiterate the “off-field” life of agents (Lahire, 2014, p. 74), where the family as a site of socialisation shapes the participation of these children in the field of education and the national field. These relations are not solely defined by actions oriented by strategy and competition within fields. Rather, they must be conceived in terms of care.

Yet the strength of an aspiration does not necessarily equate to a capacity to achieve this goal, a disparity that can produce shame. Ball et al. (1999) note that for uneducated, working-class parents:

They have a future orientation but it is uncertain and tentative. Their familial resources do not provide a clear sense of ‘what might be’, and what things could be like or the links between the here and now and the possible then. (p. 212)

This reflects the ways in which an individual may develop an array of internalised values that are not adequately supported by dispositions to act (Lahire, 2003). The internalised values and ideals one may possess do not necessarily correspond to embodied dispositions to act, a discrepancy that generates shame (Lahire, 2003). This gap is also apparent for Winnie’s parents. That is, while they were encouraging and imparted their aspiration to their daughter, they did not have the necessary resources and competence, that is, the embodied cultural capital, to instil in their daughter corresponding dispositions to move towards fulfilling this aspiration. Instead, she did not have much pedagogic support at home. In her interview, she recalled how, because of their limited understanding of the Australian schooling system, her parents generally left her to devise her own routines and make her own decisions about school. She recalled how “at home, no one knew what they were doing... no one at home would tell me like, ‘hey, shouldn't you be studying right now?’”

This is a stark contrast to the parents discussed in Chapter 5, where their higher socioeconomic status in Vietnam and their embodied cultural capital allowed them to implement pedagogic practices that were attuned to academic achievement. Those parents had achieved varying levels of higher education, ranging from vocational diplomas to postgraduate qualifications, but these facilitated the acquisition of embodied capital that contributed to their competence to support their children’s education. As a result, they were

able to build dispositions for academic success in their children. Winnie's parents did not have this, reflecting a disparity in class background that affected her schooling. Without the necessary embodied cultural capital, these parents could not support the pursuit of high academic aspirations, which is not uncommon for immigrant parents (Basit, 2013; Louie, 2012; OECD, 2017). As Louie (2012) highlights, "although immigrant parents want the best for their children, the ones with fewer resources often lack the tools to help their children achieve their educational goals" (p. 93).

Social capital can play a role in alleviating this class-based disadvantage. For instance, Winnie turned to her school peers for assistance with her schooling, usually mimicking the routines and choices of her school friends. She did tutoring when she found out her friends were doing it and felt that it would be good to match this. Furthermore, since no one at home would encourage her to study, she mirrored the study routines of her friends, recalling that when they would revise, she would also begin revising. These methods were not ineffective, as she still performed well – she spoke about participating in accelerated and extension subjects in her final years of high school for subjects such as Business and Modern History. Indeed, relationships to community have been cited as a significant factor in shaping the educational outcomes of second-generation Vietnamese immigrants (e.g., Bankston et al., 1997; Fekjær & Leirvik, 2011; Portes & MacLeod, 1996). Yet, despite this aptitude for scholarly work, this was insufficient to help her achieve her childhood goal of becoming a doctor, an ambition that was instilled by her parents. What is apparent though is that their internalised beliefs about the prestige of the medical profession were powerless without corresponding competence, because "there are no conditions under which dispositions may turn them into reality" (Lahire, 2003, p. 337).

Despite the class-based disadvantages that may affect some migrant parents and their children, failure to achieve produces a profound sense of shame in the second-generation

cohort. Indeed, Winnie was quite self-depreciating of her childhood aspiration to become a doctor. This was not a tentatively held aspiration but one that she firmly held onto, and failing to realise it generated a strong sense of disappointment, affirming how the gap between dispositions to act and beliefs can provoke feelings of frustration and guilt (Lahire, 2003). As she continued to speak on the topic, Winnie reflected, “I look back now and I feel so delusional”, as if her childhood dream to become a doctor was somehow pure fantasy. This reflects both her investment but also the thwarting of that investment, highlighting the relationship between shame and interest. Probyn (2005) emphasises the connection between the affects of interest and shame, writing that “when we feel shame it is because our interest has been interfered with but not cancelled out” (p. 15). Winnie’s disappointment, “delusion” and self-depreciation are symptomatic of her enduring interest, which has become soured by the reality that she did not attain this goal. Further, because of how closely entangled this aspiration was with her relationship with her parents, her shame became even more acute. An interruption to her aspiration may have also been understood as an interruption to that relationship, moving her further from her parents. As Nathanson (1992) notes, “shame haunts our every dream of love. The more we wish for communion, so much more are we vulnerable to the painful augmentation of any impediment, however real or fancied” (p. 251). The failure to achieve her dream of becoming a doctor magnified the intensity of her desire to connect with them.

Drawing on Tomkins, interest is viewed as a positive affect, as it “extends them, creates new connections, and expands our experiential networks” (Frank & Wilson, 2020, p. 53). This relational dimension of interest, however, means that, any interruption to this interest is a profoundly shameful experience. Shame is described by Tomkins as an affect auxiliary, in that it requires the prior activation of another positive affect, such as interest (Frank & Wilson, 2020). Yet shame does not signal the loss of the interest – rather, “shame

flags the incomplete reduction of interest and joy” (Probyn, 2005, p. xii), a reduction in the connections that engendered the interest in the first place. For Winnie, her failure to achieve her childhood goal, one that was instilled in her by her parents, may represent a failure to connect with them. Caring about their aspirations, to the point of adopting them as their own, becomes a profoundly shameful experience when thwarted, because of the ways in which it is tied to a desire for connection.

In contrast, Winnie’s parents do not appear to suffer the same response of shame. Rather, their daughter’s achievement of higher education, no matter what degree was chosen, was enough. Winnie recalled their reaction to her decision to pursue a business degree after high school, noting that:

Going to university period ticked their box, so me telling them, ‘hey, I’m doing a business degree’, they’re like, ‘yeah sweet, it’s a degree, it’s business’, which is broad for them to understand, it’s still a respectable profession to enter into, it was good enough, because to them that means ‘she’s getting an office job, so she’s gonna get paid to like sit at a desk and do whatever’, so that sounds good enough.

Evidently, the primary goal was for Winnie to go to university, regardless of whether she pursued medicine. It was not simply the economic benefits of a degree, but also the symbolic gains of this achievement that made higher education a desirable pathway. Business was particularly appealing – for her parents, the prospect of their daughter working in an office, away from meat factories and fruit markets, was more than sufficient. This was a version of symbolic capital that her parents were otherwise denied, in that she was able to work a “respectable” job. While this may express a kind of instrumentalist approach to education, it highlights the ways in which these capitals were prioritised due to their parents’ hardships.

While business was not her initial aspiration, it was an adequate solution to the class-based problem of insecurity, one that was passed down from her parents.

However, shame is embodied, becoming dispositions in the habitus which subsequently “naturalise” individual deficit (Loveday, 2015). For Winnie, her shame augments the intensity of her failure, manifesting as a perceived deficiency in the self (Nathanson, 1992), while masking the way this stems from insufficient resources. Shame does not allow her to conceive of the gap between her ambition, her parents’ lack of embodied cultural capital, and her own embodied dispositions. This extends beyond the goal of medicine and may have contributed to her decision to choose business. That is, despite how different it was from medicine, the appeal of a business degree came, not just from its utility, but also from its relation to her sense of competence. In Years 10 and 11, Winnie completed the subject Accelerated HSC Business Studies, which allowed her to complete two units of her final exams before the last year of school. This was of course an impressive accomplishment. Moreover, it instilled in her the idea that because she was adept at it, it was what she would be happy to do in her career. She noted, “I think the idea of being good at it makes me happy because I want to feel smart and feel like I'm doing a good job”. Completing this subject in high school provided validation of her competence, as it was a recognition that came from others but that also facilitated self-recognition (Noble, 2004). Her experience highlights the complex factors that can shape decisions made in relation to education. On one hand, her choice of business was compelled by a need for financial security and a comfortable work environment, something that her parents did not experience in their own careers but that they wanted for her. On the other hand, the recognition of her competence contributed to the decision to study and eventually, to find work in the area.

This recognition does not negate her shame. Indeed, a sense of ambivalence becomes apparent through the passive language Winnie employed when describing her university

degree and her achievements, which included graduating with a Bachelor of Business and gaining full-time employment in marketing. Though impressive, she was indifferent towards these achievements, reflecting, “I just think about where I ended up now and how I just set the bar so high when I was so young, and I don't know if past me would be disappointed or not”. Winnie’s childhood goals are seen as being so unattainably out of reach that they somehow eclipsed her current achievements. The description of where she “ended up now” suggests a complete dismissal of her successes when viewed in the light of her childhood dream. Moreover, when asked about her degree, she reflected, “business was generic and broad enough, so I kind of ended up there”. She elaborated that it was:

Broad enough to get a job, like, my understanding was, business was a really broad degree that could take you to a lot of places, and so, if you do a business degree, you could end up like in any field of business, whether it be from like finance, to HR [human resources], to marketing to whatever, you’ll end up somewhere, that was good enough for me, like, you kind of need a job after uni, and that just ticked that box.

Choosing her degree is framed almost as a serendipitous encounter, in that she had no intention of being there, but this was where she found herself. Moreover, while her choice gave her a multitude of options, which she discussed in her interview, she maintained a notion that her trajectory was, in some ways, out of her control – that choosing this degree would allow her to “end up somewhere”. There is a sense of passivity, in that Winnie appeared to be waiting for a kind of external intervention to take her to wherever she would end up. She would simply end up wherever she would end up. Rather than exhibiting any kind of “agency” in her decision making, she presented her degree choice as simply an outcome of events happening *to* her, rather than a choice that she actively pursued. Her

passive language reflects a lack of control, where she was simply buffeted by external circumstances, which pushed her to her degree and eventually to employment.

