UTS UNIVERSITY OF TECHNOLOGY SYDNEY

Wellbeing of Children of Skilled Migrants to Australia

by Victoria Shu-ling Adamovich

Thesis submitted in fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of

Masters of Arts (Research) in Humanities and Social Sciences

under the supervision of
Associate Professor Christina Ho and Dr Donna Rooney

University of Technology Sydney

Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences

October 2024

Certificate of Original Authorship

I, Victoria Adamovich, declare that this thesis is submitted in fulfilment of the requirements for the award of Masters of Arts (Research) in the 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.

This research is supported by the Australian Government Research Training Program.

Signature:

Production Note:
Signature removed prior to publication.

Date: October 2024

Acknowledgements

Firstly, I express my deep gratitude to my principal supervisor Dr. Christina Ho. From the start to the end of my research journey, Chris has provided timely guidance, expert knowledge and boundless patience for my thematic diversions and writer's block. I'm most thankful for the opportunities she provided for me to engage in academic conferences and forums and her belief in the importance of my research. In the same way, I would like to thank Dr. Donna Rooney for her insights and encouragement. I also acknowledge the copyediting and proofreading services of Dr Terry Fitzgerald from UTS, as recommended and partly funded by the FASS HDR team.

My journey would not have started or finished without Dr. Sarah Loch, Director of the Pymble Institute. From a question in my head some four years ago, Dr Loch gave me the confidence and tools as a teacher to take on the research. She was wise and thoughtful in sharing her experience and advice. It has been a privilege to have her walk alongside my studies. I also thank the dedicated teachers and head of junior school, Kate Brown at Pymble Ladies College. An amazing culture of life-long learning and passion for research drives the staff, and I am grateful for the many teachers who have shared their insights and listened to my questions and findings.

This thesis would not have been possible without the students and mothers who have shared their migration stories with me. Despite the hardships of moving to a new country and adapting to a new language and culture, I am continually humbled by both the parents and children. They showed tremendous optimism and courage in their new lives in Australia, anchored by their deep love and sacrifice for family.

A research journey can be long, frustrating, and lonely. Thank you to my husband and children who endured many late nights and holidays of closed doors while I wrote at the computer. I am especially proud of my children's interest in their mother's assignment deadline, and I appreciate their chiding and encouragement given in equal measure.

Table of Contents

List of Figures and Tables

Acronoyms

EALD	English as an Additional Language or Dialect
LBOTE	Language Background Other Than English
ELB	English Language Background
SDQ	Strengths and Difficificulties Questionnaire

Abstract

Nearly half of all Australians now have one or more parents born overseas, with the biggest intake of migrants over the last two decades coming from China and India (ABS, 2021). Skilled migrants now account for 70% of permanent visa grants and they enter Australia wealthier and better educated than the average Australian. They are also much more hypermobile than previously, adopting what has been termed ‘flexible citizenship’ and ‘astronaut parenting’ migration practices. These families migrate for strategic purposes and sometimes multiple times. Families may also be separated across continents, with children being parented by mothers while fathers continue to work abroad.

What are the impacts of these family arrangements on children? While much research has focused on the wellbeing of migrant children from disadvantaged backgrounds, we need also to understand the children of skilled migrants. Despite their privileged backgrounds, how is their social and emotional adjustment following migration? My research site at a high-fee private girls’ school in Sydney with concentrations of wealthy migrant families from Asia provides rich accounts of such impacts.

My survey and interview data with students and mothers showed that newly arrived students and those with absent fathers often faced more difficulties in their social and emotional wellbeing. Immense parental expectations placed on these students to succeed could also negatively affect their wellbeing.

The findings are critical to understanding the impact of migration on the youngest members of the family unit, who are often voiceless but strongly affected by the parents' choices. The study should spur schools, teachers, and parents to understand what factors contribute to the wellbeing of the children of the biggest group of new migrants to Australia.

Chapter 1: Introduction

Migration stories to Australia may conjure up images of bedraggled First Fleeters in 1788 to the optimistic Ten-Pound Poms of the “Populate or Perish” policy after World War Two. In the last century, Australia’s once Anglo-dominant demographic was changed by waves of arrivals of Italians, Greek, Lebanese and Vietnamese among others. The final removal of the White Australia Policy in the late 1970s paved the way for the multicultural Australia we know today. By the 2016 Census, skilled visa grants for Chinese and Indian-born arrivals outstripped migrants from the United Kingdom for the first time (Australia’s Migration Trends, Department of Home Affairs, 2018).

Trends in Australia’s migration patterns can be viewed through the ‘push’ and ‘pull’ theory (Knox & Marston, 2004). Factors that ‘push’ people to move could be poverty, war or persecution. The Australian government along with other migrant-seeking countries of New Zealand, Canada, US and UK have implemented ‘selective migration policies’ (Koslowski, 2014) that ‘pull’ desirable migrants. While the number of humanitarian visas to Australia have remained stable, skilled visas now account for 72% of the yearly permanent migration programme (Department of Home Affairs 2023). In this global competition for ‘brain gain’ (Boeri, 2012), Australia has successfully attracted migrants with skills and money, with considerable growth in skilled and business migration in the 1980s and 1990s (Inglis, 2011). Migrants from Asia have comprised a large proportion of these skilled migrants since the 1980s. Much has been discussed in the Australian press and in popular debates about super-wealthy Chinese driving up Sydney house prices bought with cash (Foster, 2023, realestate.com.au). But little has been researched about this new group of uber-migrants and especially their children. Who are they and why have they come to Australia? How do they live their lives?

This research was instigated from observations and questions from my position as an English as an Additional Language/Dialect teacher at a private school,

Rosemount School for Girls (a pseudonym) in the leafy north shore of Sydney. I supported students in the junior school from Kindergarten to Year 6 in English language learning, often teaching in small groups. As such, I got to know the migrant children well, but I also felt just supporting second language acquisition was not enough. I noticed the difficulties the children had adjusting to their new life in Australia; sometimes although a child, they were the only person in the household that spoke English. Some girls missed their 'complete' families and spoke of their pets or grandparents all the time. Only upon further clarification did I realise they were not talking about their home 'here' but 'back there'. Sometimes it was hard for teachers to find the appropriate adult to talk to about the child, because it was unclear who was in Australia at the time taking care of the child. These regular interactions led me to want to find out more about the students, their families and their wellbeing. Interrogating the lives of the children from a sociological perspective, I wanted to understand the 'reality of everyday life' (Berger & Luckman, 1967) as they experienced it, and how they felt about it.

I myself was an EALD student, having grown up in Chinese-speaking Taiwan and migrating to London at the age of seven with no English whatsoever. I had lived the challenges of acculturating to a new country and language. While researching astronaut parenting, I realised in my teenage years, my siblings and I became 'parachute children', when my parents returned to work in Taiwan and my older sister took care of us. Reflecting on my experience armed with my newfound knowledge, I do not recall discussing the transnational household arrangements with my family but rather we all accepted it with minimal fuss. There was never a question of my father quitting his job and not moving back to Taiwan, and it didn't make sense to uproot ourselves from our education in England. Practically, our level of Chinese language proficiency would have made it difficult for us to perform well in a Taiwanese high school and it was a commonly accepted 'fact' that a Western education was better for our future. How had I not known about this abundant research on astronaut families until now, describing my very own childhood! I was determined to learn more and share my findings with other teachers and parents of these students.

Through my research, I found many of the skilled migrant families to be wealthy, cosmopolitan, and hypermobile. They seemed to be what Sklair (2001) called a 'transnational capitalist class", who held 'flexible citizenship' (Ong, 1999) of two or more countries. These new affluent citizens were different to the previous waves of migrants to Australia from war-devastated countries, relieved to land on safe shores and build a life out of empty suitcases. Those earlier arrivals were seen as migrants moving from peripheral countries to a core one, from a less desirable country to a better one. 'Flexible citizens' however, as Ong argued in 1999, challenged these patterns. The distinction between which country was core versus periphery was blurred for them. Which country was better depended on what they wanted or needed from that country at a particular stage in their lives, highlighting the fluidity and opportunity behind their migration movements. My students' families said they were here primarily for the children's education, but they may not stay. These cosmopolitans came to Australia having shopped around top choice destinations such as the US, Britain, and Canada (Fong, 2011). They made choices based on economic opportunities but also for opportunities for their children.

While the decision to move the family to Australia was ostensibly made for the children, we also know that migration can be a key social determinant on the health and wellbeing of a child (Smith et al., 2021). Migrant children may be separated from important social relationships from their home country, and also face difficulties adjusting socially, linguistically and culturally. Looking at the concept of wellbeing from a socio-ecological perspective, rather than a narrow biomedical lens (Bronfenbrenner, 1979) highlights the importance of understanding the child in the milieu of family, peers and school. For a migrant child, other considerations apply such as the age of migration and the nature for migration, for example, by choice as skilled migrant or by the forced migration of refugees.

1.1. Research Questions

These skilled migrant families were incongruent with the perception that migrant children come to Australia as disadvantaged; speaking little or no English and placed in an Intensive English Language Centre before transitioning to mainstream school (Due et al., 2014). Migrant children in research were often talked about in the same breath as refugee children (Charania et al., 2018; Salami et al., 2021; Wrench et al., 2018), with wellbeing concerns from trauma, economic disadvantage and discrimination. Not all of these concerns reflect the experiences of many children of skilled migrants, but there has been surprisingly little research on this large and growing cohort. Although the children in my study were privileged from high socio-economic backgrounds, how was their social and emotional adjustment from migration and what other factors impacted their wellbeing? Beneath the veneer of the 'model minority' with their fluent bilingualism and excellent academic records, I could sometimes feel a sense of unease among the migrant students in our school. Did they feel the benefits of moving to a new country for a better life and a better education – or did they feel rootless and a loss of identity? How did the children deal with the move, and did they feel acculturation stress? How had migration affected family relationships?

Migrants typically experience dramatic changes to their family structures when members split up and disperse across continents. Many of my students had an 'astronaut family' arrangement with their father working in China, while the 'landed' mother (Waters, 2002) and 'satellite children' (Tsang et al., 2021) lived in Australia. There were frequent flights between the two households by the astronaut parents, and the children throughout the year. While there have been many studies of this modern Chinese migration phenomenon (Skeldon, 1994; Lam; 1994; Boyer, 1996; Ong; 1999; Waters; 2002), with an important study in 1996 by Pe-Pua et al. in Australia, these studies were about a previous generation of Chinese migrants, and not those from Mainland China. I wanted to investigate how the astronaut family arrangements were 20 years on, among a new cohort of wealthy Chinese migrants from the Mainland. And I specifically wanted to explore the implications on the child's

wellbeing. Often the children I taught were the only child; I wondered about their attachment to the adults in their lives, which were at times a revolving door of carers of the mother, the father or the grandparents. For the students in the astronaut family arrangement, what was their relationship with the largely absent dad at the end of the phone? How did the children feel about the family dispersal across continents?

Hence the research questions of this project are:

1. What are the impacts of migration on the wellbeing of children of skilled migrants?
2. How does the astronaut family arrangement and especially the frequently absent father affect the wellbeing of the children?
3. How does parental expectation on the child to succeed academically affect child wellbeing?

1.2. Conceptual Frameworks

The findings of this study will draw on the work of anthropologist Aihwa Ong who described this global elite as people with flexible citizenship (1999). This framework helps us situate our skilled migrant families among the affluent players of globalisation. The scholarship around another migration strategy: astronaut parenting, favoured by Asian families, especially among the Chinese helps us to understand the factors for family dispersal and running a transnational household. Throughout this study, the fundamental question is what affects the child's wellbeing, so I will first present an overview of the framework to study child wellbeing.

1.2.1. Child Wellbeing

A clear definition of wellbeing eludes agreement among scholars, as the definition depends on which discipline is conceptualising it (Jarden & Roache, 2023), although most would agree it is multi-dimensional and important. Some describe wellbeing in terms of happiness and satisfaction with life (Delle Fave et al., 2011; Seligman,

2013) and others focus on mental health and psychological distress (AIHW, 2022). There is also difference in how people at distinctive ages regard wellbeing; for example adolescents value kindness, fun and safety, whereas older people rank purpose in life more highly as a component in wellbeing (Bharara et al, 2019). Outside of academia, among schools and parents, wellbeing is acknowledged as crucial to child development, with the opposite being 'illbeing'. As with many schools, Rosemount School has a focus on child wellbeing, with a position of 'Head of Wellbeing' and wellbeing classes set in the weekly timetable. At Rosemount School, wellbeing is defined as "wellness and growth', with a focus on a healthy mind, body and spirit. When parents are asked what they most want for the children, the answer is usually wellbeing (Seligman, 2011), which is synonymous with happiness or flourishing.

The framework used in this study for child wellbeing is taken from the Australian Institute of Health and Welfare, from their report "Australia's Children' (2020). The report looks at the overall wellbeing of children living in Australia, where children are defined as age 0-12, from birth to the end of primary school. Social and emotional wellbeing (SEWB) is a key component of a child's good mental health and wellbeing. Socially and emotionally competent children 'are confident, have good relationships, communicate well, do better at school, take on and persist with challenging tasks and develop necessary relationships to succeed in life' (Australian Institute of Health and Welfare, 2020).

1.2.2. Flexible Citizenship

The concept of flexible citizenship was coined by anthropologist Aihwa Ong to describe the resources skilled migrants, international managers and professionals used to navigate globalisation to their advantage (1998, p135). The rise of the Asia Pacific in economic power in the 1980s and 1990s saw wealthy Asian investors blend strategies of capital accumulation with migration, accruing passports to enable them to move fluidly with their capital and businesses across national borders. These transnational players included women and children, whose migration to and studying

in the new host countries like the US and Canada were a part of the plan for the families' upward social mobility, as well as a political insurance against potential upheavals in the home country. While citizenship studies debate the fate of the nation-state in a transnational world, I use the concept of flexible citizenship to situate the skilled migrants in my study in understanding their motivations for migration and indeed their migration patterns. Ong's updated thinking on flexible citizenship explains how citizenship has been changed by "capital-bearing foreigners' and 'capital-hungry nation states" (Ong, 2022). This, as my findings will show, goes to explain the push-pull factors that drive skilled migrants to Australia.