Shame also compounds through popular tropes of “passion”. Winnie’s indifference to her accomplishments speak to the ways in which these achievements appear to lack the intensity of passion. Cech (2021) describes how passion “refers to a deep personal commitment to an occupational field or productive task realm... It is about individuals’ sense of connection to, and sense of fulfillment from, their substantive career fields” (p. 5). Winnie perceives her choice of business as lacking a level of commitment, connection and fulfilment, making her conceive of her choice as somehow lesser. Passion is what she believes is absent from her achievement, but it is a lack that she is made conscious of through others. She contrasted her own indifference to her career with her peers, who she believed had passion for their areas of study and work. She reflected:

I feel like it's kind of lame, because some of my other friends have always had passions, I don't know whether that came from their parents or whatever, but they've always been super passionate about something, and I feel like I've never been able to relate to that, like I've never been passionate about anything, no one says they're passionate about accounting, people around you tell you, ‘pick a job that you love then it never feels like working’, just those kind of anecdotes and I never felt like I could relate to that.

Rather than doing a course that she was passionate about, such as medicine, Winnie chose instead a degree that “ticked a box”, which was business – yet she is made to feel that this choice is inferior. As noted elsewhere, the choices that are made by second-generation participants can be oriented towards their parents’ expectations of stability and status, because of their class-based circumstances, but these are undermined by the trope of

“passion”. It is often a burden to those who seemingly cannot pursue work they are passionate about – that is, “encouraging first-generation and working-class students to deprioritise economic mobility and job security in lieu of passion-seeking may... help perpetuate patterns of disadvantage” (Cech, 2021, p. 71). The discourse of passion seemingly invalidates choices of necessity, disguising the capital that is typically required in order to pursue purely passion-driven pursuits, in that, “not everyone has the financial, educational, or social resources to parlay their passion into gainful employment” (Cech, 2021, p. 12). Being able to pursue one’s passions presumes a level of privilege, though the discourse itself masks the systematic inequalities that may necessitate more “pragmatic” choices around education and work (Cech, 2021).

The familial context, and the forms of capital available, therefore profoundly shapes the development of aspirations, despite the potential absence of resources to support these aspirations. Donovan (2017) writes that “their experiences and their family’s experiences inform them in an immediate, *practical* way of the risks and constraints they face in their lives; and these too, become embodied as dispositions, influencing the kinds of futures they imagine for themselves” (p. 408). For Winnie, her parents’ disadvantaged background and lack of education inculcated in her an understanding of the importance of economic capital, orienting her actions and choices in higher education towards more instrumentalist and practical degrees. Yet she experiences *shame* because of this pragmatism, as it appears contrary to widely accepted discourses of passion and fulfilment. This individualistic focus of “failure” and “success” fosters judgement about capability and motivation (Burke, 2017), while neglecting to consider the structural factors that can necessitate “pragmatic” degrees.

Such discourses have the effect of perpetuating shame. Passion is imagined as both antecedent and outcome, and this makes it so that Winnie’s achievements are somehow less worthy of commendation, in that they did not deliver on the returns that were promised by a

more “interesting” degree such as medicine. Her perceived lack of passion may stem from the idea that she has not adequately made use of the opportunities available to her, in that she somehow failed to take advantage of career pathways that *might* have instilled passion in her. Indeed, Sennett and Cobb (1972) write that “when all the discipline of sticking it out in school yields an occupation they feel little engagement in, they hold themselves to blame, for not feeling more self-confidence, for having failed to develop” (p. 28). This is apparent for Winnie, whose feelings of indifference towards her education and her work manifest in a kind of self-depreciation due to her failure to fulfil a childhood goal that she had so longed for. Instead, she sees herself as “lame” for not having the same passion as her peers. Rather than celebrating her achievements, Winnie is made to feel that they are somehow less than for failing to incite passion in the same way that she may have anticipated from a degree in medicine, and in the way that others may appear to experience their working lives.

Yet the enduring shame of failure disguises the ways in which others may not feel shame. Nearly a year after her interview, Winnie reached out to say that after much delay due to the COVID-19 lockdowns, she finally attended her university graduation ceremony. Though she was not particularly interested in the event, as she had finished her degree some time earlier, her parents urged her to register for the ceremony. She also shared a photo from the day, taken by the official graduation photographers. In it, Winnie is holding a bouquet of brightly coloured flowers. On her right, her mother is beaming with joy. On her left, her father is almost smirking, pride evident in his face. There is no doubt that they are thrilled by their daughter’s achievement, and while she herself may not necessarily be filled with the same excitement, it is undeniable from the photo that they are proud of her. Understandably so – she is educated, she works professionally, and she has likely the potential to earn more economic capital than either of them could with two incomes. Her accumulation of capital has allowed her to live with greater security, more comfort, and more privilege than her

parents. Yet, due to the lingering shame of her failure to become a doctor, she overlooks the impressive nature of her accomplishments, continuing instead to express disappointment and frustration in spite of her successes. This enduring shame reflects the ways in which her initial interest was impeded but not fully erased. It may in fact indicate her ongoing desire to appeal to her parents, though it masks the ways in which she may have already gained their approval.

In this way, caring about their parents' aspirations may also make immigrant children vulnerable to the experience of shame. That is, when their interest in connecting with their first-generation parents is undermined, this results in a profound shame. Though Vietnamese immigrant parents may influence their children's education aspirations, encouraging them to pursue more traditionally prestigious degrees, this does not automatically translate into academic competence to pursue these degrees due to class-based disadvantages. Yet failure to accomplish these aspirations results in a profound experience of shame, affirming the ways in which interest and shame are linked. This shame ultimately shapes the ways in which second-generation children perceive any subsequent accomplishments, as they are haunted by the initial aspiration.

The Labour of Shame

When aspirations for higher education are unmet, shame erupts, signalling the endurance of the aspiration as well as the pain of an unfulfilled connection. As shown through Winnie's experiences, shame can manifest as diminished self-confidence. Yet it may also be the catalyst for the performance of affective labour, which is a form of immaterial labour that is "focused on the creation and manipulation of affects" (Hardt, 1999, p. 95). It is commonly enacted to produce emotional responses, particularly joyful ones. Though frequently applied to discussions of health care services, service industries, and women's

work, affective labour is present across all interactions and human contact (Wissinger, 2007). In the face of academic failure, affective labour may function to protect an individual against the painful intensity of shame. This is exemplified by Cecilia, a second-generation participant, who grew up in western Sydney. Her parents did not take part in the research. Her father worked in construction, operating forklifts but at the time of her interview, had begun working at a warehouse packing orders. Her mother stayed at home to look after the children but had only recently returned to the workforce. She mentioned that she did sewing but did not elaborate further on the nature of her mother's work.

Cecilia's educational journey was not something she is proud of – while she graduated from high school, she described how she failed her Year 12 exams, and as a result, was unable to attend university immediately after high school. This was the result of intense burn-out and exhaustion. When asked if she was happy with her performance at school, she replied:

Oh, definitely not, definitely not... I did too much to the point I burnt myself out and then Year 12, which was the most important year of all, I didn't do well at all, yeah, I remember when the ATAR marks came out, I was so disappointed and because I was the first in my immediate family to go through HSC and get the ATAR, I remember my parents were very excited [pause] They were kind of like standing next to me while I was like opening up the computer and to load up everything and then just seeing my ATAR marks not high and then seeing their reactions broke my heart, but I still felt like they were very forgiving, yeah probably they were kind of really disappointed in me for quite a while but I think with parents, they kind of just eventually come around.

She elaborated that, from their tone of voice and their body language, she could perceive her parents' disappointment. Her vivid recollection of the morning of the ATAR mark release, where she remembered the initial excitement of her parents which transformed into heart-breaking disappointment, conveyed the impact of this event. It was a morning that had such a strong effect on her, to the extent that she could still recall the body language, tone and positioning of her parents as they stood next to her while she loaded the website. Similar to Winnie, who failed to achieve her childhood dream of becoming a doctor, Cecilia experienced in this moment an intense sensation of shame due to her perceived failure, a shame that was magnified by her parents' reactions. Her shame was related not to a specific professional goal, but more to the goal of doing well in high school. As the first in her family to complete the HSC, she felt acutely the pressure to achieve good marks. It was not only for her but for them as well, emphasising the role that parents may play in generating their children's academic aspirations. This made her failure even more painful and heart-breaking. While she acknowledged that her parents expressed forgiveness, she did not describe how this was conveyed. Their forgiveness also did not alleviate the intense shame she felt during, and after, this particular morning.

Activated by the interruption of interest, shame can undermine that which was once enjoyable. For Cecilia, she continued to persevere in her attempt to enrol in university, completing two vocational diplomas to improve her chances of doing so. The first diploma – in graphic design – was completed with the intention of leveraging this qualification into a degree. However, when the diploma was completed, she felt that graphic design was not for her. She pivoted instead into a Diploma of Visual Arts – and similarly finished feeling that this was not a pathway she wanted to pursue for “the rest of my life”. With two diplomas already completed, Cecilia was successful in gaining entry into her preferred university. Through her efforts, she was admitted into a Bachelor of Design, where she felt that she

could experience and gain skills in a variety of different areas, which would circumvent the indifference she felt towards graphic design and visual arts. Yet, after one semester, Cecilia deferred “to find herself” and spent the remainder of the year gaining work experience. She eventually returned to university, though again, after one semester, she could not endure it and ultimately dropped out of university altogether. On her experience of higher education, she reflected, “it’s a very, very big jump and different transition, kind of just like, smack bang in my face, like I knew uni was hard but oh my god”. The transition from vocational school to university, coupled with the intensive workload, was too difficult for her, causing her to abandon higher education altogether.

Indeed, the challenges faced in higher education may reflect the endurance of shame that emerged from an initial academic failure. Cecilia experienced significant difficulty in finding her preferred area of study and in adjusting to the setting of higher education, which alludes to the enduring shame she experienced following Year 12. Since childhood, she had always enjoyed activities like drawing and crafts and described how she had always been “a very hands on, like a practical person”. In high school, Cecilia chose creative and design-centred subjects, including Visual Arts, Textiles and Graphic Design, which reflected her personal preferences and attributes. The move to a new high school reflected her strong desire to pursue a career in these areas. Yet, because of her poor marks, those disciplines and areas of interest may have become tinged with shame, impacting how she then perceived her aptitude and her potential future in those disciplines. This is not unlike Winnie, whose failure and subsequent shame brought into sharp focus her perceived deficiency, rather than allowing her to conceive of the gap between her aspiration and her embodied capacity (Lahire, 2003). After completing diplomas in graphic design and visual arts, Cecilia “could not imagine myself doing that for the rest of my life”, suggesting the ways in which shame may have inhibited her ability to imagine her future in these creative, design-focused fields.

Subsequently, she pivoted towards a more generalist degree. Yet going to university was still much more difficult than she anticipated. This is not uncommon for first-in-family university students who come from disadvantaged backgrounds, who may struggle to navigate the setting of higher education despite the increased attempts by universities to retain students from lower socioeconomic backgrounds (Gale & Parker, 2017; Kalil et al., 2012; Sellar, 2013; Sellar & Gale, 2011; Watkins, 2021).

Indeed, shame leads an individual to withdraw and to instead engage in the “reactive phase of shame” (Nathanson, 1992, p. 309). This phase involves various tactics, such as buffers and justifications, so as to minimise or limit the shame. Rather than find pleasure in what she used to, her shame moved her away from those activities and interests – but it also moved her away from her parents. That is, her shame provoked acts of concealment so as to subdue the intensity of her shame. Nathanson (1992) highlights how shame leads an individual to keep hidden that which is “the resource, the reservoir of shame” (p. 21). For Cecilia, this “reservoir of shame”, that is, the abandonment of her studies, has led to a years-long deception. She had not disclosed to her parents that she dropped out of university. Her father was not even aware that she had completed vocational certificates. According to her, he believed she had transitioned immediately from high school to university. For the past five years, she had pretended to attend university and, at the time of the interview, was afraid to admit the truth to her parents. Because of this, she did not extend the invitation to participate in this research to her parents, fearing that they would learn the truth. Her parents knew she was working in a professional workplace but believed her to be working along with her tertiary studies. Even during her interview, as she was discussing her university experience and exit, she began to whisper, emphasising her fear that her parents would overhear her talking about it. The shame she feels over her failure has caused her to completely withdraw from them through the act of lying.

However, the intensity of shame speaks to the intensity of the initial interest (Probyn, 2005). Cecilia's aspiration was to do well academically and graduate from university. As the first in her family to finish high school in Australia, these achievements would have been a significant milestone. The context of her family circumstances generated this aspiration, where she felt that she, as the elder child of uneducated immigrants, was responsible for succeeding on behalf of her family. Yet, like Winnie, she did not have pedagogic support at home to be able to meet her goals. Her parents did not possess the appropriate embodied capital despite their best efforts to provide resources for her schooling. For instance, she described how they would take her to purchase new stationery for school, as well as additional exercise workbooks, filled with activities for her to complete. They also enrolled her in different tutoring centres. They even purchased a new laptop for her so that she could use it for her studies. Despite these provisions, she did not develop dispositions that were aligned with scholarly endeavour. That is, while she was equipped with the tools for work, she did not develop the discipline required for academic study – in fact, she admitted that during Year 12, she would go to the library but, instead of working, she would spend most of the time playing on her mobile. Where other parents in this research spoke of practices like sitting beside their children and closely monitoring their work, which were outlined in Chapter 5, Cecilia's parents did not appear to engage in these practices. While they were generous with their resourcing, this was insufficient in generating habits for scholarly work that may have held their daughter in good stead as she progressed through school. This disadvantage is masked by the notion of the model minority and "Asian" parents, which instead focuses on the material successes of Asian-background migrants (Lew, 2006; Li, 2005). It overlooks the ways in which class and socioeconomic status can impact the educational achievement of these students, while also imposing a standard whereby anyone who fails to meet this benchmark are conceived of as "bad Asians", even by educators

(Matthews, 2002; Noble, 2017a). This becomes internalised instead as a problem of individual pathology, rather than being understood as the effect of class-based disadvantage on people's everyday lives.

Ultimately, accumulated affects of shame coalesce to produce dispositions in the habitus to inform behaviour and action. Since second-generation children like Cecilia negotiate and develop their aspirations within the parent-child relationships, shame can generate actions of protection that prevent their parents from being afflicted with this same shame of academic failure. For Cecilia, the accumulated affects of shame made it so that deception appeared as a reasonable and logical response. The morning of the ATAR results discovery engendered such intense affects of shame, in that she can still recall the minute details of her parents' heartbreak and disappointment. This event, which was supposed to bring joy to her and her family, became a source of ongoing pain, and may have also impacted her drive to endure the challenges of university. Abandoning her university studies was another event that caused intense shame, as her achievement of higher education was supposed to be another milestone for the family to celebrate. The accumulated affects of shame, emerging from these moments of failure, manifested in such a way as to signify to Cecilia that it would be better to deceive them, than it would be to endure the weight of her parents' displeasure. As conceived by Tomkins, shame is an affect of self-protection (Frank & Wilson, 2020). Activated upon the interruption of positive affects such as interest, it functions to bring attention to the impediment to that interest, and in so doing, teaches individuals how to avoid the loss of those positive affects in the future (Frank & Wilson, 2020). Her shame made it logical to withhold the truth from her parents. It became "natural" to maintain a lie that she was still in university, and this deception is itself a form of affective labour. By lying, she would not become the cause of her parents' disappointment again, and in turn, she would not have to suffer their heartbreak again.

This affective labour, as activities that produce affects for others (Hardt, 2007), allowed Cecilia to present a façade of success for them, in spite of her disappointing ATAR results. She engaged silence so as to protect them from the fact that she dropped out of university, thereby also protecting herself from their disappointment. As noted previously, shame arises due to our desire for connection, what is also called interest (Nathanson, 1992; Probyn, 2005). Cecilia's deception is a means through which she attempts to preserve the very relation that engendered the aspiration that she could not fulfil. In this way, the affective labour that springs from her shame reveals the ongoing desire she has to appeal to her parents. J. Thomas and Correa (2015) highlight that "affective labour is concerned with the production of relationships between social actors, and the environments they inhabit" (p. 11). As her shame is embedded within her as dispositions, it informs her interactions with her parents, in an attempt to maintain those bonds. This is indicative of a notion of care, in that "caring is social because caring efforts speak ultimately to our survival as a species rather than as isolated individuals... it involves social interactions that contain the potential for conflict" (Fisher & Tronto, 1990, p. 39). Affective labour can be conceived as a caring activity, in that it averts conflict and negative sentiments. To some degree, it can foster connection – within certain limits.

However, shame can become exacerbated by those same bonds. To some extent, Cecilia's deception seemed enabled by her parents. She acknowledged that she had, in her own way, tried to tell them the truth, noting:

I just know they aren't gonna react well, because when I have brought up this kind of similar situation of maybe a friend I knew, they didn't react really well, because I was easing into it but when I told them, and I saw that kind of response, I backed away, and then I just felt more encouraged to go on with the lie.

This event affirmed to her that lying was preferable, as their reactions discouraged her from telling the truth. She elaborated on her parents' reaction, saying:

It was kind of like, 'how can you drop out? You know, it's so easy, the work's there', it's just like, 'if you don't do or graduate from a uni course, you're a failure, you know, you're never gonna get a job', yeah, just very negative connotations towards it.

Her parents seemingly displayed an unsupportive and unsympathetic reaction to the idea that someone may drop out of higher education. These reactions hindered her from trying again to reveal the truth, perpetuating the deception and drawing out the experience of shame.

Yet the aspirations that caused this shame simultaneously reveal the care that comes from hardship. Indeed, her parents' reaction is perhaps unfairly judged by Cecilia. It is apparent that they recognise the benefits of higher education, in that a degree can be leveraged to gain skilled employment. They may fear that, without a degree, their daughter would be disqualified from getting the kind of work that they themselves have been unable to secure. Her parents both work in labour-intensive, low-skilled roles, and neither of them are educated. Similar to Winnie's parents, they possessed a very limited understanding of what university entails. While their perceptions of higher education may appear instrumental, the desire for their daughter to secure stable and comfortable employment is informed by their own hardships. For these parents, the achievement of higher education is not only a product of competition but is desired because of the ways in which it can prevent their children from experiencing manual labour. They assumed that without a degree, Cecilia would only secure work that mirrored their own, drawing on their personal experience to reach these conclusions. Furthermore, higher education is sought because of how it may shield their daughter from the stigma of being branded a failure, highlighting the notion that this capital accumulation possesses a symbolic dimension. A university degree would bestow

respectability and esteem on their daughter, something that they, as uneducated and non-English speaking migrants have been denied. Even if it was not conveyed in an empathetic way, at least, in Cecilia's recollection, her parents desired her security and her respectability in the form of stable employment, ensured via education.