1.2.3. Astronaut Families

Astronaut families have been studied by geographers (Skeldon, 1994; Boyer, 1996; Waters, 2002), social scientists (Pe-Pua et al.,1996; Tsang et al., 2003), psychologists (Tsong & Liu, 2008; Qin, 2006) and anthropologists (Ong, 1999). The term describes the frequent travel of the 'astronaut' parent from country of origin to where the 'satellite' children are living in the new country of destination (Skeldon, 1994; Ho, 2002).

The literature is rich on past 'astronaut' migrations largely from Hong Kong and Taiwan over twenty years ago, though none have focused on Mainland Chinese immigrants. The reports were on migrant experiences at their countries of destination in America, Australia, New Zealand and Canada (Boyer,1996; Pe-Pua et al.,1996; Ong, 1999, Ho, 2002, Waters, 2002, 2009; Tsang et al., 2003). Finally, many studies focused on the experience of the mothers (Lam, 1994; Chiang, 2008; Waters, 2002; Ong, 1999) with some research on the experiences of the astronaut children (Tsang et al., 2003), which I will draw on in this study.

1.2.4. Migrants and Parental Expectations

Migrants are by nature, aspirational and have moved to a new country to further their family status and economic position. They place huge importance on education as a means for their children to have upward social mobility in the new society (Basit, 2012). This 'aspirational capital' is transmitted from parent to child, and seen in school choice, private tutoring and other resources to help the child. This parental attitude can also be motivating for a child to work hard. Results from a recent Australian study shows parents born overseas from a non-English speaking background have "markedly higher expectations for their children's education", especially those born in Asia (Dockery et al., 2022).

Why Asians students do so well academically has had many theories from the stereotype of 'tiger parenting' to Confucian values that demand obedience to authority and especially parental authority. Sociologists, Lee and Zhou wrote about the 'Asian American Achievement Paradox' which found that the academic achievement of Asian immigrant children was a combination of their immigrant parents' pre-selection, the 'stereotype promise' from schools, but also a 'success frame' within their own communities. (Lee & Zhou, 2014). The paradox is that for those children who do not attain expected high academic outcomes feel not only a failure, but even lose a sense of belonging to their ethnic group. It is no surprise that our skilled migrant parents, of a wealthy socio-economic class have high expectations for their children to succeed academically. However, parental expectations can be a double-edged sword: at once motivating the child towards higher performance, but also potentially inducing depressive symptoms (Qin, 2008).

1.2.5. Acculturation

Acculturation is defined by the strategies a migrant uses to adapt to a new culture and maintain their original cultural (Berry, 1997). John Berry's theories of cultural maintenance-cultural adoption have been used to explain the phenomenon of sojurners, migrants and refugees. Much work has also been carried to understand

the associated concept of *acculturative stress*. This refers to the stress a person experiences due to the process of acculturation (Sam & Berry 2010), with research on psychological health for children, adults, by gender and various ethnic groups. Sam and Berry also emphasized that acculturation should be considered at an individual rather than a group level. This is because despite similar cultural origins, individuals may choose very different ways of reacting to the new culture.

1.3. Significance of the research

My study hopes to give voice to the youngest migrants – the primary school age children – who are often voiceless in the very decisions that fundamentally affect them the most. There is limited research on migrant experiences of younger children; a literature review of 9 recent studies on migrant youth in Australia were all focused on youth aged 13-17 (Smith et al., 2021). The many studies on the previous wave of satellite children were also mainly on adolescents (Tsang et al., 2003; Tsong & Liu, 2009;) and feature migrants mostly from Hong Kong and Taiwan. My study is an important update on previous reports on astronaut families, this time with the *New Chinese* (Li, 2017) from Mainland China, the second largest group of new migrants in Australia, and providing insight into an understudied group of primary-aged students.

Listening to the children's experience of migration, acculturation strategies, and what impacts their wellbeing hopefully gives their parents and teachers in their immediate micro-systems a view into their world to better support them. Bronfenbrenner (1996) emphasised that child development was most influenced by the immediate ecological system of the child's family and school, so the study was designed to understand how a child interacts with her family and school. But importantly also that the findings can be shared back to families and schools, in order ensure the positive development of the child.

A further significant aspect of my research is that the family demographics at my research site at a girls' school in Sydney reflect a fundamental change to many independent schools in Sydney. Wealthy, well-educated skilled migrants are choosing independent schools in large numbers. In the past decade, there has been a 23% growth in Language Background Other Than English (LBOTE) students in NSW government schools, but at Rosemount School in the last eight years, the growth of LBOTE students was 77%, with a neighbouring boys' school in the same period seeing a 144% growth in LBOTE students (myschool.edu.au). In other words, the practices of flexible citizenship and astronaut parenting would likely be found at other independent schools in Sydney, and in other urban capitals where skilled migrants tend to choose to be based. This makes findings from my study crucial for parents, teachers and counsellors needing to not only understand but ameliorate the wellbeing of our youngest actors amidst the macro forces of globalisation.

1.4. Thesis Structure

This thesis is organised into six chapters. Chapter One introduces the research questions and the conceptual frameworks. Chapter Two explains the research design and methodology, with emphasis on the ethics and positionality of myself as a teacher and researcher. Chapter Three discusses the first main findings on the impact of migration on the children. Chapter Four analyses the implications of astronaut parenting and especially the 'illbeing' for children with an absent father. Chapter Five highlights the role of parental expectations and its implications for a child's social and emotional wellbeing. Chapter Six concludes with a summary of the main findings, implications for policy and practice, and lastly suggestions for possible future research avenues.

Chapter 2: Methodology

2.1. Ethics and Positionality

I came to this research wanting to investigate issues I had observed as a teacher and as a migrant myself. My personal and professional experiences inform this research and provide a unique perspective that strengthens this thesis. Shared experiences I have had with my students as an EALD student myself and as a young migrant have made me a more empathetic teacher, and in the same way I believe my background has given me advantages as a researcher. I was buoyed by research projects by other teacher-researchers. For example, Margaret Sheppard wrote a PhD in 1998 on 'Astronaut families and schools' in Canada from her positionality as an elementary teacher. Her interviews with Hong Kong students and their mothers were relatable to my Mainland Chinese students and mothers in Australia in 2021. In more recent years, it was affirming to read more Chinese immigrant-academics researching Chinese communities themselves: Henry Li's master's thesis in 2015 on 'Mainland Chinese satellite children in Vancouver', where his childhood in an astronaut household propelled him to pursue a sociology degree describing the very phenomenon of his upbringing.

One advantage of my positionality as a teacher was access to my participants. Being a teacher at Rosemount School meant the school administrators knew and trusted me; from already having the Working with Children checks to the logistics of arranging the data collection was quite straightforward. The second and important advantage was building a rapport and connecting with my interview participants. While I did not teach the interviewed students, they knew of me, and with my knowledge of the school, it made the interview conversations easier, as we had common language around the topics of Rosemount school's timetable, extra-curricular, teachers etc. As the participants spoke of their school lives, they knew that I understood and didn't need further clarifications on what was discussed. Furthermore, I disclosed to the children and parents that I was an EALD student once too, and my status as an 'in-group' member allowed them to discuss their

experiences more openly. It was important that the students and mothers felt ‘safe, respected and heard when participating in research’ (Shaw et al., 2019). The final advantage was language. Being bilingual in Mandarin and English helped my participants express something in Mandarin if they so wished, allowing me to document the nuances of their experience. I was also able to conduct an interview with a mother in Mandarin without the need for an external interpreter, making it more comfortable for the mother to discuss potentially sensitive topics like her family and the activities of her children.

There were also disadvantages to being an ‘insider’ in this study. My being a teacher and researching in my school had ethical considerations of power, privacy and potential harm. These ethical considerations were interrogated by the UTS ethics committee and also Rosemount School’s internal ethics committee before I got the go ahead for the project. The thorough ethics applications, although long, were excellent in helping me think clearly and carefully about the research design to address power, privacy and ways to mitigate harm to students and parent participants.

To address the first disadvantage, that of uneven power relations: as a teacher, and a person of authority, I did not want students or parents to feel at all pressured into taking part in the research. We planned several steps to mitigate the power imbalance, firstly doing things at ‘arm’s length’ described in more detail below in the methodology. Also, it was made clear to parents and students that participation and non-participation would not affect their relationship with the school. The fact that I only taught a small subset of students and was not involved in school reports meant there was a less ‘tenuous’ link to any power I had over students’ grades and their participation in the study.

The second disadvantage on privacy: talking about family stories, who lived at home and what they did, can be private. Again, in designing the surveys, I did not capture names of students, just birthdates, so the students could not be readily identifiable or

elicit prejudice from me during the analysis. The collection and storage of consent forms was carefully planned to ensure maximum privacy. The planned interviews were held after school, in a meeting room away from student eyes, with only the office administrator in line of sight. In sharing results, the findings were de-identified and the school and participants given pseudonyms. Prior to a presentation at school of my top-level findings, I reviewed each slide with the Director of Research at Rosemount to ensure none of the interview participants could be identified even from amalgamated descriptions of the EALD groups.

Lastly on the principles of minimising harm to participants. The length of the online survey was piloted and revised to minimise the length of time it would require of students. Counsellors were on hand during the survey session if any students felt unease from filling out the wellbeing measure. For the semi-structured interview, it was especially useful for the student members of Rosemount School's ethics committee to interrogate the nature of the questions, in light of minimising discomfort to the participants when talking about their wellbeing and family relationships.

Overall, I found that conducting the research from my positionality as a teacher, as a migrant and EALD student myself was positive to my study. The students and especially the mothers were keen to share their stories. Having never been asked before about their experiences, especially from a teacher employed at the school, they felt positively that the school valued their 'reality' and that the school wanted to learn more about their migrant experiences. The mothers enjoyed a chance to reflect on their family situation and were happy that their contribution to the research would possibly benefit their children and like-migrant groups in the future.

With strong ethical considerations, the research was designed in two stages. Stage one was the quantitative survey, followed by semi-structured interviews with a mother-daughter pair in stage two.

2.2. Stage One: Quantitative Survey

I designed the questionnaire for all Year 5 students to scope and quantify the number of Language Background other than English (LBOTE) students versus English language background (ELB) students. The first component of the questionnaire was demographic, to answer the '*who*', '*where*', '*when*' and '*what*' of the migrant group. Who was in their family, where had they come from, when did they come to Australia, what language did they speak at home? (for details refer to the questionnaire in Appendix B). Drawing from Brofenbrenner's ecological system theory (Bronfenbrenner, 1996) that child development was affected by immediate setting of family and school, the first part of the questionnaire was to clearly capture the family milieu for the child. The second component was to understand the daily life of the student at school: how did they feel about school and homework? Did they attend tutoring and partake in extra-curricular activities? The third component was the wellbeing measure, the Strengths and Difficulties Questionnaire. At the end of the questionnaire, students could record an expression of interest to take part in the stage two one-to-one interviews. The questionnaire was created in Qualtrics and took students on average 20-30 minutes to complete on student iPads.

Year 5 students were selected, as they would cognitively be able to answer the survey questions without much teacher intervention or explanation; with younger students I did not feel confident with the independence of their survey-taking ability. In concurrence with my teacher judgement, importantly, the recommended age for the self-report of the Strengths and Difficulties questionnaire was age 11 and above (Goodman et al., 1998). The age of students in Year 5 was between 10 – 11, with the large majority closer to age 11 as the survey was taken in the last term of Year 5. In addition, to coordinate the follow-up qualitative interviews in stage two of the research, the Year 5 students would still be in the junior school in Year 6, making it easier to access them. Year 6 students were not selected for the quantitative survey as when students moved onto Year 7 - a significant new education and life stage of high school – I felt the possible changes impacting a student between the quantitative survey and the stage two qualitative interviews would be too great a variable. This was confirmed by literature that migrant experiences of teenager

would be quite different to that of primary-school children due to the on-set of puberty, developing identities (Busby & Corak, 2014)

The student participant information form (Appendix A) was sent home to parents, given the minor age of students, parent consent was required for their child to take the survey. If parents did not consent to their child taking the survey, the student was not given the survey on the day of data collection. At the start of the survey, students were given another chance to review the student participant information and to ask questions about their involvement. Students needed to click that they consented to the survey to progress onto the questions. Even if the parents consented to their participation, the students had another step and choice to consent or not to consent. This step was important in the design of the quantitative survey collection, as another way for the method to be child-centred in wellbeing research (Smith et al., 2012).

Initially the plan was for students to take the survey in term 3, but due to the delay in ethics approval, the data collection was pushed to term 4, in the second last week of the school year. Prior to the survey, the Year 5 teachers were briefed by me on the logistics of the data collection. Teachers had time to review the questionnaire in case they had questions from students while they were taking the survey. Due to ethics considerations to keep me at arms' length, it was the Year 5 coordinator who briefed the students on the purpose and instructions of the survey. I would not be present in the room while students were taking their surveys to avoid bias. With consultation with the Year 5 teachers, we felt the best time for data collection would be after lunch in their timetabled wellbeing class. Students were asked to complete the questionnaire independently, not in groups or discussing the items, due to the personal nature of the wellbeing questions. Once students completed the survey, they could read quietly. The teachers reported students did the surveys with little questions or issues with the data collection.

The Year 5 cohort was approximately 150 students made up of 6 classes of 25 students. I had anticipated that while discounting students (and their parents) who opted out of the research, and incomplete surveys, I would end up with at least 100 student surveys which would still be large enough to undertake statistical analysis. In the end I had 110 surveys that were usable for analysis. I used crosstabs, correlational analysis to identify relationships between two variables. Firstly, I could compare the demographics between my two groups: LBOTE students and ELB students; their family size, living arrangements, attitude to school, extra-curricular activities etc. Secondly, I wanted to understand which demographic and academic variables correlated with high difficulties SDQ scores. The beauty of using Qualtrics was the ability to filter one variable against another. For example, to look at the SDQ mean score filtered by LBOTE students, or ELB students. Or to interrogate how close students felt to their father, I filtered by students with absent fathers, versus students with resident fathers. The details will be discussed in my findings chapters. It should be stressed here that the differences found between sub-groups of students in the findings were not tested for statistical significance, due to the sample sizes being often very small, especially as groups were filtered by multiple variables. As such, the findings can be interpreted as as correlation between variables and interesting results that may lead to statistically rigourous analysis in future studies.