Similar to Winnie, the experience of shame can mask ongoing or current achievements. For Cecilia, she did not have a clear plan on how to reveal to her parents that she dropped out of university. She mentioned that she was hoping to secure "a full-time job with like, really good pay" and then tell them, but otherwise had no inclination to disclose the truth to them. In hoping for a job with a high salary, she believes that this will counteract her parents' anger and disappointment. This highlights the importance of economic capital, where she believes that a certain level of income will appease her parents by demonstrating that she has achieved security in her work without necessarily needing a university degree. A higher income may also represent a compromise to higher education, by indicating that she can still achieve security without a degree. She is currently taking steps towards that goal. For her artefact, she described a digital certificate for her newest qualification in the field of user experience. To her, this represented a new start – it was not an industry that she had previously known, but through social media, she found and began following a role model whose job was in this industry. It intrigued her, and she became interested in this field, admitting that this had been the first time in a long time that she had felt this way. She noted:

It was kind of just like stepping my feet into a totally different field but something that I was really passionate about, I felt I was finally getting a gist of like who I am and where I want to go and it was just a really big deal to me, because I think ever since high school, I've been very lost, that's like five or six years, so yeah, it's been a

very long journey so I think to come to the point where I finally found something that speaks to me, it just makes me happy, I feel like that holds a lot of value to me.

Evidently, pursuing this new diploma in a new field has reignited Cecilia's sense of purpose and joy. Her shame was still evident, in that she remained self-deprecating of her achievement, much like Winnie. Even though she was excited about the potential opportunities in the field, she continued to diminish the value of her new diploma by complaining about how "it's like five years, and I'm just like 'I only did that?'". These are the reverberations of shame, which have corroded her sense of self. Yet, it is this new diploma that may allow her to finally reveal the truth to her parents. That is, while it is unlikely that she had shared this achievement with her parents, it may represent an opportunity to move beyond the burden of shame and to instead, turn towards her parents and reveal the truth to them.

Nathanson (1992) acknowledges that while shame may teach an individual the importance of privacy, which would protect us from shame, it is itself "so deeply painful and so antithetical to love" (p. 235) – the desire to withdraw may be a compensatory strategy but one that impedes intimacy. Shame undermines what has been most interesting or enjoyable, and to withdraw from that would be to also withdraw from that which gives us joy. Cecilia's acts of silence and deception, as forms of affective labour, speak to the ways in which relations can engender affects of interest and shame, which can sediment as dispositions in the habitus. Moreover, her parents believed that a university education would protect their daughter from insecure and labour-intensive employment and would protect her from being labelled a failure. The pursuit of higher education is thus, not simply an outcome of competition, but is informed by their own difficult experiences of work as uneducated

immigrants. However, without the required embodied cultural capital, this aspiration and its associated capital are often difficult for second-generation children to acquire.

For some second-generation Vietnamese Australians, the shame associated with academic failure can become so deeply embedded in the habitus as to compel affective labour. It is a labour born out of self-protection – out of caring about another, and out of a desire to maintain that which sustains them: connection (Fisher & Tronto, 1990). Affective labour, as actions of care, reveal children's investment into those connections, even though it may in fact diminish them. Preserving those relations via the performance of affective labour speaks to the ways in which they care for their parents and their aspirations.

Conclusion

The transmission of aspirations from first-generation Vietnamese parents to their children reveals a more subtle process of care, where they may take on their parents' aspirations in a display of consideration and regard. This care is generated by affects of interest. Yet these aspirations and relationships can also become sources of shame when those goals are not met. As Probyn (2005) writes, “the feeling of shame teaches us about our relations to others” (p. 35). It reveals both the depth and intensity of our desire to connect with others. Shame, as interrupted interest, can, in fact, be so powerful that it compels us to carry out affective labour to conceal or disguise these aborted interests from those who engendered the interests in the first place. As such, aspirations for higher education are not only strategic, in terms of the capital that they can accrue via university education but are pursued by second-generation Vietnamese Australian children in an attempt to display their care for their parents.

Ultimately, the unfulfilled aspirations of some of the second-generation Vietnamese Australians in this chapter speak to the resonating impact of class, and how their parents' lack

of embodied cultural capital can shape the parenting that these children receive. These unmet aspirations, though internalised as signs of personal deficiency, reveal the limitations of discourses such as the model minority, which neglect to consider the class-based disadvantages that can plague some Asian migrant groups and families. Presenting this diaspora in such reductive and homogenising terms has the effect of alienating those who do not appear to conform to these narrow conceptions, who instead believe that they are “bad Asians”.

Conclusion

Beyond the “Asian” Stereotype: Bringing Together Care and Strategy

This thesis has sought to demonstrate that first-generation Vietnamese parents have a profound influence on their Australian-born children’s educational and occupational aspirations and trajectories. It has considered how migration, and its subsequent hardships, can become embedded as dispositions in the habitus via affects, thus shaping immigrant parents’ expectations and motivations for their children’s high academic achievement and professional success. In doing so, it has illuminated the inseparability of strategy and care, which are interwoven in the investments of these parents in their children’s education, and which are evident in the second-generation cohort’s own actions and ambitions. It emphasises that the downward mobility that these immigrants often experience upon their arrival in Australia cannot be overlooked, as it contributes to the high aspirations that many hold in relation to their children’s future. Their intensive efforts are conceived of as the primary way to protect their children from hardship, where they attempt to instil in them habits and dispositions that will allow them to succeed at school and in work, drawing on their stock of embodied cultural capital. This is, of course, unequally distributed, meaning that some parents are more effectively able to build in their children the necessary dispositions to succeed in school and beyond compared to others. Yet for many second-generation Vietnamese Australians, their achievement of higher education and their acquisition of stable employment have contributed to their upward mobility relative to their parents’ socioeconomic status.

Considering the interconnectedness of strategy and care challenges culturally essentialist stereotypes. Those around “Asian” students, “Asian” parenting and so on are a means of constructing and maintaining a status quo wherein individuals of Asian background

are pathologized for their difference. They also feed into the model minority myth. Being perceived as a model minority might assume a level of success in terms of academic and career achievement, but it is harmful in that not all people of Asian background are economically or materially successful (Sun & Kim, 2014; Yu, 2006). It erases systemic issues such as racism and other structural barriers that Asian-background people continually face. That is, while stereotypes around being math geniuses, piano prodigies, and doctors may appear positive, it has the effect of marginalising Asian-background people from the Anglo mainstream and also from other ethnic minorities, perpetuating negative perceptions of other communities and people of colour. They reinforce a hierarchy that deems Asians to be the superior minority group to which all other minorities must seemingly defer to as a model of successful assimilation (Chang & Au, 2008; Y. Choi & Lim, 2015). However, this ignores the impact of class-based disadvantages, which can undermine the academic outcomes of second-generation immigrant children, and indeed, all children. To that end, this research moves away from discourses of tiger parents and so on, and instead focuses on the interactions and actions that take place between parents and children, children and communities, as well as parents and other parents, all of which affect children in relation to their education and work. It allows us to dissolve the more generic and essentialising tropes that can plague Asian-background children and families, focusing instead on the everyday parenting practices within migrant households, and their impact on educational achievement.

For Vietnamese migrant parents, educational and occupational successes are sought in order to protect against the threat of insecurity (Zourzani, 2002). These are immigrants who experienced loss, dislocation, and precarity, the affects of which are inculcated within their habitus. Because of this, it is understandable that they would want to ensure that their children do not experience these same hardships. This alludes to the care they have for their children, which powerfully informs their expectations for their education. These expectations

are conveyed to the second-generation cohort via the practice of sharing migration stories, which was examined in Chapter 4. These stories generated affective responses of defiance, guilt, acceptance, and gratitude in the second-generation children. In hearing of their parents' hardships, the second-generation children became motivated to develop their own strategies through which they could display care for their parents.

This motivation is also supported by pedagogic practices and interventions, which are facilitated by class-inflected stocks of capital. There is no doubt that the families in this research invested heavily in their children's school and work, some more effectively than others due to their levels of embodied cultural capital. Despite their own barriers in work and schooling, many of the parents who participated used a range of strategies and resources to assist their children's school performance, which were outlined in Chapter 5. The deployment of these practices rested on the parents' level of embodied capital, allowing them to implement routines and habits that were attuned to academic achievement. The experiences of these parents and children reveal not only what it takes to become educationally successful, but also the costs that come from this success. The array of practices discussed in this thesis speak to the dedication of these immigrant parents, though the children are themselves profoundly affected by these practices. The educational successes of the participants in this thesis are impressive, though it is also important to conceive of the negative impact of these high parental expectations on these second-generation children.

Similarly, while Vietnamese migrant parents may encourage their children towards more prestigious pathways, as a result of their experiences of migration and downward mobility, their Australian-born children are often compelled to make choices that align with their parents' aspirations in a display of their own care. This dimension of aspiration was explored in Chapter 6, which examined how ambitions for higher education are generated within the context of parent-child relationships. These choices may be sought even if they

may be at odds with their own desires. However, this can engender negative experiences of shame if the aspirations are unmet, even in the face of class-based disadvantage. Here, the role of interest and shame, which contribute to the formation of aspirations for higher education, becomes apparent, illuminating the ways in which the second-generation children are compelled to care for, and about, their parents.

Ultimately, it becomes apparent that migration, and its subsequent challenges, can linger as dispositions in the habitus that contribute to the desire to accumulate forms of capital, notably, institutionalised cultural and economic capital. This illuminates the ways in which the acquisition of these forms of capital is not just driven by competition in the field of education or the national field. Rather, it is also informed by family relations, which encompass activities that occur in life outside the field (Lahire, 2014), that is, in sites of socialisation where competition is not the primary driver of action. In this way, a desire for capital is not exclusively driven by strategy and competition but is also about the care of immigrant parents and their children, for whom experiences of hardship remain very much in the present. Affect allows a consideration of this by bringing to light the effect of the world on us, which becomes constitutive of individual subjectivity as dispositions in the habitus (Watkins, 2016).

This research has been a chance to extend on the relationship between capital, habitus, and affect, which can provide more nuanced understanding of the relational factors underpinning educational and professional success. In shifting the focus away from simply questions of power and domination, it has primarily investigated the more micro and everyday interactions and practices that can contribute to these achievements. I am not intending to dismiss the role of structural forces on my participants: the migration of first-generation Vietnamese Australians was often marked by downward mobility, discrimination, low skilled employment opportunities, as well as the devaluation of educational

qualifications. However, the use of a notion of affect enables consideration of the ways in which these structural forces register at small scales (Love, cited in Chinn, 2012). These structural oppressions produced particular affects on this cohort, acting upon them in such a way as to shape their approach to, and strategy for, their children's educational and occupational aspirations and trajectories. Affect, thus, demonstrates how those effects linger and sediment to inform action and motivation in the parenting of this immigrant cohort.

The significance of this research lies in the way it has sought to expand how we conceive of parenting practice, particularly in relation to Asian-background migrants. It has attempted to emphasise that there is more to parenting than what is suggested by the stereotypes of pushy "Asian" parents, focusing on dimensions of class and cultural capital, as well as the transmission of affects. The strategic endeavours of the Vietnamese immigrant parents in this research are not exclusively outcomes of competition, but are instead produced by experiences of exclusion, rejection, and failure. These experiences, and their lingering effects, can be illuminated by a notion of affect, as "affect is made visible through its expression, and the marks it leaves behind on the bodies through which it passes" (J. Thomas & Correa, 2015, p. 6). A notion of affect emphasises that we are social beings, constituted through social practices and contexts (Sayer, 2011). Moreover, these affects create in children certain embodied habits and dispositions that orient them towards academic endeavour, but they may also induce in them profound shame, anger, doubt, and gratitude. While there is an underrepresentation of low- or uneducated first- and second-generation Vietnamese Australians within the sample, this research begins to unpack the complexity that is built into the relationships between immigrant parents and children, emphasising the tensions and nuances that characterise these relationships.

Similarly, the use of notions of capital, habitus and affect allow for a deeper understanding of academic and professional achievement as more than just forms of capital.

These successes are not simply sought for their effect on agents' positions in the field, allowing them to compete with others, but they should also be considered in the context of family. In particular, the use of these concepts reveals how the effects of migration remain present for Vietnamese Australian families, contributing to the motivations and actions that comprise their approaches towards school and work. This reveals the inseparability of care and strategy as a result of the effect of the world on us. A notion of capital alone is insufficient in understanding the role that immigrant parents play in shaping their children's educational achievements. Rather, it should be considered in tandem with habitus and affect in order to provide a richer understanding of how immigrant parents can impact their children's educational and occupational aspirations and trajectories, and how second-generation immigrant children are also moved towards these achievements.

If educational achievement and professional success were to be explored exclusively within a notion of capital accumulation, then it would only reveal one dimension of these achievements. With a focus on notions of affect and care, then a fuller understanding of these successes is brought to light. Consideration of affect has facilitated a greater understanding of the nature of parenting, as well as the processes underpinning capital accumulation. Affect, operating in tandem with Bourdieusian frameworks, moves towards a more enriched investigation of the complex relationship between parents and children. This is what Lahire (2014) describes as the "off-field life" (p. 74) of individuals – the acts of caretaking, the fears of hardship, the devotion, and the gratitude that characterise much of the interactions between these immigrant parents and children. These are actions that do not exist in terms of competition and strategy over forms of capital in education or in national belonging. After all, things matter to people outside of politics and the economy, outside of power and money (Sayer, 2011). This is because we are relational beings, capable of forming attachments and kinship that bring meaning to our lives (Lynch, 2009). The role of affect illuminates these

dimensions of being, identifying the impact of nurturing and care work that constitutes parent-child relationships, which are themselves experienced within, and shaped by, cultural and social contexts.

Without a consideration of care, facilitated by a notion of affect, an understanding of how parents and children move towards their futures lacks the intensity, complexity, and generosity that characterises life. Indeed, Lynch et al. (2021) describe how “life... cannot be lived well without care” (p. 57), and to understand the activity of life requires that we present relations of care as objects of rational investigation (Gatens & Lloyd, 1999). When, in Chapter 4, the father Truc described how Vietnamese parents “are always greedy, you know, we always aim for them to be higher and higher”, the “greed” he is referring to should be understood in light of the relations between parents and children and the underlying complexities and nuances that constitute these bonds. These in turn illuminate the impact of structural forces, which have a profound influence on parents, children and the connections between them. To examine the minute and quasi-invisible processes that comprise these relations is to affirm that “human actions and appetites are as real as the bodies whose dynamic structural powers underlie them” (Gatens & Lloyd, 1999, p. 24).

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Appendices

Appendix 1: Participant information sheets in English and in Vietnamese



PARTICIPANT INFORMATION SHEET

UTS HREC REF NO. ETH21-6064

Protecting their future: Understanding the extent to which the achievement of higher education by second-generation Vietnamese Australians is predicated on the experiences and attitudes of their migrant parents

WHO IS CONDUCTING THIS RESEARCH?

My name is Ivy Vuong and I am a PhD candidate at UTS. My supervisor is Associate Professor Christina Ho. Her email is Christina.Ho@uts.edu.au.

WHAT IS THE RESEARCH ABOUT?

The purpose of this research is to understand how the parenting practices and values of first-generation Vietnamese migrants affect the educational aspirations and trajectories of their Australian-born children.

WHY HAVE I BEEN INVITED?

You have been invited to participate because of your experiences as a first-generation Vietnamese migrant living in Australia, as well as your experiences of raising your children in Australia, including participating in their schooling.

Before you decide to participate in this research study, please check the selection criteria:

- Did you leave Vietnam after 1975?
- Were your children born and raised in Australia?

WHAT DOES MY PARTICIPATION INVOLVE?

If you decide to participate, your participation will involve being interviewed for approximately one hour. Your child will also be interviewed separately. You will also be asked to bring a personal item that you feel is representative of your child's education. The interview will be audio recorded with your consent and transcribed for analysis. Neither you nor your child will be identified in any published work associated with this project.

ARE THERE ANY RISKS/INCONVENIENCE?

Yes, there are a few risks/inconveniences. It is possible that we will cover sensitive issues during the interviews, including your childhood in Vietnam, your migration as well as your relationship with your child. You are free to decline to answer any questions during the interview, and you are able to withdraw from the interview at any time.

DO I HAVE TO TAKE PART IN THIS RESEARCH PROJECT?

Participation in this study is voluntary. It is completely up to you whether or not you decide to take part. If you decide not to participate, or to withdraw from the study, it will not affect your relationship with the researchers or the University of Technology Sydney. Participation or non-participation will have no bearing on student course progression or assessment.

WHAT IF I WITHDRAW FROM THIS RESEARCH PROJECT?



If you wish to withdraw from the study once it has started, you can do so at any time without having to give a reason, by contacting myself (lv.M.Vuong@student.uts.edu.au) or my supervisor (Christina.Ho@uts.edu.au).

If you withdraw from the study, any data collected from the interview, including transcripts and recordings, will be destroyed.

WHAT WILL HAPPEN TO INFORMATION ABOUT ME?

By signing the consent form, you consent to the research team collecting and using personal information about you for the research project. All this information will be treated confidentially and will not be shared with other participants. Any data that is collected pertaining to you will be de-identified and will be securely stored and password protected in UTS OneDrive and eResearch Storage, a UTS-hosted storage platform. The only people with access to this will be myself and my supervisor, Christina Ho.

Upon completion of the research, all original recordings of the interviews will be destroyed. All other data will be archived for a period of 5 years. However, your information will only be used for the purpose of this research project and it will only be disclosed with your permission, except as required by law.

It is anticipated that the results of this research project will be published and/or presented in a variety of forums. In any publication and/or presentation, information will be provided in such a way that you cannot be identified, except with your permission. Pseudonyms will be used to keep you anonymous.

In accordance with relevant Australian and/or NSW Privacy laws, you have the right to request access to the information about you that is collected and stored by the research team. You also have the right to request that any information with which you disagree be corrected. Please inform the research team member named at the end of this document if you would like to access your information.

The results of this research may also be shared through open access (public) scientific databases, including internet databases. This will enable other researchers to use the data to investigate other important research questions. Results shared in this way will always be de-identified by removing all personal information (e.g. name, address, date of birth etc.).

WHAT IF I HAVE CONCERNS OR A COMPLAINT?

If you have concerns about the research that you think I or my supervisor can help you with, please feel free to contact us via email or telephone (lv.M.Vuong@student.uts.edu.au / [REDACTED] or Christina.Ho@uts.edu.au / 02-9514-1946).