2.3. Measuring Wellbeing, the Strengths and Difficulties Questionnaire (SDQ)

As stated in the conceptual framework, the concept of wellbeing is difficult to pin down, and even more difficult to measure. Following discussions with my supervisor, and our school counsellor, I decided I needed to choose a definition and a measure. The framework for child wellbeing I used is from the Australian Institute of Health and Welfare (AIHW). Their 2020 report ‘Australia’s Children’ defined children as aged from birth to the end of primary school and focused on social and emotional wellbeing (SEWB). Social and emotional wellbeing (SEWB) is a key component of a child’s good mental health and wellbeing. The AIHW also quoted from nationally available SDQ data from a 2013-14 survey by Telethon Kids at the University of Western Australia (AIHW, 2012), which gave me Australian norms. The AIHW found the SDQ was a strong indicator of SEWB for children. The SDQ is also used in the

Longitudinal Study of Australian Children (LSAC), a study into the wellbeing of young people and their families (Department of Social Services, 2023).

The principles I used to find a wellbeing measure were that it had to relate to young children, be Australian specific and be free and easy to administer. The advice of our school counsellor was invaluable in encouraging me to choose the Strengths and Difficulties Questionnaire (SDQ). She used the tool frequently in assessing SEWB of a student (in the past six months) in the junior school. AIHW also quoted from nationally available SDQ data from a 2013-14 survey by Telethon Kids at the University of Western Australia (AIHW, 2012). The AIHW found the SDQ was a strong indicator of SEWB for children.

The Strengths and Difficulties Questionnaire had many benefits for my study. First it was easy to administer. It consisted of a one-page 25-item questionnaire (see Appendix C) that screened for difficulties in four areas: emotional symptoms, conduct problems, hyperactivity/ inattention, and peer relationship problems. It also rated a child's prosocial behaviours, categorised as strengths. Second, although the SDQ instrument was developed by Goodman (2007) in the UK, Australian norms were available freely on its website, against which I could compare my results. As a check on the validity of my questionnaire and robustness of the sample, I was pleased to find that 82% of the Year 5 cohort scored in the normal range for difficulties, following closely the Australian norm of 80% (Mellor, 2005). Third, the self-report version fulfilled my principle of hearing from the children, with the ability to triangulate between teacher and parent reports. In the end, I had only managed to obtain teacher reports on four of the students that attended the stage two interviews, and none from the parents. Lastly, the SDQ was free and had been translated into Chinese if needed.

The Child Behaviour Checklist (CBCL) which was a component of the Achenbach System of Empirically Based Assessment (ASEBA) also tested for behavioural and emotional problems in children and had a self-report version. However, it was 113

questions long, and cost up to $295 per single user license, which obviously was out of the question for my study of up to 150 students. Other measures reviewed by AIHW were also not suitable, such as the Australian Early Development Census (AEDC) which was designed for children aged 4-5. ACER had a relatively new social and emotional wellbeing survey, and another was Rumble Quest. However, both instruments did not have Australian-wide results and the feasibility needed further exploration. (AIHW, 2012)

2.4. Stage Two: Semi-structured interviews

Semi-structured interviews were chosen to follow the quantitative survey. The qualitative method would get at the '*why*', '*how*' and '*what*' of the research questions on migration. Why did the family migrate? How did you adapt to the new culture? These conversations with a purpose (Burgess, 2002) were important for me to hear the voices of the children; to capture their thoughts, feelings and experiences of migration and their wellbeing. The United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child (1989) promotes the right for children to share their views, and in wellbeing research, in-depth interviews are a method for children to use their 'own frames of reference' (Smith et al. 2012) For the ethics approval, the interview outline (see Appendix E) was scrutinised by UTS and the internal ethics review of Rosemount School to ensure the line of questioning did not create harm for the participants. The interview guide outlined the themes to be explored, but allowed for the conversation to go in a direction dictated by the child or the mother being interviewed to 'frame' what was important to them. The interview questions were planned under sub-topics such as background information to the family, migration history, experience with school and home, family relationships etc. This helped guide the conversations.

The choice to make the interview one-to-one rather than a focus group was due to the sensitivity of the topics discussed. Since the conversations were to draw out areas that could cause the participants emotional difficulties, it was felt that this be best done one-to-one where the participant could speak more freely without fear of judgement or privacy in a group scenario. Similarly, the mother and child were

interviewed separately, again to allow for freedom of expression. For example, if the child felt the mother applied a lot of pressure on her academic achievement, she might feel less inclined to mention it with her mother in the interview.

The interviews were designed in mother-daughter pairs, since migration is a family affair, talking to the parent would allow better understanding of the reasons why the family decided to migrate. While the child interview can probe the impact on the child, the interview with the parent could bring to light more considered reflections which the child may not be able to do given their age. The mother interviews were to corroborate the findings in the child interviews, since the focus of the research was on child wellbeing. The mothers were also able to speak more broadly about how migration and, in some cases, how the absent father affected the child and the siblings. In the interviews, the mother and child separately could talk about their own views on academics and expectations on tutoring.

Using a grounded theory approach (Glaser & Strauss, 1967), I also wanted to openly explore what could contribute to the children's feeling of wellbeing and what areas of their lives caused them stress. I had some areas to definitely explore in the interviews from analysing the results of the quantitative survey: such as the time of arrival and impact of migration, and the girls with an absent father in an astronaut family. Both had correlations to high SDQ scores. However, around the subject of school and achievement, it was more nuanced and not clear cut. Data from the interviews were analysed to search for themes that emerged on what impacted child wellbeing.

The interviews were planned for around 60 minutes, and conducted at school in a meeting room that was private but there had to be a line of sight for child protection. The interviews were scheduled after school at a time suitable for the family, often the student was waiting for an extra-curricular activity, or the mother was waiting to pick up her child from an extra-curricular activity at school, so it was convenient. I was

also conscious to do the interview after school to minimise the attention on the child interviewee, i.e. not to have the child taken out of class in front of other students.

It was important to me to have face-to-face interviews, as I could make notes on the body language and emotion of the interviewee. This was especially important for the children, as sometimes they found it difficult to articulate how they felt about situations. Interpreting silences, a nervous laugh or ferocious colouring gave me additional non-verbal information on the topic at hand. The interview was recorded orally rather than as a video. This helped me with the transcription later but also was less intrusive than a video recording.

During the introduction of the interview for Chinese speakers, I spoke in Chinese to indicate that I was able to speak Chinese fluently, and that gave the subtle signal that they could slip into Chinese if need be to express something they couldn't in English. For example my talking about the domestic helper/nanny common in China, the 'ayi', meant the participants did not need to explain her role. While interviewing, especially the child, the benefit of my positionality as a teacher at the school also made the child feel greatly at ease. I was able to acknowledge friends or teachers the child mentioned and speak to the academic timetable at school or extra-curricular activities.

The quantitative survey was conducted in November 2020 following a year of Covid-19 induced online learning and school closures. Following analysis of the survey results, LBOTE students who had borderline to abnormal SDQ scores were selected for interview, there being a total of 14. A letter was sent home to the parents of the girls, inviting both the mother and daughter to the interviews (see Appendix D). If appropriate, a Chinese translation of the letter was given to girls from Chinese-speaking families, as I understood that some parents had limited English. Since I could conduct the interview in Chinese, I wanted to offer the opportunity for mothers who felt more comfortable speaking to Chinese to come forward and not be restricted to share their story due to a lack of English language.

In all, I received consent from five mother-child pairs. One of the children had consent to participate in the interview but the mother did not have time to be interviewed. In total 11 interviews were conducted, with one mother's interview being conducted in Chinese. Upon consultation with my supervisor, we felt that 11 interviews would be sufficient and with time pressure, I did not pursue further interviews. The survey was carried out in November 2020 and with Covid-inflicted school closures again in 2021, I wanted to carry out the semi-structured interview as soon as possible to not have a big gap between the quantitative questionnaires and the interview. The interviews were carried out in May 2021.

Recordings of the 11 interviews were uploaded to Otter.ai, an automated transcription application, with the exception of the Chinese interview, which had to be translated first. Cleaning and formatting the transcription took a long time, since the software was not always accurate. As I only had 11 transcripts, I manually coded the transcripts in Microsoft Word for themes, also enriching the recording with observational notes I had made in the interview for body language and other non-verbal signs. In order to protect the privacy of the students and mothers, pseudonyms were given to each participant and any members of the family that were named. To be faithful to their ethnicity, names were given to reflect their country of origin, except for where the students had adopted Anglicised names.

2. 5. Meet the participant families

Through the interviews with the child and mother pair, it is possible to understand the families as they typify the families in my research site. The strategy of flexible citizenship was noticeable among an Indian family, a bi-culture family, and the four wealthy Mainland Chinese families. Of the six families, the four Chinese families practised astronaut parenting, with the father working in China and visiting the mother-child in Australia. (Participants have been given pseudonyms so they could be de-identified.)

2.5.1. The Skilled-Migrant Families – Anika, Erica, Abby

2.5.2. The Third-Culture Kid – Hana

2.5.3. The Investor Family – Katie

2.5.4. The Junior International Student – Chloe

2.5.1. The skilled migrant family 1 – Anika

Anika's Indian family represents the classic skilled-migrant story. Anika's father is Sikh, from Punjab, who left years before she was born to seek a better life. He followed a well-trodden path of Indian students studying medicine in Ukraine. At the outbreak of the Ukraine war in 2022, approximately 18,000 Indian students were reportedly in the Ukraine, most of them studying medicine (India Times, 2022). Ukraine is a popular choice for Indian medical students who cannot get a place in the fiercely competitive government university system or afford the hefty private institution fees in India. Upon graduation, Anika's father went to work in the UK, again following the familiar route of Indian doctors working in the National Health Service (NHS). According to a report by the House of Commons in 2023, Indians were the second-largest group by nationality working in the NHS, after the British (Baker, 2023). He decided "suddenly" to move the family to Australia for work reasons. The skilled-migrant age cap is 45 years old, and he decided it was "now or never". He is one of the many migrant general practitioner doctors working outside Sydney, where doctors are desperately needed.

Anika was born in Liverpool, UK, and, although far from all her extended family in India, she grew up happily as a single child with a close-knit Indian community in Liverpool, consisting mainly of other Indian medical professionals. Her mother did not work in Australia or in the UK but had done some teaching before marrying and becoming a mother.

Anika had moved from the UK to Australia to start school in Year 4, so she had been in Sydney for approximately 18 months at the time of her interview in Year 6. Upon arrival at Rosemount School, her family connected with other Indian families who were also doctors. Anika was surprised her father knew another Indian father at school, as their professional paths had crossed as doctors in the UK. Her migrant story is typical of a skilled migrant, and the fact that the family knew other Indian doctor families potentially shows how common such migration patterns are among skilled doctors of Indian origin. (They are typical of flexible citizens).

The skilled migrant family 2 – Erica

Erica's parents were white-collar managers from China who had come to Australia as international students. Upon graduation, they moved back to Shanghai, where there were good job opportunities for bilingual professionals. Erica and her brother were born in Shanghai and have Australian citizenship. At the time of interview in Year 6, Erica had lived in Australia for approximately seven years since arriving to start kindergarten, with her younger brother in pre-school. She attended a local public school before transferring to Rosemount School in Year 3. She has since left Rosemount, winning a scholarship to a selective girls' school. Erica was living in Sydney with her mother and brother, her father visiting "a term, then not a term, then another term." Her cousins and grandparents lived in China and would visit sometimes. Her mother was working in Sydney. (They are typical of an astronaut family).

The skilled migrant family 3 – Abby

Abby's mother and father had also studied in Australia and returned to work in China for Western multinational companies. Abby and her younger sister were born in Guangzhou, China, but her mother had made early preparations for their eventual move to Australia by enrolling the girls in a bilingual school in China. Both have Australian citizenship by descent as the parents are Australian citizens. The parents had studied in Australia as students and probably acquired citizenship before the children were born. These passports probably directed these flexible citizens to

choose Australia as a destination once Abby and her sister were born. While still studying in China, Abby attended a school in Adelaide during the long Chinese summer holidays (July and August), when Australian schools were in session. Her parents had long ago bought a house in Sydney near friends, and when Abby arrived in Year 3, she attended the local public school near the house. Once they got their bearings and decided on Rosemount School for their daughters, they bought a house next to the school to make it easier for the girls to attend it for the duration of their education. They had a Chinese domestic helper (called an ayi), whom the girls grew up with. The ayi sometimes came to live with them in Sydney. At the time of her interview in Year 6, Abby had just started at Rosemount the year prior in Year 5. She was living with her mother and sister in Sydney, and her father "works in China but visits every month or so". Her mother had worked full-time in China and was just starting a new job in Sydney. (They are typical of an astronaut family).

2.5.2. The third-culture kid – Hana

Hana's father is Japanese but grew up in Melbourne and attended a private boys' school there. His British wife, whom he met while working as a lawyer in Tokyo, described him as a native-English speaker. He works for an American bank with Asian headquarters in Hong Kong. It made sense for Hana's parents to base themselves in Hong Kong, a financial hub where East meets West. They are the most international and multi-racial of the skilled-migrant families interviewed, travelling between the mother's family in the UK and the father's family in Japan. In contrast, Abby's and Erica's parents were both Mainland Chinese, and their scope of travel was largely limited between China and Australia.

Hana can be classified a "third-culture kid" (TCK), a term first coined by researchers John and Ruth Useem (Useem & Useem, 1967) to describe the children of American citizens working and living abroad. Now it is broadly understood to refer to children of parents of different cultures, who are educated in a third culture (Pollack et al, 2017). In the past, such families would work in the military or be missionary or diplomatic families that experienced frequent traveling and uprooting. However, with

globalisation, TCKs are now mostly children of expatriate parents (Jones et al. 2022) estimated at approximately 43 million worldwide in 2021 (Finaccord, 2018). In Asia, many are on assignment working in finance and its adjunct industries such as law, insurance, hospitality and aviation, largely in the multi-cultural havens of Hong Kong, Singapore, Shanghai and Bangkok (Caligiuri and Bonache, 2016).

Hana is the fourth child of the family with two older sisters at Rosemount School and an older brother in a prestigious private boys' school in Sydney. She lives next to the school and her mother is now a housewife. (They are flexible citizens).