You will be given a copy of this form to keep.

NOTE:

This study has been approved in line with the University of Technology Sydney Human Research Ethics Committee [UTS HREC] guidelines. If you have any concerns or complaints about any aspect of the conduct of this research, please contact the Ethics Secretariat on ph.: +61 2 9514 2478 or email: Research.Ethics@uts.edu.au, and quote the UTS HREC reference number. Any matter raised will be treated confidentially, investigated and you will be informed of the outcome.

Bảng Thông Tin Cho Người Tham Gia

UTS HREC REF NO. ETH21-6064

Bảo vệ tương lai của họ: Sự hiểu biết về mức độ đạt được những thành tựu giáo dục của thế hệ thứ hai của những người Úc gốc Việt dựa trên kinh nghiệm và ý kiến của các bậc cha mẹ của họ.

Ai là người điều hành việc nghiên cứu này ?

Tên tôi là Ivy Vương, tôi là một ứng viên của trường đại học UTS. Người hướng dẫn của tôi là phó giảng sư Christina Ho. Email của cô là Christina.Ho@uts.edu.au.

Sự nghiên cứu này có liên hệ với điều gì ?

Mục đích của việc nghiên cứu này là để tìm hiểu những thực hành và giá trị nuôi dạy con cái của thế hệ đầu tiên của những người Việt có ảnh hưởng đến nguyện vọng và đường lối giáo dục của những con cái họ sinh ra tại Úc châu.

Tại sao tôi được mời tham dự ?

Vì bạn là người Việt của thế hệ đầu tiên sinh hoạt tại Úc châu, và cũng như kinh nghiệm của bạn trong việc nuôi dạy con cái của bạn tại Úc, bao gồm cả việc tham gia vào quá trình học tập của chúng.

Trước khi bạn quyết định tham gia vào việc nghiên cứu, xin vui lòng xét lại các tiêu chuẩn thu tập :

- Bạn có phải là người rời khỏi Việt Nam sau năm 1975 không ?
- Có phải con của bạn sinh ra và lớn lên tại Úc không ?

Sự tham gia của tôi liên quan đến việc gì ?

Việc tham gia của bạn sẽ liên hệ qua cuộc phỏng vấn khoản một tiếng đồng hồ, bạn cần mang theo những gì có tính chất tiêu biểu về học trình của đứa con. Con bạn cũng sẽ được phỏng vấn riêng. Cuộc phỏng vấn sẽ được ghi âm qua sự chấp thuận của bạn và được phiên dịch và phân tích. Cả tên của bạn và con của bạn sẽ không được xác định trong bất cứ tác phẩm được xuất bản liên quan đến việc nghiên cứu này.

Sự rủi ro / bất tiện có thể xảy ra hay không ?

Vấn, trong cuộc phỏng vấn này sẽ có những câu hỏi nhạy cảm bao gồm những câu hỏi về thời ấu thơ của bạn lúc còn ở tại Việt Nam, sự di cư của bạn cũng như mối liên hệ của bạn với con bạn. Bạn có quyền từ chối trả lời những câu hỏi trong lúc phỏng vấn và bạn có thể rút khỏi cuộc phỏng vấn bất cứ lúc nào.

Tôi có cần phải tham dự vào dự án nghiên cứu này không ?

Tham dự vào việc nghiên cứu này là sự tình nguyện và hoàn toàn do sự quyết định của mỗi cá nhân. Nếu bạn quyết định không tham dự hoặc rút khỏi việc nghiên cứu này sẽ không ảnh hưởng sự liên hệ giữa bạn và người làm việc nghiên cứu hoặc trường đại học UTS cả. Và không ảnh hưởng đến sự tiến hành và thẩm định khóa học của người có tham gia hoặc không.

Điều gì sẽ xảy ra nếu tôi rút khỏi dự án nghiên cứu này?

Bạn chỉ cần liên lạc với tôi (Ivy.M.Vuong@student.uts.edu.au) hoặc vị hướng dẫn của tôi (Christina.Ho@uts.edu.au) không phải biết lý do gì trong bất cứ lúc nào sau khi dự án đã tiến hành. Tất cả tài liệu thu thập qua cuộc phỏng vấn bao gồm những phiên dịch và ghi âm sẽ được hủy diệt.

Điều gì sẽ xảy ra với những thông tin về tôi ?

Sau khi ký giấy chấp thuận ,bạn đồng ý cho đoàn nghiên cứu thu thập và sử dụng những tài liệu cá nhân trong dự án này được bảo mật và không chia sẻ với những người tham gia khác .Mọi dữ liệu được thu thập liên quan đến bạn sẽ được xóa danh tính và được lưu giữ an toàn và được bảo vệ bằng mật khẩu trong UTS OneDrive và. Bộ nhớ eResearch một nền tảng lưu trữ của UTS. Những người duy nhất có thể truy cập vào được sẽ là tôi và người hướng dẫn của tôi, Christina Ho.

Sau khi hoàn thành việc nghiên cứu ,tất cả các bản ghi gốc của cuộc phỏng vấn sẽ được hủy diệt .tất cả các dữ liệu khác sẽ được lưu trữ trong khoảng thời gian 5 năm .Tuy nhiên ,những dữ liệu này chỉ được sử dụng với mục đích của dự án và chỉ được tiết lộ với sự cho phép của bạn ,ngoại trừ sự yêu cầu bởi chính quyền.

Dự đoán rằng các kết quả của dự án nghiên cứu này sẽ được công bố hoặc trình bày trên nhiều diễn đàn. Trong bất cứ ấn phẩm hoặc sự trưng bày ,những tài liệu được cung cấp theo cách mà bạn sẽ không bị xác nhận ngoại trừ do sự cho phép của bạn .Bút danh sẽ được ứng dụng trong trường hợp này cho bạn.

Điều này phù hợp với luật bảo mật của chính phủ UC và / hoặc Luật tiểu ban NSW,bạn có quyền yêu cầu truy cập những thông tin liên quan đến bạn được thu thập và lưu giữ bởi đoàn nghiên cứu và những gì bạn không đồng ý sẽ được sửa lại .xin vui lòng thông báo cho thành viên nhóm nghiên cứu có tên ở cuối tài liệu này nếu bạn muốn truy cập thông tin của mình.

Kết quả của việc nghiên cứu này cũng có thể được chia sẻ truy cập qua dữ liệu khoa học bao gồm cả dữ liệu internet.Điều này sẽ được cho phép các nhà nghiên cứu khác sử dụng dữ liệu để điều tra các câu hỏi nghiên cứu quan trọng khác .kết quả được chia sẻ qua cách thức này luôn được xóa danh tính và xóa tất cả tài liệu liên hệ đến cá nhân (như tên,địa chỉ ,ngày sinh v.v).

Điều gì xảy ra nếu tôi có thắc mắc hoặc khiếu nại ?

Nếu bạn có thắc mắc và quan tâm về việc nghiên cứu mà cần sự giúp đỡ của tôi hoặc người hướng dẫn của tôi xin đừng ngại liên lạc chúng tôi qua email hoặc điện thoại (Ivy.M.Vuong@student.uts.edu.au/ [redacted] hoặc Christina.Ho@uts.edu.au/02-9514-1946).

Bạn sẽ được cung cấp một bốn sao để giữ.

PARTICIPANT INFORMATION SHEET

UTS HREC REF NO. ETH21-6064

Protecting their future: Understanding the extent to which the achievement of higher education by second-generation Vietnamese Australians is predicated on the experiences and attitudes of their migrant parents

WHO IS CONDUCTING THIS RESEARCH?

My name is Ivy Vuong and I am a PhD candidate at UTS. My supervisor is Associate Professor Christina Ho. Her email is Christina.Ho@uts.edu.au.

WHAT IS THE RESEARCH ABOUT?

The purpose of this research is to understand how the parenting practices and values of first-generation Vietnamese migrants affect the educational aspirations and trajectories of their Australian-born children.

WHY HAVE I BEEN INVITED?

You have been invited to participate because of your experiences as a second-generation Australian-born child of Vietnamese migrants, as well as your experiences of schooling in Australia.

Before you decide to participate in this research study, please check the following selection criteria:

- Are you over 18 years old?
- Are your parents Vietnamese migrants who fled Vietnam after 1975?

AND EITHER:

- Are you a current undergraduate university student?
- Are you studying courses from any of the following disciplines: Law, Medicine, Commerce/Business and Communications?
- Are you studying at University of Sydney, University of New South Wales, University of Technology Sydney or Western Sydney University?

OR:

- Are you currently undertaking vocational education or training?
- Are you studying any of the following trades: cosmetology, art and design, electrotechnology as well as automotive trades and services?
- Are you studying at any vocational training institutions at Fairfield City, City of Bankstown or City of Sydney?

OR:

- Did you graduate from high school?
- Are you not currently undertaking any higher education or post-secondary vocational training course?

WHAT DOES MY PARTICIPATION INVOLVE?

If you decide to participate, your participation will involve being interviewed for approximately one hour. Your parent will also be interviewed separately. You will also be asked to bring a personal item that you feel is representative of your education. The interview will be audio recorded with your consent and

transcribed for analysis. Neither you nor your parent will be identified in any published work associated with this project.

ARE THERE ANY RISKS/INCONVENIENCE?

Yes, there are a few risks/inconveniences. It is possible that we will cover sensitive issues during the interviews, including your schooling experiences as well as your relationship with your parents. You are free to decline to answer any questions during the interview, and you are able to withdraw from the interview at any time.