2.5.3. The investor family – Katie

Katie was born in Wuhan, China, and moved to Australia to start kindergarten. She lived with her mother and her younger sister in a house in an exclusive neighbouring suburb to Rosemount School. Her father lived and worked in China and would come often to visit them, especially during the holidays. Her mother was a housewife. Her maternal grandparents lived with them a few weeks each year and the paternal grandparents also took turns to visit. They have an ayi (domestic helper) who worked for the family in China and would sometimes live with them in Sydney.

The father had businesses in China and in Australia. He holds the "golden ticket" visa, officially known as the significant investment visa (SIV), which does not have conditions on English language proficiency or age, just an investment in Australia, as a path to permanent residency. Katie acknowledged that her father spoke little English. (They are typical of an astronaut family).

2.5.4. The junior international student – Chloe

An "international student" is not an Australian or New Zealand citizen or an Australian permanent residence holder. They are only in Australia for the purpose of education. Upon completion of their studies, the student must leave. Most

international students are 18 years and over and come to Australia to study as adults. International students are a common sight around tertiary institutions in NSW, with close to 130,000 enrolments in 2023 (Department of Education, 2023). Primary and secondary students account for only 1% of all the international students visas in NSW, hence they are less common in government secondary schools and scarcely seen at all in primary school settings. At the time of this study, there were around 20 international students across K-12 at Rosemount School, and in the primary school there were around three to four in a given year.

For international secondary school students from Years 7 to 12, who are mostly still minors, wealthy families can choose a school that offers boarding facilities. In addition to annual tuition fees that may be more than $30,000 per year, boarding fees are approximately another $30,000, not including other expenses like flights from the home country to Australia.

Another option for an international student instead of boarding is to be accompanied by a parent. The Commonwealth Register of Institutions and Courses for Overseas Students (CRICOS) licenses certain schools to enrol students under 18 years old. The student is the main visa holder, and the accompanying parent is allowed to reside with the child but does not have the right to employment. Thus the expenses incurred by the child and parent in living in Australia need to be sustained by the breadwinner in the home country. Although a family saves on the costs of boarding, the CRICOS fees are still higher than for domestic students, for example international students pay $34,000 for kindergarten, whereas domestic students for $26,000.

For families who want their children to be educated overseas, the CRICOS system is a popular option to bypass the citizenship requirements and simply pay for access. For private schools, despite the added administrative hassles, the increased fees are still worthwhile. This arrangement is an economic meeting of the demand of capital-

bearing foreigners and the supply of capital-hungry education institutions (Ong, 2022). For primary school-aged children, however, becoming an international student is the only option for families since boarding is only open to students from Year 7, aged 13 and above. Rosemount School and many other independent schools do not tend to enrol CRICOS students under Year 5.

Chloe's family is quite unusual in starting their international student journey so young. Chloe started in Year 1 in Australia, having done kindergarten in China. Primarily because her brother was starting Year 7 at the time, it made sense for the mother to accompany both children, as required for the CRICOS visa. They lived in an apartment near the school, and now that the brother was older, he boarded at a boys' private school in Sydney. The intention was for him to continue his studies in Sydney and join the family business. The family were obviously wealthy, with two children paying international student fees, boarding fees, and a mother living in Sydney who does not work. They had already purchased another apartment for the brother for his university studies. (They are typical of an astronaut family)

In sum, both the quantitative and the qualitative methods were essential in answering my research questions. My survey was crucial in scoping out the migrant numbers and to quantify how many families practised astronaut parenting. Tracking 'astronauts' migration patterns was reported as being difficult to gather by other researchers (Li, 2019) from customs entry and departure data or census data. Many studies like Li's just had qualitative interviews as a methodology, so could not comment on how widespread the phenomena were. However, studies on migrant children in Australia showed a propensity for quantitative methods, without follow-up qualitative research (Smith et al. 2012). The danger of a study without qualitative data meant missing the chance to listen to children's own voice around their wellbeing. For my study, the qualitative interviews were essential to supplement the data from the surveys and without which, I would not have been able to draw the vibrant pictures of the families above. Now that we have met the participants, we will move onto the findings of the study. The first will be to examine the impact of migration on the children. Then I will explore how the absent father in the astronaut family impacts child wellbeing. Lastly, the thesis unpacks how high parental expectations can affect the wellbeing of children.

CHAPTER 3: Flexible Citizenship and its Effects on Children's Wellbeing

This study focuses on the children of skilled migrants, especially their wellbeing. This chapter seeks to understand the migration trajectories of these families to Australia. Children don't exist in isolation, and as ecological systems theory (Bronfenbrenner, 1996) postulates, a child's development is hugely impacted by the immediate micro-system of family and school.

This chapter examines recent migrant families from Asia. The new migrants to Australia are skilled, educated and wealthy. They often employ a strategy called "flexible citizenship", which was first coined by Ong in 1999 to explain how wealthy Asian families choose transnational living as a response to political uncertainty and as a way to maximise the economic benefits of globalisation. Has the practice of flexible citizenship changed twenty years on?

My research with migrant children from Rosemount School looks at where they came from and how flexible citizenship is lived in their families. These skilled migrant families are cosmopolitan in outlook; they and their children lead transnational lives, with one foot in their home country and another in their new host Australia, and they have an eye on future destinations.

By exploring the broader picture of recent migration to Australia, and specifically at my research site in an affluent suburb of Sydney, I have sought to discover how migrating to a new country has affected the children of these families. Can we see an impact on their wellbeing? Have the children acculturated? And how do these hypermobile lives bear on the children's sense of identity?

3.1. Flexible citizenship

3.1.1. Ong's original concept and Hong Kong context in 1999

Aihwa Ong first used the term "flexible citizenship" to refer to Hong Kong business leaders' transnational practices "of capitalist accumulation, travel, and displacements that induce subjects to respond fluidly and opportunistically to changing political-economic conditions" (Ong, 1999 p. 6). The Malaysian-born, American-based academic was writing after the 1989 Tiananmen Square Massacre and the repatriation of Hong Kong to China in 1997. Many Hong Kongers were nervous about the political climate in China and chose to permanently move to safer countries such as the United Kingdom, Canada, Australia and the United States (Wong, 1992).

However, a phenomenon that Ong (1999) described was the many 'flexible citizens' who opted not to move permanently, but instead to keep a foot in both worlds. This fluidity was necessary so they could continue to benefit from the economics of a booming China, all the while holding foreign passports and sending children, with or without their mothers, to the West, sometimes indefinitely, as political insurance. Ong placed the fluidity that characterised these "migrations, diasporas and other transnational flows" (p. 8) firmly in the context of late capitalism and globalisation, which demanded and enabled the free movement of capital and people. Ong made clear that strategies of flexible citizenship belonged to the domain of the wealthy and were out of reach for the working classes in Asia. She also sought to address the Euro-American anthropologists who saw non-Western countries as peripheral, their peoples exploited and poor. Instead, Ong reported on the rising powerful in Asia, the wealthy class with money and passports who could choose to live, work, or invest in both Asia and the West with their flexible citizenships. Ong cautioned not only about flexible citizens challenging the power of the nation-state, but also the danger that they be looked upon in the West as disloyal sojourners who long to go back to the motherland.

The exodus of Hong Kongers was not seen as unique; the brain drain of its citizenship has also been seen in the other three Asian dragons, Taiwan, South Korea and Singapore. For example, in 1989 the United States increased immigration from Korea, followed by Taiwan, then Hong Kong. These countries all shared competitive education systems and declining birth rates and were exporters of wealth and skill. They also shared “a history of refugee influx, uncertain political futures and a collective sense of anxiety that impels economic endeavour” (Wong, 1992, p. 14). Therefore, it is not surprising that citizens of these countries also practised flexible citizenship.

3.1.2. 20 years on - Mainland Chinese among the global economic elites

The practice of flexible citizenship has not abated since 1999; rather, it has become more widespread and normalised for those who can afford it. Ong (2022) updated that flexible citizenship was desired by the global economic elite “as a discipline combined with mobility and flexibility in search of the greatest security and opportunity for their capital and families” (p. 599). She argued that the concept of citizenship has been changed by “capital-bearing foreigners” and “capital-hungry nation states” (p.599).

This phenomenon is now found among not only Hong Kong’s business elite but also wealthy global citizens navigating the opportunities of globalisation. Citizens –with desired skills and capital, language abilities and international networks – could take advantage of residential, business or education prospects across continents. It is typical for these “flexible citizens” to maintain homes and businesses or employment in more than one country. The Deloitte report on the Significant Investor Visa (SIV) program explained the driving forces behind investing money in Australia: “For the wealthy, these programs mean greater global mobility, family security, better tax and estate planning, better lifestyle and opportunity to be exposed to other investment opportunities” (Deloitte access economics, 2019, p. 13).

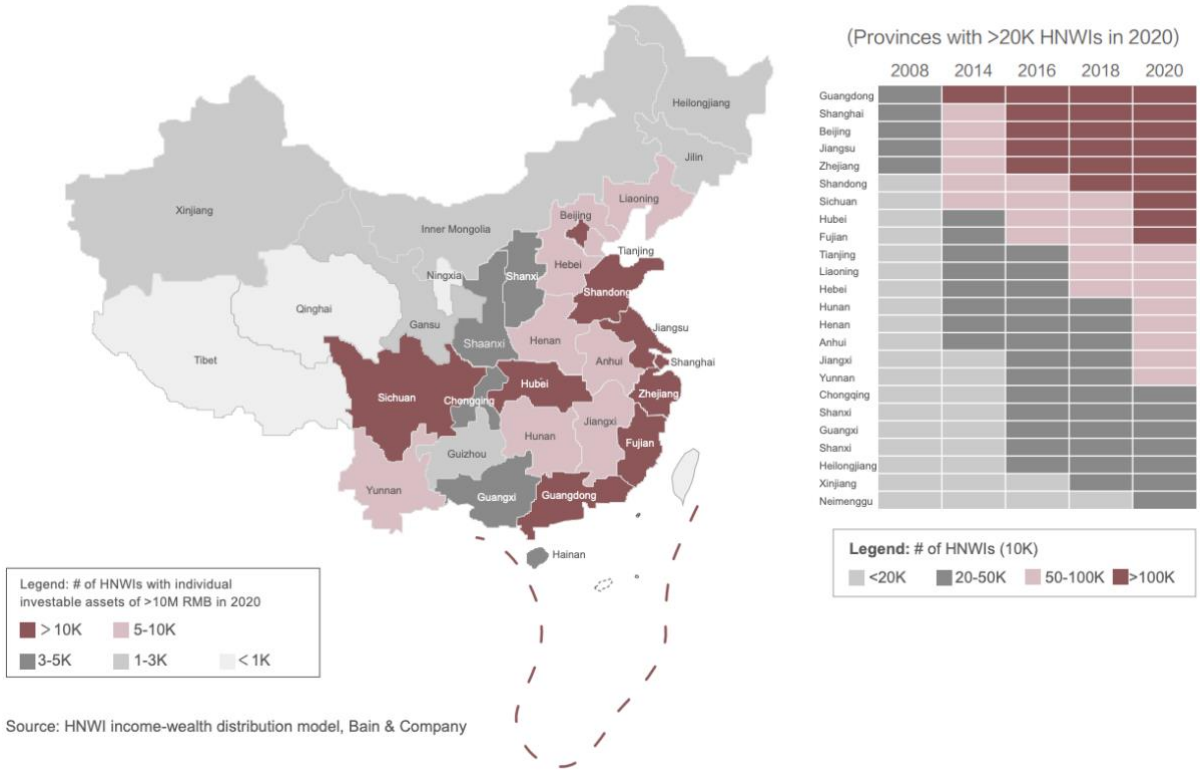
Ong (1999) noted that Hong Kong before the 1997 handover was abuzz with passport stories: “The multiple-passport holder is an apt contemporary figure; he or she embodies the split between state-imposed identity and personal identity caused by political upheavals, migration and changing global markets” (p. 2). Twenty-five years on, it is not only the jittery Asians with uncertain political futures that want multiple passports, it is an investment strategy common among the wealthy. According to Jim Rogers, Quantum Fund co–founder, “Everybody in my family has more than one passport. In my view, it’s a wise insurance policy and a wise investment” (Deloitte, 2019, p. 13). Ong (2022) speaks about the foreign passport as a necessity for Mainland Chinese who need to move countries in case their business and/or personal freedoms are affected by the Chinese government.

The new kid on the globalisation block is now the Mainland Chinese. The strategy of flexible citizenship once used by Hong Kong elites has now been adopted by Mainland Chinese elites. Henley & Partners in Hong Kong, a migration consultancy servicing high net-worth individuals (HNWIs), saw emigration enquiries from Mainland China skyrocket in early 2023. A director at the practice explained that following strict Covid lockdowns over the past few years and the continued crackdown and uncertainty for private businesses under President Xi, its Mainland Chinese clients were seeking “better access to health care or to enjoy greater political security” (Nikkei Asia, 13 Jun 2023). China can be described as experiencing an “emigration craze” since the 1990s, with millions of its people moving overseas. (Speelman, 2022). This emigration of the wealthy from China will continue to rise as China gets richer. This new emigration trend is in stark contrast with the China in recent 20th century history; of a country of political upheavals and poverty. Some may question why an authoritarian communist country is encouraging the accumulation of wealth by its citizens and taking that wealth overseas, but it is definitely a new phenomemon and Australia is just one of the recipient countries, among other western liberal democracies.

According to the Global Wealth Report by Credit Suisse, “China had 6.2 million millionaires in 2021, up by more than a million from 2020” (Credit Suisse, 2022). Compared to that number, Australia had 2.1 million millionaires. In China, 75% of the super-rich were entrepreneurs (Hurun China Rich List, 2022), with the top five men operating companies in drinks, social media, battery technology, real estate, and internet services. Most Mainland Chinese millionaires live in the megacities on the Eastern China seaboard such as Beijing, Shanghai and Guangzhou (see Figure 3.1).

Figure 3.1

Distribution of Mainland Chinese HNWIs



Source: China’s HNWI income-wealth distribution (Bain & Co, 2019)

In five years, the number of China’s millionaires is expected to double to 12.2 million, a 97% change, compared to a 13% growth in the wealthiest country in the world, the United States. The greater household wealth in China suggests that more people with the financial means will try to use the strategy of flexible citizenship to enjoy the “political security of sending their families to liberal economies.” (Ong, 2022, p. 2). Australia, as a relatively safe and stable country, will continue to attract wealthy Chinese families in greater numbers.