DO I HAVE TO TAKE PART IN THIS RESEARCH PROJECT?

Participation in this study is voluntary. It is completely up to you whether or not you decide to take part. If you decide not to participate, or to withdraw from the study, it will not affect your relationship with the researchers or the University of Technology Sydney. Participation or non-participation will have no bearing on student course progression or assessment.

WHAT IF I WITHDRAW FROM THIS RESEARCH PROJECT?

If you wish to withdraw from the study once it has started, you can do so at any time without having to give a reason, by contacting myself (Ivy.M.Vuong@student.uts.edu.au) or my supervisor (Christina.Ho@uts.edu.au).

If you withdraw from the study, any data collected from the interview, including transcripts and recordings, will be destroyed.

WHAT WILL HAPPEN TO INFORMATION ABOUT ME?

By signing the consent form, you consent to the research team collecting and using personal information about you for the research project. All this information will be treated confidentially, and will not be shared with other participants. Any data that is collected pertaining to you will be de-identified and will be securely stored and password protected in UTS OneDrive and eResearch Storage, a UTS-hosted storage platform. The only people with access to this will be myself and my supervisor, Christina Ho.

Upon completion of the research, all original recordings of the interviews will be destroyed. All other data will be archived for a period of 5 years. However, your information will only be used for the purpose of this research project and it will only be disclosed with your permission, except as required by law.

It is anticipated that the results of this research project will be published and/or presented in a variety of forums. In any publication and/or presentation, information will be provided in such a way that you cannot be identified, except with your permission. Pseudonyms will be used to keep you anonymous.

In accordance with relevant Australian and/or NSW Privacy laws, you have the right to request access to the information about you that is collected and stored by the research team. You also have the right to request that any information with which you disagree be corrected. Please inform the research team member named at the end of this document if you would like to access your information.

The results of this research may also be shared through open access (public) scientific databases, including internet databases. This will enable other researchers to use the data to investigate other important research questions. Results shared in this way will always be de-identified by removing all personal information (e.g. name, address, date of birth etc.).



WHAT IF I HAVE CONCERNS OR A COMPLAINT?

If you have concerns about the research that you think I or my supervisor can help you with, please feel free to contact us via email or telephone (lv.M.Vuong@student.uts.edu.au / [REDACTED] or Christina.Ho@uts.edu.au / 02-9514-1946).

You will be given a copy of this form to keep.

NOTE:

This study has been approved in line with the University of Technology Sydney Human Research Ethics Committee [UTS HREC] guidelines. If you have any concerns or complaints about any aspect of the conduct of this research, please contact the Ethics Secretariat on ph.: +61 2 9514 2478 or email: Research.Ethics@uts.edu.au], and quote the UTS HREC reference number. Any matter raised will be treated confidentially, investigated and you will be informed of the outcome.

Appendix 2: Participant consent forms in English and in Vietnamese



CONSENT FORM

UTS HREC REF NO. ETH21-6064

Protecting their future: Understanding the extent to which the achievement of higher education by second-generation Vietnamese Australians is predicated on the experiences and attitudes of their migrant parents

I _____ agree to participate in the research project being conducted by Ivy Vuong at the University of Technology Sydney.

I have read the Participant Information Sheet in a language that I understand, or someone has read it to me in a language that I understand.

I understand the purposes, procedures and risks of the research as described in the Participant Information Sheet.

I have had an opportunity to ask questions and I am satisfied with the answers I have received.

I freely agree to participate in this research project as described and understand that I am free to withdraw at any time without affecting my relationship with the researchers or the University of Technology Sydney.

I understand that I will be given a signed copy of this document to keep.

I am aware that I can contact Ivy Vuong [REDACTED] if I have any concerns about the research.

Name and Signature [participant]

___/___/___
Date

Name and Signature [researcher or delegate]

___/___/___
Date



Giấy chấp thuận

UTS HREC REF NO. ETH21-6064

Bảo vệ tương lai của họ: Sự hiểu biết về mức độ đạt được những thành tựu giáo dục của thế hệ thứ hai của những người Úc gốc Việt dựa kinh nghiệm và ý kiến của các bậc cha mẹ của họ.

Tôi _____ đồng ý tham gia trong dự án nghiên cứu được tiến hành bởi Ivy Vương của trường đại học UTS.

Tôi đã đọc bảng thông tin của người tham gia với ngôn ngữ mà tôi hiểu biết hoặc do người khác dùng ngôn ngữ của tôi hiểu đọc lại cho tôi nghe.

Tôi hiểu rằng mục đích ,tiến trình và sự rủi ro của việc nghiên cứu qua sự trình bày của bảng thông tin .

Tôi có cơ hội được hỏi nhiều thắc mắc và được giải đáp mà tôi rất hài lòng.

Tôi tự đồng ý tham gia dự án nghiên cứu như sự mô tả và biết rằng tôi có quyền rút khỏi bất cứ lúc nào mà không ảnh hưởng đến mối liên hệ giữa tôi và nhân viên nghiên cứu hoặc trường đại học UTS.

Tôi biết rằng tôi sẽ được cung cấp một bản sao có chữ ký trên văn kiện để lưu giữ .

Tôi hiểu rằng tôi có thể liên lạc Ivy Vương (_____) nếu tôi có những quan tâm về việc nghiên cứu .

Tên và chữ ký (người tham gia)

_____/_____/_____
Ngày

Tên và chữ ký(nhân viên nghiên cứu hoặc người đại diện)

_____/_____/_____
Ngày

Appendix 3: Sample interview guide in English and in Vietnamese, for first- and second-generation participants

Sample interview questions

First generation parent participants (English)	
Theme	Question
Background	<p>Can you tell me a bit about yourself? (E.g. age, employment, residence)</p> <p>Do you have a partner? Can you tell me a bit about your partner?</p> <p>How many children do you have? Can you tell me a bit about your children?</p>
Life in Vietnam	<p>Where did you grow up in Vietnam? What did your parents do for work? Did your parents attend school and/or university? What level of education did they have? What did your grandparents do for work? Do you have any brothers and sisters? What did your siblings do in Vietnam?</p> <p>Can you tell me a bit about the school you attended? What type of school was it? Did you finish high school? Did you enjoy school? What was the best part of school for you? What subjects did you like or excel at? What subjects did you struggle with? What was the worst part of school? Did you do any further study after high school?</p> <p>When you were young, what job or profession did you want to do? What would you have needed to do in order to achieve these goals? Who or what influenced these goals? How involved were your parents in your education? What did they tell you about education, and why do you think they thought this way?</p>
Migration	<p>When did you leave Vietnam? How old were you? Who did you migrate with? How did you leave the country? Why did you decide to migrate? Why did you or your parents choose Australia?</p>
Settlement	<p>Where did you live when you first arrived in Australia? Did you study when you first arrived? If so, what did you study? What was it like to study in Australia? Did you take English language classes?</p> <p>What was your first job? What are some of the other jobs you've had since arriving here? Were you able to pursue an occupation of your choice?</p>

Sample interview questions

	How difficult was it to settle down in Australia? What were the main challenges you faced?
Socialisation	Are you part of any community groups or organisations? Are you part of any religious organisations? Who do you mainly socialise with? What ethnicity are they? Are they mainly of Vietnamese background? Do you know many of your children's friends, or their parents?
Artefact	Could you describe to me what you've brought? Why did you choose this object?
Children's primary/secondary schooling	What primary school did your children go to? What high school did your children go to? Why did you choose to send them to these schools? Did you mainly consider the academic reputation of the school, or did you also consider other things? What were your main sources of information about schools in Australia? Did you make use of information from your friends and community networks? To get into their schools, did you prepare your children in any way? What did this involve? During your children's schooling, did you send them to a tutoring centre, or employ a private tutor at any point? <i>If yes:</i> For what subjects, and how often? Why did they go to tutoring? What other things did you do to support your children's education? (E.g. did you supervise their homework? Did you buy them extra workbooks?) Why was it important to you to do this? How often did you talk with your children's teachers about how they were going? Did you attend parent-teacher interviews? Do you feel you had a good understanding of how your children's schools operated? (E.g. the curriculum, tests, subject choice) How does this compare to your experience of education in Vietnam? How important were your children's academic results to you? Did you talk often about academic results with your children? (E.g. did you check their test results?) Did you have any particular strategies to encourage them to study, or did you leave it up to them? What about with other parents (friends or family)? Why was it important to talk about results with others?