Another reason for emigration from China is that, like the Hong Kongers in the 1990s, the new Mainland Chinese elite have now become a powerful, hypermobile group of privileged people with a cosmopolitan outlook, with “cosmopolitanism referring to belonging to one large global community” (Tedeschi et al., 2022, p. 607). The affluent class in China, themselves born under the depredation of Communist China’s one-child policy, also aspire to belong to an imagined developed world community composed of mobile, wealthy, well-educated and well-connected people worldwide (Fong, 2011).

Cosmopolitanism has strong appeal not only to affluent Mainland Chinese but also to middle-class Chinese, such as those who have a university education (either locally or overseas), own their own business, or work in middle management for a multi-national company or government agency (Soong, 2022). Many middle-class parents choose bilingual or internationalised Chinese schools for their children to prepare them for higher education worldwide and provide pathways to the global labour market. The “new rich” urbanites (Wright et al., 2022) in China’s cities use their material wealth to buy a Westernised education in China to bypass traditional Chinese education pathways that they view as too competitive and stressful for children. They also recognise the benefits of raising cosmopolitan children with language and cultural skills that will enable them to be a part of the globalised future.

Soong (2022) describes two family practices that middle-class parents do in Shanghai to foster a cosmopolitan orientation to improve the children’s future. The first is the enrolment in extra-curricular activities such as sports, learning a musical instrument, art classes and STEM classes with the hope of the child gaining entry into the competitive local high schools and then elite tertiary colleges in the West. The second is frequent travel within China and internationally such as the USA, Canada, Australia, New Zealand, Europe, Japan or Korea, again with the goal of developing their child’s global outlook and language skills. These parents want their

children to see transnational mobility as “normal” and to be prepared for their move overseas to be a natural part of their social mobility.

Mainland Chinese families regard children as a site of superior cultural capital (Huang & Yeoh, 2005). Waters (2005) argues that the Western education credentials acquired by the children also play a key part in migration choices for middle-class East Asian families. A survey by China Merchants Bank and consultants Bain & Co (2019) found that 60% of Mainland Chinese people with 10 million yuan (AUD $1 million) or more were considering investment immigration.

3.1.3. Transnationalism as a way of living

For a nuclear family, flexible citizenship can mean being divided over two continents – separated physically but still emotionally and financially operating as a whole. Parents become “astronauts”, frequently flying between two worlds, and the children are “parachute kids” or “satellite kids” (Waters, 2005) if they are left alone in their new host countries without their parents. Much has been studied about the diaspora of the wealthy Hong Kongers (Ley & Kobayashi, 2005; Skeldon, 2016) and Taiwanese (Ip et al., 1998) throughout the 1990s, particularly to Canada (Waters, 2000, 2002, 2009), the US (Tsong & Liu, 2009), Australia (Pe-Pua et al., 1996) and New Zealand (Aye & Guerin, 2001; Ho, 2002). Literature abounds on the effects of the astronaut families on the women and children. The children in my study were too young to be alone and were all accompanied by their mothers at the very least. This arrangement and the implications on child wellbeing will be examined in detail in chapter four.

This transnational way of living involves families having the financial means to live in multiple countries, maintain two or more homes, and travel frequently between these countries, as well as the ability to speak more than one language and navigate across cultures (see Schiller et al, 1992). As Ong (1999) made clear, flexible

citizenship remains impossible for the working classes. Flexible citizens – the cosmopolitan, the expat, the world citizen – are the elite of society; able to move between countries, they have visas and passports that allow them to work, live and play where they wish.

In the Australian landscape, these affluent transnational players are different from the previous waves of migrants from war-devastated Europe, Lebanon or Vietnam, who, relieved to land on safe Australian shores, built lives out of their empty suitcases and became permanent settlers. Those early waves from impoverished countries accord with traditional migration studies that see people moving from peripheral or less desirable countries to core or better ones. However, Ong (2022) argues that for "flexible citizens" such distinctions between countries are blurred. Whether a country is better or not will depend on what the subject wants or needs from it at a particular time. Looking for the fluidity and opportunities, these cosmopolitans come to Australia already wealthy; they will have shopped around the top destinations, the US, Britain, Canada and Australia, which are favoured above other developed countries such as Ireland, Japan and Singapore (Fong, 2011).

Countries like the US, Canada and Australia have played the game by effectively giving out citizenship or residency to the highest bidder or the most skilled, called 'mutations in citizenship' (Ong, 2022). These system-wide policies have facilitated the transnational mobility of the privileged classes. While there are numerous definitions of transnationalism (Tedeschi et al., 2022) and its related terms – transnational, transmigrant, transnationality – I agree with (Portes et al.,1999) that for my study, I differentiate between immigrants and transmigrants. Transnationalism for Portes, "comprised of a growing number of persons who live dual lives: speaking two languages, having homes in two countries and making a living through continuous regular contact across national borders" (p. 217). The families in my study certainly have transnational lives, with regular relationships and activities across national borders.

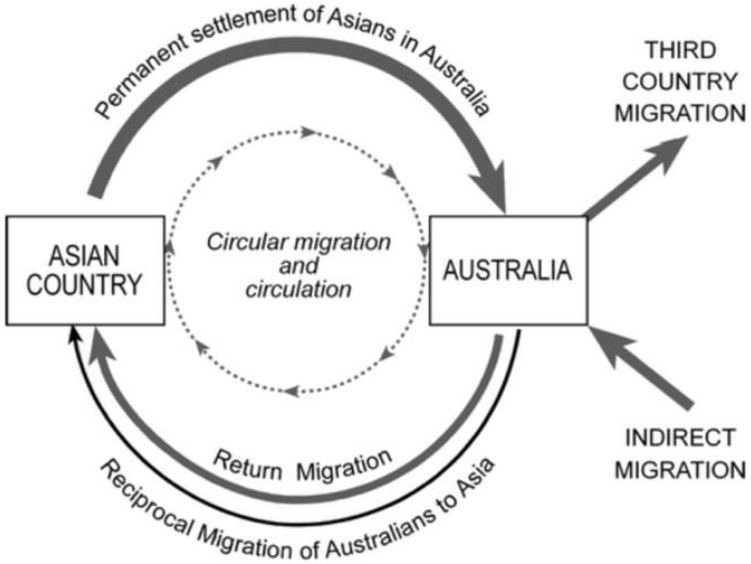
3.1.4. Circulatory migration

In addition to the framework of flexible citizenship, we can use another lens to conceptualise skilled migrants, namely, “circulatory migration”. In the context of Chinese and Indian skilled migration to Australia, (Hugo, 2008) argues that the South-North migration is best depicted as a “complex migration system involving flows in both directions and circularity, reciprocity and remigration” (p. 285), not as a permanent settlement model or a one-way model. Indirect migration here means migrants moving initially to a third country then subsequently to Australia (see Figure 3.2). An example would be IT workers starting work in India, then moving to Australia and after a few years moving to the US, which is hungry for their IT skills. Another example would be a student from China coming to Australia as an international student, then returning to China to work, and after having children, returning to Australia for the children’s education. These types of circulatory migration might be selected by a migrant depending on their stage of life (Hugo, 2008).

Figure 3.2

A Model of the Asia Pacific–Australia Migration System

FIGURE 1 A model of the Asia-Australian migration system.



Source: Hugo (2008)

Among the many reasons global elites choose transnational lives and migration for themselves and their families are political insurance, economic gain, obtaining a Western education for their children, and lifestyle factors as cosmopolitans with a global outlook. Despite such drivers, the *tools* that enable them are wealth and the necessary visas and passports that come with flexible citizenship.

3.2. Skilled migration to Australia

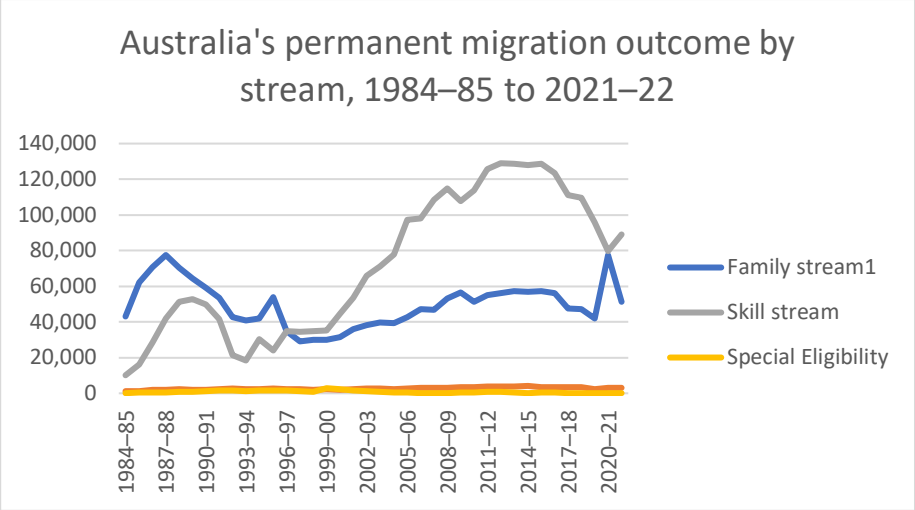
Australia is one of the liberal democracies named by Ong (2022) with a history of intentional government policies to attract migrants. Migration has been central to Australia's social fabric since the first settlers, and Australia is now the top immigrant nation among Western democracies, with 29% of its resident population born overseas (ABS 2021). The Migration Strategy Outline delivered by the Minister for Home Affairs (2023) (see Figure 3.3) noted three distinct changes in Australia's migration history:

1. Following the Second World War, we sounded the clarion call to "populate or perish", laying the foundation for the post-war boom.
2. In the 1970s, we emerged as a vibrant and modern nation. We buried the White Australia Policy and embraced multiculturalism
3. Skilled migrants helped Australia rebound out of the dark days of the 1990s recession – from the mid-1990s to the mid-2000s, the share of skilled migrants in our annual intake doubled.

Skilled migrants now make up 72% of the 2023-2024 Australian Permanent Migration Programme (including business investor visas).

Figure 3.3

Historical Migration Statistics for Australia, 2023



Source: Department of Home Affairs

The Australian government's aim has been to attract skilled workers to drive growth in its economy and to minimise family visas for the older and younger relatives of existing residents who are more likely to be a drain on its welfare system (Gao, 2022). For more than two decades, Australia's migration policy has selected migrants according to their "qualifications, skills, business experiences, and financial capability to invest" (Gao, 2021, p 940). The paradigm shift in the scale and nature of international migration to Australia has been due to globalisation (Hugo, 2008). The international mobility of highly skilled workers, whose skills can move as freely as goods and services, is an important part of globalisation.

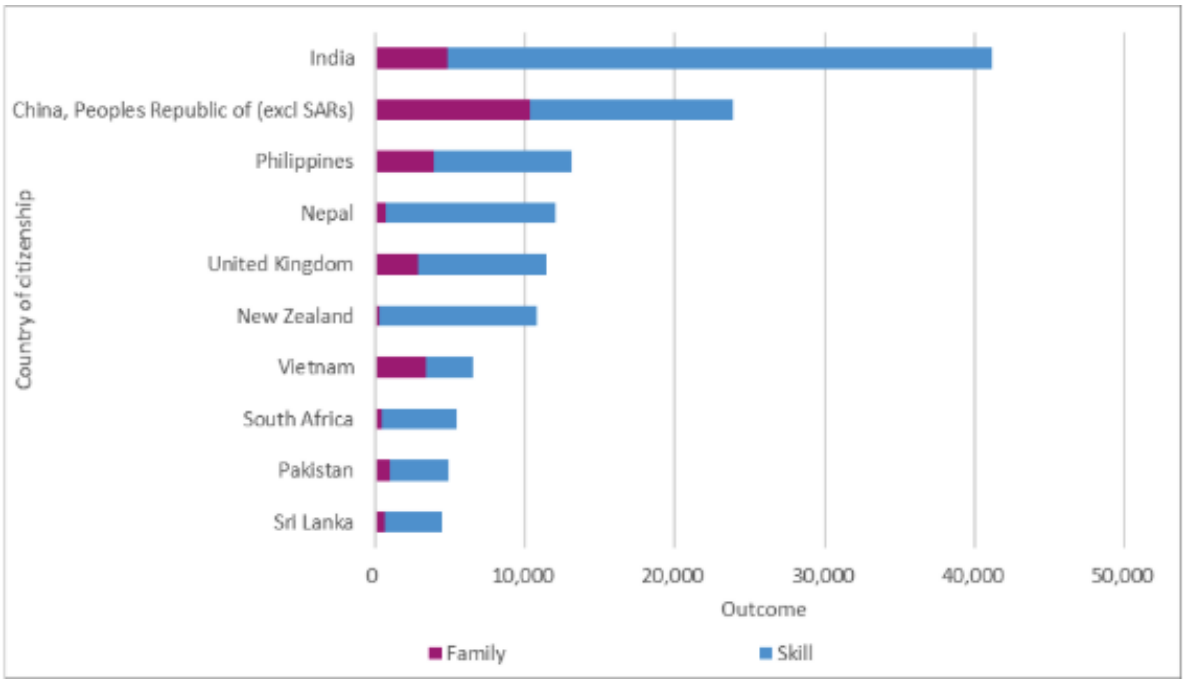
There is fierce competition between Australia and other developed nations such as the US, Canada, United Kingdom, Singapore and New Zealand (Kuptsch et al., 2006). Each country has implemented specific policies and programs as they vie for talented people such as students, temporary workers and skilled migrants. The current economic paradigm stresses the importance of human capital to boost knowledge-based economies. Attracting brainpower through inviting the best-trained and most-skilled workers is not unique to Australia's immigration rationale, and as a result, Australia has enjoyed a "brain gain" since the turn of the century. The "skill stream" of Australia's permanent migration program is designed to improve the economy by filling skill shortages in the labour market (Department of Home Affairs,

2023-2024). The visa categories include employer-sponsored, skilled, and global talent. The most common occupations for skilled migrants were in business, human resources and marketing, which represented 10%, followed by managers and health professionals (ABS, 2021).

Not surprisingly, migrants under the skilled visa program are more highly educated than those with family or humanitarian visas. Permanent migrants are also more highly educated than the average Australian, with 51% of permanent migrants holding a bachelor's degree or higher, compared to 29% of all Australians over 15 years old (ABS, 2021). In addition, the median individual weekly income for skilled migrants was $1,234, almost double that of a migrant on a family visa ($724), and almost three times the weekly median $478 of a migrant on humanitarian visa. It was also higher than the median for the total Australian population ($805), (ABS, 2021). Australia is one of the most multicultural of nations, with 58 countries of birth having more than 100,000 persons (Kuptsch et al., 2006). But the countries of origin of most migrants have changed from England to India and China. The top country by birth of permanent migrants is now India followed by China, as seen in Figure 3.4.

Figure 3.4

Top 10 countries of citizenship by Skill and Family visa streams, Australia



Source : Department of Home Affairs, Migration Program Report, 2022-23

This huge increase in Indian and Chinese skilled migrants to Australia can be explained by a confluence of two major socio-economic transformations in the Asia-Pacific. The first was the opening up of China post-1978 which allowed its nationals to migrate; the second was the shift of Australia towards Asia with the abandonment of the White Australia Policy in 1973 and the move to multiculturalism in the same period, enabled by the Racial Discrimination Act 1975. The Australian government looked to migrants from China because they were well-educated and possessed business experience and capital following the years of China's economic boom. Visas were developed "to pick brains, business skills, and connections of commercially active people from overseas, but mostly from China" (Gao, 2022, p. 943).

Although the rise of skilled migrants from India and China is evident from the government data, the migrants from China are wealthier. On a macro-level, it is true that while both the Indian and Chinese GDP per capita grew from the end of 1990s (Kowalski, 2010), India did not match the explosive growth of China. The Chinese economy grew an average of 8% a year between 2007 and 2021, driven by investments and exports. China's GDP per capital in 2023 was USD13,720 while India's was USD2,600 (International Monetary Fund, 2023) This wealth can be seen in the size of the huge middle class in China (around 500,000 million people), whereas the same group in India is only 66 million people (Kochhar, 2003).

China's wealth is reflected in the Australia migration program, but specifically in the Significant Investor Visas (SIV). This initiative was started in 2018 by the Department of Home Affairs as part of the Business Innovation and Investment Program. The SIV is a pathway to permanent residency for HNWIs who invest at least $5 million in Australia. Almost 90% of visa grants between 2012 and 2018 were to applicants from China, and India does not make the top five. (Deloitte Access Economics, 2019).

In summary, migration to Australia has changed from the “populate or perish” concerns of the post-war era and become a nation proud of its multicultural immigrants, even to the point of congratulating itself for being “the most successful multicultural country in the world” (The Mckell Institute, 2018). As with many other liberal economies, the government wants skilled and capital-bearing migrants who are well-educated and of high socio-economic status, which means it is likely to continue drawing from its mega-populous neighbours India and China.

3.3. Skilled migrants at Rosemount School – an affluent suburb with affluent families

My research site at an independent K-12 girls’ school is in an affluent suburb in the Upper North Shore of Sydney (pseudonymised as Rosemount School). The local council reported a high socio-economic base, with 40% of residents in the highest income quartile (compared to 28% for Greater Sydney) and the largest changes for birthplaces of residents between 2016 and 2021, with China the biggest growth (+4,521 persons) followed by Hong Kong (+646 persons) and India (+629 persons). UK-born residents fell over the same period (-540 persons) (Ku-ring-gai Council , 2022). The suburb reflects the demographic change in migration and is especially popular with Mainland Chinese migrants. Rosemount School draws students not only from the local council area but also from other wealthy families in surrounding suburbs. It is a high-fee independent school, where the parents self-reported as being in the 98th percentile of socio-educational advantage (myschool.edu.au, 2020).

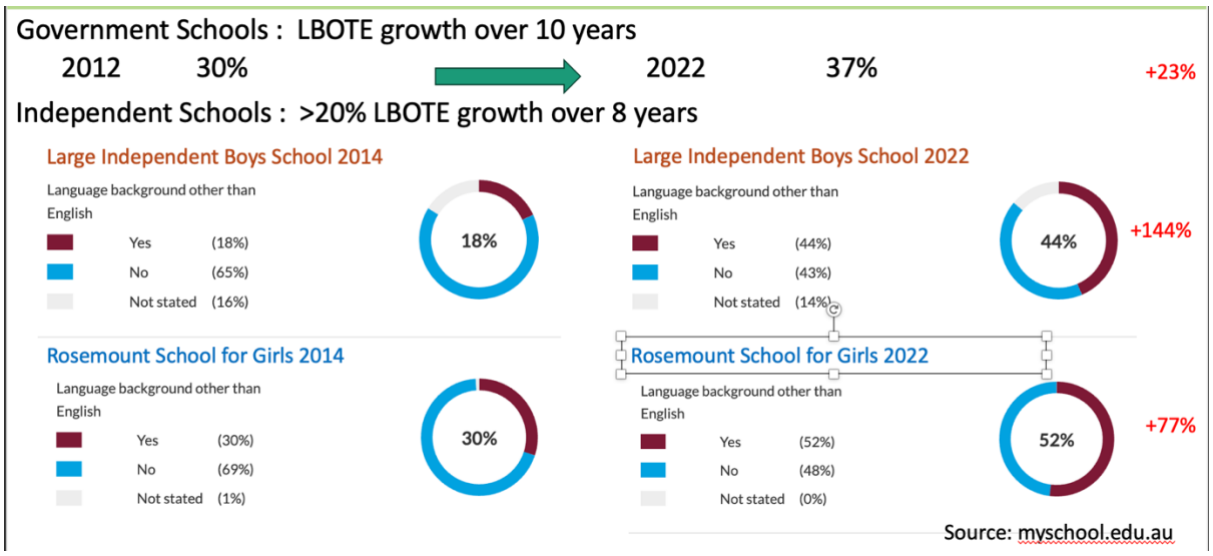
3.3.1. Rosemount School – huge growth of LBOTE students

The demographics of families at Rosemount have reflected the arrival of skilled migrants over the last two decades. Over the past decade in NSW, the 23% growth in language background other than English (LBOTE) students in government schools reflects the increase of immigrant children to Australia (NSW Department of

Education, 2022). However, the exponential growth of LBOTE students at independent schools is a testament that these highly educated, well-paid and skilled migrant families are choosing premium private schools in Sydney. Figure 3.5 shows a 144% increase in a large independent boys' school in the Upper North Shore and a 77% growth at Rosemount of LBOTE students between 2012 and 2022.

Figure 3.5

Independent Schools Comparison statistics, 2012 vs 2022



Source: Author's graphic, with data from myschool.edu.au 2012, 2022 and NSW Dept of Education LBOTE Factsheet 2022 report

My quantitative survey of Rosemount Year 5 students in 2020 showed that 54% of the cohort were LBOTE students This number follows closely the Sydney-wide percentage (56.2%) reported by the (NSW Department of Education, 2022).

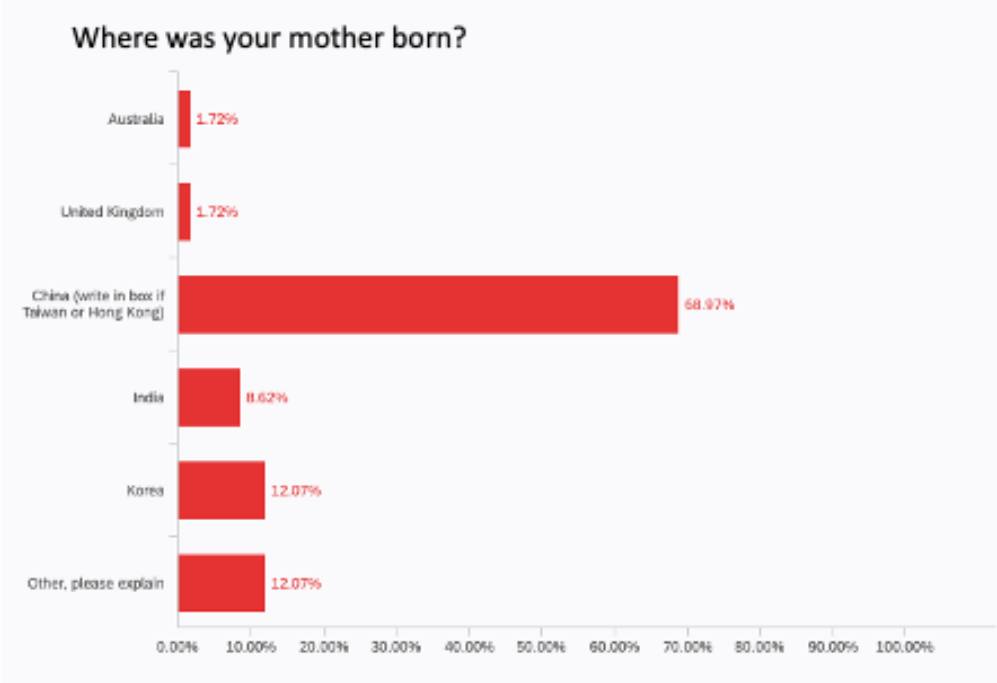
3.3.2. Rosemount's LBOTE families – Where are they from?

The data from the Myschool website (https://myschool.edu.au/) comes from compulsory enrolments data requested by the Australian Curriculum, Assessment

and Reporting Authority (ACARA); however, it only captures LBOTE student numbers at a school. From my own survey results at Rosemount conducted in 2020, we can get a better sense of where the parents are from. For the LBOTE students, close to 70% of mothers were born in China, followed by Korea, and then India (see Figure 3.6). From my results, the fathers' country of birth is similar in breakdown, so below I have provided just the mother's data to give an idea of the migration backgrounds of the families.

Figure 3.6

Countries of Origin of LBOTE Students' Mothers of Rosemount School



Source: The author's survey results, 2020

My data reflect the broader global trend of wealthy Chinese emigrating overseas, and certainly settling in an affluent suburb in Australia, with their children attending a premium independent school. From the family interviews, these Chinese families came from Hong Kong, Wuhan, and Shanghai, with two from Guangdong. Three of the parents worked for large multi-nationals: one is a doctor, another an investor with

businesses in China and Australia, and the third runs a large architecture practice in China.

While these statistics can tell us about the percentage of LBOTE students at Rosemount School, they do not tell us if they are Australian-born, how recently they might have arrived as immigrants, or whether they were international students. While there has been critique of the broad umbrella term LBOTE (Williamson, 2012), I am assuming that students from a LBOTE background are children of migrants. It is useful here to divide the LBOTE group into three categories as Martin did (DEET, 1994):

- Category A: students born in a non-English speaking country (NES) and recent arrivals;
- Category B: students born in an NES, early arrival but continuing to live in a NES home environment. These students, known as Generation 1.5 (Rumbaut, 2004), are students who migrated to Australia from an NES country during early childhood.
- Category C: students born in Australia to parents born in an NES. Known as Second Generation (Khoo et al., 2002)

It is worthwhile to quantify these groups of students to understand the size of the LBOTE population within a typical year group at Rosemount, as seen in Table 3.1.

Table 3.1

LBOTE Categories within the Year 5 Cohort studied at Rosemount School

	% of LBOTE students (58 total)	% of all Year 5 students (total 110)
Category A: Generation Recent Arrivals Students born in a Non-English Speaking Country Came to Australia recently in Year 3-4-5	10% (6 students)	5%
Category B: Generation 1.5 Students born in a Non-English Speaking Country Came to Australia in Kindergarten – Year 1 - Year 2	31% (18 students)	16%

Category C: Second Generation Students born in Australia (to parents born overseas)	59% (34 students)	31%

Source: The author's survey results, 2020

The Category A student group was the smallest as a percentage of the total cohort (10%). This matches my anecdotal knowledge that migrant parents are more likely to enrol students before Year 3, often starting in kindergarten. If they have committed to educating the child in Australia, they would start earlier rather than later.

The next biggest group were the Category B students, who accounted for just over 30% of the studied cohort. The Generation 1.5 category are children who were born overseas but came to Australia as young children. Rumbaut (2004) called this group "Generation 1.5" because the age of arrival was so young. The characteristics of these migrant children are closely aligned to the second-generation who were born in Australia, since they have little recollection of their home country or language. I placed in this category those who arrived in Australia from Kindergarten to Year 2, as my wellbeing data shows a difference between this group and those in Category C.

The third group are the Second-Generation children (Category C). These are the children born in Australia to parents born in another country. Not surprisingly, this is the biggest group (59%) of LBOTE students at Rosemount. This percentage also reflects Australia as immigrant nation, where nearly half of all Australians have a parent born overseas (ABS, 2022)

A note about this last group of students. Although it is the biggest group, anecdotally from my work as a teacher, I see a practice of Chinese parents giving birth to a child in Australia to obtain an Australian birth certificate, then taking the child back to China until they are of school age, and then returning with the child to start

kindergarten (or later depending on family circumstance). This practice is quite prevalent among the parents of young junior school students at Rosemount. Some families even split the siblings, whereby the parents return to Australia with the school-ready child, leaving the younger sibling(s) to be taken care of by grandparents or other relatives back in China.

There is now research into this phenomenon of transnational childcare in young Chinese children in Australia (Hui et al., 2019). The duration of parent–child separation was 20 months, on average, with most of the children sent back to grandparents being the first-born. The study found a complex range of developmental and psychological problems faced by the children and parents upon reunion.

Based on these statistics, we can say the true second-generation children (“lived here all my life”) is 45%, which is 26 out of the total 58 LBOTE students. This means instead of understanding the studied cohort as almost 60% second-generation children, the number is in fact closer to 45% of the cohort. I will explore the reason this distinction is important later when looking at the wellbeing scores of the three categories of children. The time of arrival to the new host country is important for understanding issues of acculturation and adjustment for migrant children.

3.4. Flexible Citizenship Arrangements

The family interviews shed light on how flexible citizenship worked in practice. Below are examples of how the families indeed had multiple passports, transnational lives and circulatory migration paths.

3.4.1 Multiple passports

Ong's (2022) update on flexible citizenships refers to how elite Chinese migrants accumulate foreign visas and tend to live near airports because they not only need to frequently travel to look after their family and assets across different nation-states, but having a bolthole in a freer nation is also an insurance policy. This was put to the test for Katie's family during the Covid pandemic. China was locked down, which meant Katie's family were grounded in Wuhan in February 2020 – the epicentre of the pandemic. Luckily, their permanent residence status in Australia qualified them for the repatriation flights by the Australian government for Australian nationals and residents. The family were flown out of China via Christmas Island to Australia. However, many of Katie's family members and their beloved family ayi had to remain in China during this period.