Sample interview questions

	<p>Did your children talk to you often about what they wanted to do after high school?</p> <p>Did you often talk to your children about what careers they should aim for?</p> <p>What careers did you want them to go into? Why?</p> <p>Did they agree with you?</p> <p>What did you do to encourage or discourage them?</p>
Children's postsecondary experiences	<p>What are your children doing now?</p> <p>What do you think of what they're doing now?</p> <p>How much do you think you influenced them to pursue this?</p> <p>How did you think you influenced them?</p> <p>Do you talk with them much about their job or career?</p> <p>Are you happy with what they have chosen to do? Why/why not?</p>

<u>Các phụ huynh tham gia thế hệ đầu tiên (Vietnamese)</u>	
<i>Chủ đề</i>	<i>Câu hỏi</i>
Lý lịch	<p>Bạn có thể kể cho tôi một phần nào về bạn không ?(ví dụ tuổi tác ,nghề nghiệp, Chỗ ở)</p> <p>Bạn có một người bạn đời nào không ?</p> <p>Xin kể cho tôi nghe một phần về người bạn đời của bạn ?</p> <p>Bạn có bao nhiêu đứa con ?</p> <p>Xin Bạn kể cho tôi biết một phần nào về con cái của bạn ?</p>
Cuộc sống ở VN	<p>Bạn lớn lên nơi đâu tại Việt Nam?</p> <p>Cha mẹ của bạn làm nghề nghiệp gì ?</p> <p>Cha mẹ của bạn có đi học hoặc vào đại học không ?</p> <p>Trình độ học vấn của họ đến đâu ?</p> <p>Ông bà của bạn đã từng làm qua công việc gì ?</p> <p>Bạn có anh chị em không ?</p> <p>Anh chị em của bạn làm việc gì tại Việt Nam ?</p> <p>Xin Bạn kể cho tôi biết một phần nào về trường học của bạn đã học?</p> <p>Trường học đó thuộc loại nào ?</p> <p>Bạn có học xong trung học không ?</p> <p>Bạn có thích đi học không ?</p> <p>Phần tốt nhất của trường đối với bạn là gì ?</p> <p>Những môn học nào mà bạn thích hoặc xuất sắc ? Và kém về môn học nào ?</p> <p>Phần tệ nhất của trường đối với bạn là gì ?</p> <p>Bạn có tiếp tục đi học sau khi học xong trung học không ?</p> <p>Lúc bạn còn trẻ ,bạn có muốn làm việc gì hoặc nghề nghiệp gì ?</p>

Sample interview questions

	<p>Bạn cần phải làm gì để đạt được mục tiêu này ? Ai hoặc điều gì đã ảnh hưởng đến mục tiêu này ?</p> <p>Cha mẹ của bạn đã tham gia vào việc học của bạn như thế nào ? Họ đã nói gì với bạn về vấn đề giáo dục của bạn, bạn nghĩ như thế nào tại sao họ lại nghĩ như thế này ?</p>
Di cư	<p>Bạn rời khỏi Việt Nam lúc nào ?</p> <p>Lúc đó bạn bao nhiêu tuổi ?</p> <p>Ai cùng đi di cư với bạn ?</p> <p>Bạn rời khỏi nước bằng cách nào ?</p> <p>Tại sao bạn quyết định di cư ?</p> <p>Tại sao bạn và cha mẹ của bạn lựa chọn đến nước Úc ?</p>
Định cư	<p>Lúc đầu tiên đến nước Úc bạn cư ngụ nơi đâu ?</p> <p>Lúc đấy bạn có đi học hay không ? Nếu có, học về môn gì ?</p> <p>Bạn cảm thấy sự học hành tại nước Úc như thế nào ?</p> <p>Bạn có Tham gia các lớp học tiếng Anh không ?</p> <p>Việc làm đầu tiên của bạn là gì ?</p> <p>Ngoài công việc đó bạn còn có làm thêm việc làm nào khác hay không ?</p> <p>Bạn có thể theo đuổi được một nghề nghiệp mà bạn đã lựa chọn không ?</p> <p>Sự khó khăn như thế nào để ổn định cuộc sống tại nước Úc ? Điều chủ yếu cần phải đối phó là gì ?</p>
Xã hội hóa	<p>Bạn có tham gia vào bất kỳ nhóm hoặc tổ chức cộng đồng nào không ?</p> <p>Bạn có tham gia vào bất kỳ đoàn thể tôn giáo nào không ?</p> <p>Ai là người chủ yếu mà bạn thường đau thiệp ? Họ đa số là người dân tộc gì ? Họ chủ yếu là người Việt không ?</p> <p>Bạn có biết nhiều về những đứa bạn bè của con bạn, hoặc phụ huynh của họ ?</p>
Món vật	<p>Bạn có thể mô tả cho tôi những gì bạn đã mang theo ?</p> <p>Tại sao bạn lựa chọn đối tượng này ?</p>
Giáo dục tiểu học / trung học của trẻ em	<p>Con cái của bạn học trường tiểu học nào ?</p> <p>Con cái của bạn vào trường trung học nào ?</p> <p>Tại sao bạn chọn những trường đó cho con bạn vào học ?</p> <p>Bạn chủ yếu xem xét danh tiếng học tập của trường hoặc là còn những điều khác ?</p> <p>Những nguồn thông tin chính về các trường học tại nước Úc của bạn là gì ? Bạn có phải thu nhận từ các bạn bè và các hệ thống xã hội không ?</p>

Sample interview questions

	<p>Để được vào các trường của họ ,bạn đã chuẩn bị bằng cách thức nào ? Điều này liên quan đến gì ?</p> <p>Trong thời gian đi học của con bạn,bạn có gởi họ đi học nơi trung tâm học kèm, hoặc thuê một thầy giáo tư tại bất kỳ thời điểm nào ?</p> <p><i>Nếu có :</i> Học những môn gì,và bao lâu ? Tại sao họ phải học thêm ?</p> <p>Ngoài ra bạn còn giúp đỡ những gì trong học trình của họ ? (ví dụ, giám sát bài làm?mua thêm sách vở bài tập cho họ ?) Tại sao những điều bạn làm đối với bạn là quan trọng?</p> <p>Bạn có thường xuyên liên lạc với các thầy giáo của con để hiểu về học trình của họ ? Bạn có tham dự các cuộc phỏng vấn giữa phụ huynh và giáo viên không ? Bạn có cảm thấy mình đã hiểu rõ về cách trường học của con bạn hoạt động không ?(ví dụ chương trình học, bài thi, chọn môn học)</p> <p>Điều này so với kinh nghiệm của bạn về giáo dục ở Việt Nam như thế nào ?</p> <p>Kết quả học tập của con bạn quan trọng như thế nào đối với bạn ? Bạn có thường xuyên nói chuyện về kết quả học tập với con bạn không ? (kiểm soát kết quả bài thi của họ?) Bạn có chiến lược cụ thể nào để khuyến khích họ học không ? Hoặc để họ tự phát triển? Còn đối với cha mẹ khác thì sao (bạn bè hoặc gia đình)? Tại sao việc nói kết quả với người khác lại quan trọng ?</p> <p>Con bạn có thường xuyên nói chuyện với bạn về công việc làm họ muốn sau khi học xong trung học không ? Bạn có thường xuyên nói chuyện với con mình về nghề nghiệp mà chúng nên hướng đến không ? Bạn muốn con mình làm nghề gì? Tại sao ? Họ có đồng ý với bạn không ?</p> <p>Bạn đã làm gì để khuyến khích hay không khuyến khích họ ?</p>
<p>Kinh nghiệm sau trung học của trẻ em</p>	<p>Con của bạn hiện đang làm công việc gì ? Bạn nghĩ như thế nào về công việc họ đang làm ? Bạn nghĩ bạn đã ảnh hưởng đến họ bao nhiêu để họ theo đuổi điều này ? Bạn nghĩ bạn ảnh hưởng đến họ như thế nào ? Bạn có thường nói chuyện nhiều về việc làm và nghề nghiệp với họ không ?</p>

Sample interview questions

	Bạn có hài lòng với việc làm họ đã chọn không ? Tại sao /Tại sao không ?
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Second generation young adult participants	
Theme	Question
Background	How old are you? Tell me about your parents and family
Life in Australia	Where did you grow up? What do your parents do for work? Do you have any brothers and sisters? What do they currently do?
Parents' migration and settlement	Do your parents ever talk to you about their migration from Vietnam? What kinds of things do they talk about? How does it make you feel? Do they ever discuss their experiences of moving to and settling in Australia? What kinds of things do they talk about? How does it make you feel?
Artefact	Could you describe to me what you've brought? Why did you choose this object?
Primary/secondary schooling	What primary school did you attend? What high school did you attend? Who decided what schools you attended? Just your parents, or did you also have a say? Did you ever do tutoring, either at a centre or with a private tutor? <i>If yes:</i> When did you start? For what subjects? How often did you go? Whose decision was it for you to do tutoring? Do you think it made a difference to your academic outcomes? Did many of your friends or school peers do tutoring? How much study were you doing each week, outside of school? In your senior years of study, what subjects did you choose? Why did you choose these? (E.g. personal interest, friends, HSC scaling) Overall, were you happy with your academic performance? How important were academic results to you? Did you often feel stressed about school? Why? Did you enjoy school? Why/why not? What were the best aspects of the school?

Sample interview questions

	<p>What were the worst aspects? What subjects did you like and/or excel at? What was your school environment and culture like?</p> <p>How involved do you think your parents were in relation to your schooling? In what ways were they involved? Did they often help you with homework? Did they talk to you often about other kids' academic performance? Did they attend parent-teacher nights? What kind of resources did they supply you with for your education? Did they help you make decisions about subject choice, postsecondary pathways etc.? How did it make you feel for your parents to be involved?</p> <p>Were your siblings involved in your schooling at all? In what ways were they involved? Did they often help you with homework? What kind of resources did they supply you with for your education? Did they help you make decisions about subject choice, postsecondary pathways etc.? How did it make you feel for your siblings to be involved?</p> <p>Who did you socialise with during high school? Were your friends mostly from the same cultural background as you? Do you think that your friends influenced your choices in relation to schooling? If so, how? Did you do any extra-curricular activities? <i>If yes:</i> Which activities, and how often? What did you enjoy most about this activity?</p> <p><i>If no:</i> Why not? How did it make you feel?</p>
Postsecondary experiences	<p>What are you doing now? Why did you choose to pursue this path? Who or what influenced you in this path? What do you think your parents think of this?</p> <p>What do you hope to achieve in the future?</p>