Another example of a family with multiple passports and citizenships was Chloe's family. Chloe's parents were Cantonese speaking and lived in Guangzhou, a southern mega-city in China. Her father held a passport from Macao, making it easier to travel than on a Chinese passport. The Macao passport is ranked 34th among global passports because it grants visa-free travel to 142 countries, whereas the China passport is ranked 65th, with visa-free travel to only 80 destinations (Henley Passport Index, 2023). For a Chinese businessman still generating his wealth in China, a Macao passport can be very useful, as it allows him to work and live in China and also to travel widely.

Although the Australian passport is ranked fifth in the world for visa-free travel, for a business professional residing in China, it would not be wise to give up their Chinese status, since China does not allow dual-nationality. Not only would it be troublesome to re-enter China, the fluidity of travel craved by the business elite would be blocked. Many families play this game and work out the best passport(s) for their family circumstances.

Chloe's parents did even better by getting Hong Kong passports (ranked 21st with visa-free travel to 167 countries). Like many affluent Chinese families, they had calculated the best place to give birth by studying the citizenship policies of each country. "Birth migration" is a way to accumulate capital (Waters, 2008). As Chloe explained, while she held a Hong Kong passport, she had no sense of belonging to a place she had never lived in and only visited occasionally to do "passport stuff".

> Chloe: They [parents] just travelled there [Hong Kong] as they planned to have me there. I've never lived in Hong Kong; we have to go there to re-do passport stuff. That was only one day and we took the train across the border. I don't speak Cantonese.

The two students with investor families both divulged how little English their fathers spoke, since they lived most of the time in China, and only came to visit the children in Australia intermittently. This demonstrates Ong's "mutations in citizenship" and what it means for the globalised rich to hold citizenships.

3.4.2. Multiple options

A passport or visa allows a migrant the right to live and study in Australia, but flexible citizens might choose not to remain there. Once their children have gone through the school system in Australia, college study could very well be in another country. Work may eventually take them somewhere else too. This is exemplified by Abby, the 10-year-old participant who was expected by her parents to not only be the top of her new school in Sydney, but also to keep up with the Chinese curriculum.

> Abby: I might go back [to China] for university. Or I might stay here [Australia] or go to America.

Affluent elite migrants celebrate fluidity and flexibility. It was clear the families in my study were following this path. The parents' many decisions on languages learnt and passports held were guided with the express purpose of giving their children a future with the most possible options. As Hana said,

> Hana: My sister wants to go to university in England or America.

3.4.3. Transnational lives

These “transmigrants” actively maintain political, economic, social and emotional ties with more than one country (Schiller et al., 1992). With advancements in communication and rapid travel, the families in this study were able keep their ties in their home countries. For example, Hana’s family kept houses in Australia, Hong Kong and Japan. They would visit Japan in the summer holidays and see their grandparents and stay for extended periods, even going to school there. Hana’s mother’s side of the family were in Europe, her uncle in France, and they would all meet up in England with their English cousins.

The interviewed families talked about international travel as a common occurrence, like hopping on a bus, not as a luxury expense to be saved up for, or perhaps to be taken once a year if they could afford it. Rather, it needed to happen frequently – perhaps monthly or termly to keep the family close with regular visitations. Sometimes it was the parents doing the flying, sometimes the children:

> Hana’s mother: Because there's a mismatch [in Australia] between the British system, which is three terms [in Hong Kong]. Sometimes the little girls will be on holiday, but Hana was not. So they will just come down and have two weeks, in the middle of term with me. Literally fly by themselves [to Australia].

For Abby, Erica and Chloe, their mothers would take care of the children in Australia, with the fathers visiting during the school holidays or when they could. Grandparents, extended family relatives like uncles, aunties and cousins, and helpers would regularly visit or talk on the phone – which was another way to maintain ties with their home societies.

3.4.4. Circulatory migrations

Circulatory migration was evident with Abby's and Erica's parents, who had studied in Australia, went back to China to work, had children, and then moved back to Australia when the children were of school age.

> Erica's mother: I work for a listed company. They have offices in China [and Australia]. When I got my position, I said if I can spend some time with my parents in China? Yeah, so that's my decision – took the position and went back to China.

Abby's parents had also studied in Australia and worked here before returning to China for better work opportunities. After having children and experiencing the Chinese education system, they started to think about moving to Australia, which was a possibility as they already had residency. The driver to move the children to Australia (and split the family) was for education, but the *tool* that allowed them to do so was the necessary visas and residencies that flexible citizenship gave them.

Anika's father originally is from India, had studied in Ukraine and worked in the UK before migrating to Australia – a sign of *indirect migration* to Australia. This was also the case with Hana's family, where the family had lived in Hong Kong for most of the children's lives before migrating to Australia. Anika and Hana may go back to the UK to study and work, and perhaps their stay in Australia may not be permanent. Hence they may enact a *return migration*, where migrants return to their homeland after a time in Australia, also referred to as "settler loss" (Hugo, 1994). Abby and Hana may choose *third-country migration*, as they expressed a wish to go onto the United States, which is still the number one destination for wealthy Mainland Chinese HNWIs (Hurun, 2022).

3.4.5. Why did they come?

None of the interviewees stated openly that they had migrated to Australia for political leverage or to have a safe harbour for their capital. However, among Mainland Chinese parents, some expressed a genuine desire to pull their children

out of the pressure cooker of the Chinese education system, which is highly competitive and known to create a lot of stress for students and parents alike (Deng & Guo, 2007). Kirkpatrick & Zang, (2014) also explained how exam-centric education in China can stifle creativity and imagination and crush a child's self-worth.

Chloe stated that the main reason she left China to study in Australia was that the system in China is "really rough and tough".

> Chloe: I remember this teacher dragging the student across the classroom because she was talking to another person. When we took naps in kindergarten; if we don't fall asleep, we get shut in a cupboard with the teacher.

This sentiment was echoed by Abby's mother, who strongly disliked the Chinese education system, having grown up with it and also witnessing her children in it.

> Abby's mother: Even when Abby in a year one or two, and the study pressure was very high. It really makes me feel pained. Everybody is very stressful. Juggling and don't know what to do and then always scared about you miss something. Yeah, so I really hate this.

In summary, the transnational families studied used their flexible citizenships to make the most of work, education and play. They would travel often to manage their homes, businesses, and by holding multiple passports, they hoped to future-proof their children with a bilingual and cosmopolitan education. But what were the effects of this hypermobility on the children?

3.5. The effects of migration on children's wellbeing

As stated above, there are many reasons families engage in migration: political security, economic gains, children's education, and living their cosmopolitanism. There are also many challenges at the individual level. For children, moving to a new country removes them from their extended family and friends, culture and often language (Suárez-Orozco, 2004). Migration may be experienced as a complexity of

emotions, including loss, which can trigger a grieving period (Wang et al., 2015). Migration-related factors can also negatively affect a child's mental health, for example, "discrimination, culture distance and acculturation, the burden on the family unit and socioeconomic difficulties" (Andrade et al., 2023 p. 5). On a positive note, moving to a new country can be exciting, build skills and traits like resilience and independence (Pe-Pua et al., 1996).

One of the driving research questions of my study is: How do the children of migrants experience migration, and how does migration impact their wellbeing? There have been many studies on migrant mental health in Australia, however their children's social and emotional wellbeing has been understudied (Alati et al., 2003). Also there has been research into the workplace integration and careers of the skilled migrants in Australia (Rajendran et al., 2020) but not much understanding of the children they came to Australia with. Lastly, much has been researched into refugee children in Australia, especially with focus on their adjustment (Lau et al., 2018) and wellbeing (Zwi et al., 2018), but do the children of affluent migrants face the same issues as refugee children?

3.5.1 Conceptualising wellbeing

In this thesis, wellbeing is defined as children's social and emotional wellbeing (SEWB), as distinct from physical wellbeing. Children should have the social and emotional competence, development, or literacy to adapt to challenges while leading a fulfilling life (Australian Institute of Health and Welfare, 2012). The wellbeing measure chosen for this study is the Strengths and Difficulties Questionnaire (SDQ) screens for behavioural difficulties self-reported by students, as well as their prosocial strengths. I chose this tool after consultation with the Rosemount School counsellor. She recommended it because the school used it often as a quick and effective litmus test for the wellbeing of the child in the prior six months.

The SDQ is a standardised outcome measurement of social-emotional well-being that is used by The Australian Child and Adolescent Survey of Mental Health and Wellbeing as one of its modules. It is a tool with high sensitivity and is validated for assessing social-emotional well-being across cultures (Zwi et al, 2016). It includes 25 items with five symptom scales and a total difficulties score, each with means for the Australian population. Higher SDQ scores indicate increased risk of social-emotional problems. The SDQ measures social and emotional wellbeing of children aged 7 to 10), with results grouped into the three categories shown in Table 3.2.

Table 3.2
SDQ Score Categories

Normal	Borderline	Abnormal
Total Difficulties Score 0-15	Total Difficulties Score 16-19	Total Difficulties Score 20-40

Source: Mellor, D. (2005) Normative data for the Strengths and Difficulties Questionnaire in Australia. *Australian Psychologist*, *40*, 215-222.

3.5.2 Wellbeing among migrant children at Rosemount School

Based on my data, the mean SDQ difficulties score for the participating Rosemount LBOTE students was 11.6, and for English Language Background (ELB) students it was 10.7, showing that although the mean for the LBOTE students was slightly higher than the ELB score, both were within the “normal” range of 0–15 (see Table 3.3). The median difficulties score for both groups of students was 9. This confirms research that *most* immigrant children adapt well to their new cultural settings (Motti-Stefandidi & Masten, 2017).

Table 3.3
Mean SDQ Difficulties Scores at Rosemount School Year 5 Cohort

	Rosemount LBOTE students	Rosemount ELB students	Australian Norm (Mellor, 2005)
Mean SDQ difficulties scores	11.6	10.7	10.6

Source: The author’s survey results, 2020

Using the LBOTE grouping defined above with Generation Recent Arrival, Generation 1.5 and Second Generation, the SDQ difficulties scores were further analysed by sub-group (see Table 3.4).

Table 3.4
LBOTE Generation Categories and Mean SDQ Difficulties Scores

All LBOTE students surveyed (n = 59)	**Mean SDQ difficulties score**
Generation Recent Arrival (n = 6) Students (LBOTE) Came to Australia recently in Year 3-4-5	13.8 (higher than average 11.6)
Generation 1.5 (n = 14) Students (LBOTE) Came to Australia before Kindergarten – Year 1 - Year 2	11.0
Second Generation (n = 26) Students (LBOTE) born in Australia	10.8

Source: The author's survey results, 2020

In Table 3.4, it shows the number of LBOTE students that are second generation (born in Australia) are the largest group, 26 out of 59 students (or 44%). Interestly, the mean SDQ difficulties scores are lower and closer to the average of 11 for the whole cohort, suggesting that the trauma of migration eased the longer a student had been in Australia. This was borne out in the interviews with the students. (Note: the mean scores in Table 3.4 were not run through significance testing, due to the small sample sizes. As such while the findings suggest student SDQ scores improve with length of time spent in new country, it cannot claimed to be statistically significant. However, it did help me in my analysis of the interview transcripts to focus on how the children adapted and the relationship between time in new country and wellbeing scores.)

The interviews with students and their mothers helped me understand how recent arrival students felt about their migration experiences to Australia. All students selected to be interviewed had scored a higher-than-average SDQ score. From the interviews, three girls had moved recently in the two years prior to the research. The students did the survey in Term 3 of Year 5 in 2020 and the interviews in Term 2 of Year 6 in 2021. Hana had arrived in Australia in Year 4, Anika in Year 4, and Abby in Year 5. The trauma of migration was still very much apparent for the girls, as their moves were so recent:

For Anika, the move from England to Australia was confusing and chaotic:

> Anika: I mean, when I came here, I was kind of like, lost and confused. I didn't know what the heck was going on. I mean, I kept asking my parents questions like, why are we here? Why can't we just stay in England?

She noted that the move was difficult for her parents too; they had to say goodbye to not only people but also material things:

> Anika: My dad let go of his favourite car, which was pretty upsetting for me - he had to sell his car to his friend. He keeps bragging that he couldn't sleep two nights because he was so heartbroken. But we started selling stuff, then we started packing stuff.

The urge to change countries of residence is usually not the child's decision, although parents generally say they made the decision for their children to have a better life. The parents interviewed reported how hard it was to adjust to a new life and the chagrin of seeing their children suffer. Abby's mother tried to reason with her child that although they currently felt the pains, there would be gains in the future:

> Abby's mother: It is very complicated. I think it's many things put together. So that's why I told her that it's very difficult to adapt into the environment. And then she cried many times at home. She said, I keep changing even I make a big change from China to Australia and adapt to that new school, because I

> make friends and then I have to leave, then to move to this new school. And then the system is so new and then I feel I'm losing. So I can feel that. So I told her that we make the changes because we want to have a better future.

The children were also perceptive of the impact of migration on their parents, especially when their mother's roles changed from career woman to housewife – the "trailing mother" (Cooke, 2001):

> Abby: [Mum] was really sad that she had to move, because she had a really good job in China. Every night, she would go out with friends for dinner in China. She's really mad at my dad right now, because he's enjoying his life back in China.

Hana's family had moved gradually from Hong Kong to Sydney over a span of three years from 2017 to 2019, with the eldest daughter boarding already at Rosemount, the son boarding at a boys' school in 2019, the two younger girls enrolling as day students at Rosemount, and lastly their father following once he had confirmed his job. Their ability to manage the move was reliant on their mother being an "astronaut" – travelling in between the two cities, at one point with two children in Hong Kong and two in Sydney, and her four children at three different schools. At the beginning of 2018, Hana's mother moved to Sydney, as the eldest girl had difficulties in boarding and transferred to being a day student. It also allowed the son to experience his new school as a day student before starting boarding.

> Hana: My sister came first with my mum. Then my mum flew back. Then my brother came back with my mum. And my mum flew back and my mum flew to Australia and then we came. Then my dad came.

This type of flexible citizenship arrangement can only be facilitated by the mother being so flexible with her time (and finances) to drop everything to go to the new country to support her daughter. This was a gendered role of migration where the father supported the family financially, while the mother focused on settling the children and smoothing the family into their new lives in the new country. This arrangement was seen in all but one of the interviewee families.

The other three girls interviewed, who had been in Australia since kindergarten, expressed little angst at the changes to family life due to migration. While there were other areas of their life that caused them stress (which will be covered in later chapters), they spoke little of the move to Australia since it was more than four years prior – a long time ago for a child of ten. As a member of Generation 1.5, Erica did not remember much of her move to Australia from Shanghai in kindergarten. In fact, it was not her memory, but through someone's else recollection that suggested she was lonely in the early days:

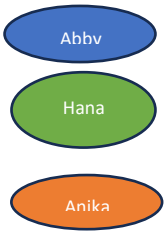
> Erica: I can't remember… but when someone tells me that happened … like we only met you because you were sitting by yourself and eating.

None of the six interviewed girls were from the biggest group of LBOTE students, Category C Second Generation, which is those born in Australia to parents from NES backgrounds.

In addition to the SDQ total difficulties score, the statements of Abby, Hana and Anika were further categorised under five domains according to the Australian norms (Mellow, 2005): emotional symptoms, conduct problems, hyperactivity/ inattention, peer relationship problems, and prosocial behaviours (see Table 3.5). These three students were selected for further review as they were recent arrivals to Australia (in Year 3-4-5) unlike Erica, Kathy and Chloe who are part of the 1.5 Generation who came to Australian before Year 2. The categorisation of the internalised and externalised symptoms follow the Goodman 1998 study (www.sdqinfo.org) and the scoring of individual student's score by symptom is a quick and useful way for school counsellors and teachers to understand if a child's reponses are normal, borderline or abnormal. As such is is a very effective way to get a picture of what symptoms a child may display at school or home or self-report.

Table 3.5

Categorisation of internalised and externalised symptoms

	Normal	Borderline	Abnormal
Internalised symptoms			
Emotional Problems Score I get lots of headaches I worry a lot I am often unhappy I am nervous in new situations I have many fears	0-5	6	7-10
Conduct Problems Score I get very angry I usually do as I am told (reverse) I fight a lot I am often accused of lying or cheating I take things that are not mine	0-3	4	5-10 
Externalised symptoms			
Hyperactivity Score I am restless I am constantly fidgety I am easily distracted I think before I do things (reverse) I finish the work I am doing (reverse)	0-5	6	7-10 
Peer Problems Score I am usually on my own I have one good friend or more (reverse) Other people my age like me (reverse) Other children pick on me I get better with adults than people my age	0-3	4-5 	6-10 

Source: The author's survey results, 2020

Of the new-arrival students, Abby self-reported very high conduct and peer problem symptoms, in the abnormal range. Hana self-reported very high conduct and hyperactivity problem symptoms, in the abnormal range. Anika self-reported very high conduct problems symptoms, in the abnormal range, and her peer problems were in borderline range. This confirms previous research by Klein et al. (2020) that the migrant children most at risk of psychological distress are first generation and female. While my study does not cover the effect of migration on boys, it's a topic that warrants further research. Girls reported more internalising problems than boys in the Klein research, although from my study, girls self-reported a mix of externalised and internalised symptoms of illbeing.

The implication of this knowledge should be huge for schools, especially the independent schools where many newly arrived skilled migrants are choosing to send their children. School administrators, classroom teachers and students should be made more aware of the difficulties experienced by recent-arrival students. Classroom teachers and counsellors should be on the lookout for externalised symptoms of psychological distress. Internalising symptoms may be harder to detect, but perhaps all new arrivals, in addition to doing English and mathematics tests, should also be administered the SDQ as a quick barometer of their adjustment as migrant students.

Unlike refugee children, who have often been exposed to trauma pre-arrival in Australia, the children of skilled migrants fare better on arrival with family support, limited postmigration relocations, functioning English language, and uninterrupted schooling as protective factors. Yet as these findings show, they can still be profoundly affected by the disruptions of migration.

3.6. Acculturation strategies

Although the study did not intend to study acculturation strategies as the main intent, this concept is important as it relates to a migrant's wellbeing. Questions in the interview that gave rise to the below findings for discussion came from questions to do with identity, such as

1. Would you describe yourself as Australian, Chinese Australian or Chinese? Why?
2. Do you feel happier in XXX or in Australia? Why?
3. Where do you want to live when you grow up? Why?

4. What language does your family mainly speak at home? How well do you speak it? Can you read and write?
5. Do you feel happy that you speak another language? Or do you feel it is an extra thing to learn? A burden?

Also since the sample size of the interviews were only six students, I cannot make a conclusion that all children of migrants use these acculturation strategies or quantify them. Rather the below findings just illustrates possible cases of acculturation strategies as described by the students.

The strategy a person uses to acculturate to a new culture is also important to investigate. The changes in values, identities and behaviours that occur to migrants adapting to a new place is called "acculturation" (Berry, 2005). This process of adaptation can often produce intense physical and psychological stress. Berry identified four types of strategies that individuals use:

- Assimilation (rejects one's original cultural identity and actively interacts with host culture)
- Separation (values original culture and passive towards host culture)
- Marginalisation (loss of original culture and not accessing host culture)
- Integration (maintains their own culture but also actively interacts with the host culture.)

Integration is considered the least stressful acculturative stress and, according to (Klein et al., 2020), is the most common strategy used by girls. The explanation is

that girls tend to value socialisation and are good at making new friends, as well as keeping ties with family and friends from the home country.

Marginalisation (or alienation from both cultures) is the most stressful. As a strategy, marginalisation compromises wellbeing with higher levels of internalised problems such as anxiety and depression (Berry, 1997, 2005).

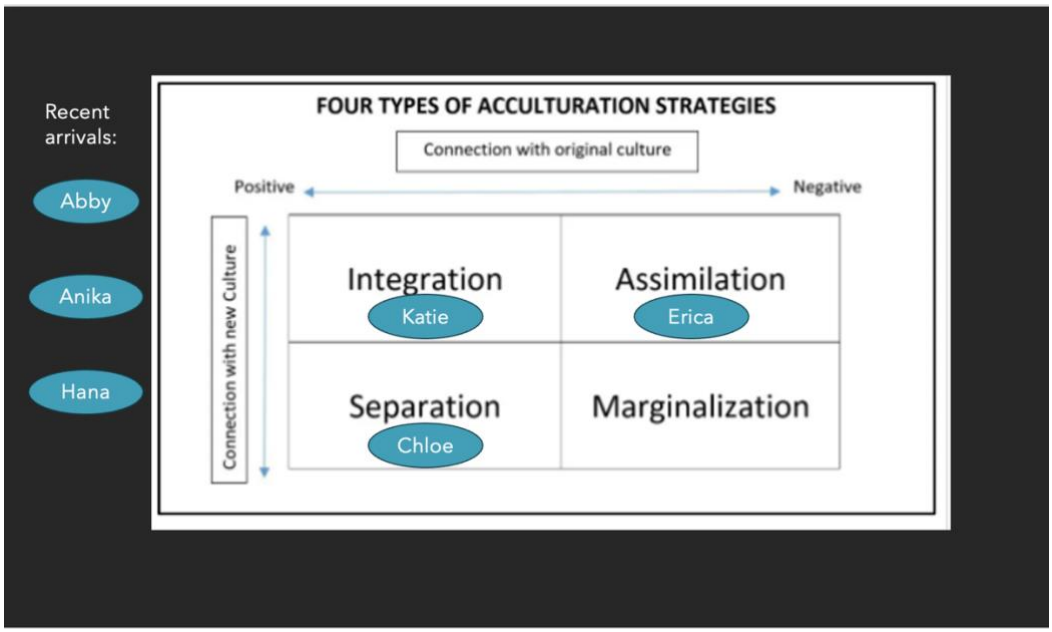
Separation strategies were also found to be correlated to reduced mental health. (Klein et al., 2020). Separation from the host society may create isolation for the child and family, which can also engender depressive symptoms. The reason an immigrant may choose to keep separate from the host culture could be a response to being rejected or feeling prejudice; therefore they hold onto their own culture of origin to mitigate the threat of not being accepted by the majority society.

The assimilation strategy was the second-most common strategy found by Klein et al. (2020). In their study, it was used more among older students, whereas the separation acculturation profile was associated with young students. This is understandable: as children grow older they become more influenced by peers than by parents, hence the wish to assimilate. Importantly, a study of 157 Chinese university students in Australia showed that those who used the integration strategy has much better wellbeing than peers who were assimilated, marginalised or separated from the host country (Zheng et al., 2004).

If I were to place the six interviewees in the matrix shown in Figure 3.7, it would be difficult to plot the three recent arrivals as they hadn't begun to show clear strategies of acculturation; they varied from being in the honeymoon phrase, to culture shock , to irritability and hostility (Furnham & Bochner, 1986). However, with Katie, Erica and Chloe, the girls who had been here since kindergarten (Generation 1.5), clear strategies emerged.

Figure 3.7

The Acculturation Strategies of interviewees



Source: The author's survey results and graphics, 2020

3.6.1. Acculturation strategies: separation

For our junior international student, Chloe, despite having been in Australia since kindergarten, she had less of a sense of belonging to Australia, especially due to views and strategies espoused by her mother. Their relationship with the receiving country was transactional in the sense that they paid to come and get an English language and Western education. They did not expect citizenship benefits or even to be viewed at school as an equal student deserving of school awards like other "local students".

Chloe's mother saw her daughter as distinctly "non-Australian" and wanted to emphasise her Chinese identity and for her to be proud of it. Chloe could be placed in the "separation" strategy quadrant, where she would be expected to maintain her

own culture and language, even though her weekly Chinese lessons caused her much stress. Chloe hated her Chinese lessons and her Chinese teacher, who berated her constantly online with her mother's full knowledge. Chloe accepted it as something she must do, as her mother stressed the importance of holding onto her heritage. Chloe's interaction with the Australian culture was passive. There was a strange tension; her mother wanted her children to maintain the Chinese language, and be proud of their Chineseness, but also to socialise with "non-Chinese" students as much as possible – not to become Australian, but to have a network for future benefits, which is again a very transactional view of interacting with the host culture.

> Chloe: There are no Chinese people at my brother's school; my mum is really happy about that. So he can socialise with non-Chinese. My mum says you have to extend your friend group, so you could have more in the future.

The research by Klein et al. (2020) on first-generation immigrants to Germany showed how youth with high separation profiles were correlated to externalising concerns such as hyperactivity and conduct problems. Chloe's SDQ score was high in the hyperactivity scale (and the emotional problems scale, an internalising symptom).

3.6.2. Acculturation strategies: assimilation

Of the three girls who had been in Australia since kindergarten, only Erica identified as Australian:

> Erica: I would say I am Australian, but I was born in China.

Although Erica did not report remembering much migration trauma, having come to Australia in kindergarten, she seemed the most ill-at-ease with her self-identity. She would fall into Berry's (1997) "assimilation" strategy. Children who wish to assimilate may shed their culture to take on the dominant mainstream culture. Erica seemed to want to distance herself from her Chinese heritage, claiming she did not know where

in China her relatives lived, despite going to Shanghai every year. She tried not to speak Chinese, even at home.

> Erica: My mum usually says Chinese to me and I reply back in English.

For someone like Erica, keen to assimilate with Australian students at school, speaking in Chinese went against her efforts to fit in and erase her Chineseness. This style of adaption was also called 'passing' (DeVos, 1992) when migrant children try to disappear into the mainstream and even feel superior to their less acculturated peers. For Erica, speaking in a foreign tongue would be a tell-tale sign that she is not truly or fully Australian. Speaking Standard Australian English was not only good for her studies but also an important choice of identifying with the dominant and more prestigious English-speaking culture at Rosemount School. When asked if her friends at school speak Chinese, Erica replied:

> Erica: I don't know, because I never asked them and they never do that, but they talk in Chinese a lot sometimes. I don't like talking in Chinese in front of my friends. I don't do it.

Later she admitted to speaking Chinese to her father:

> Erica: My dad is not really good at English. I speak Chinese to him.

She was visibly uncomfortable in the interview about the topic and seemed to want to shut it down. She had gone to a Chinese language school for a year or two and then stopped as she didn't want to go anymore. Suárez-Orozco (2004) explains:

> *In forming an identity, youth attempt to create a self-identity that is consistent with how others view them. Identity is less challenging when there is continuity among the various social milieus youth encounter – home, school, neighborhood, and country. In the era of globalization, however, social spaces are more discontinuous and fractured than ever before.* (p. 3)

For these young children of flexible citizens, forming an identity was more challenging than for a normal child, given they are caught up in more than one culture and were moving between fractured social milieus. For Erica, this was

unnerving; while she was trying to develop her own self-identity, her family saw her as Chinese, although probably "not Chinese enough", since her mum described her brother as "sounding like a foreigner" due to his poor Chinese pronunciation. Her friends at school saw her not as Australian and would ask her if she was Asian. When pressed about speaking Chinese, Erica seemed to ridicule people who spoke Chinese, or perhaps she was repeating feelings others had shown her when she did so. Despite being somewhat proficient in Chinese, when asked if she wished she could read and write Chinese, Erica replied:

> Erica: Yeah sometimes, at school. My friend has a lot of Chinese stuff. I just looked at her like "what the heck" and she read it. I just have no idea what she is talking about.

Therein lies the struggle of migrant children dealing with identity: how they are viewed by others is not consistent with how they view themselves. While Erica desperately wished to embrace her Australian identity and assimilate (Berry, 2005), students at Rosemount School would immediately identify her as Asian. Erica's ability to join the mainstream is more difficult when one is racially marked – in Erica's case as "Chinese". Questions as to where one is "really from" or compliments made to Asian-Americans who had been in the US for many generations on their English fluency led to what law professor Devos and Banaji (2005) has referred to as the "perpetual foreigner syndrome".

It was even more difficult within Hana's multi-cultural household – they have a Japanese-born father, who was raised in Australia, and an Anglo mother who has lived most of her life in Asia. The two older children are difficult to racially mark:

> Hana's mother: People think my children are Pacific Islander possibly or Maori. But they don't usually pick them as Asian. The third one, she sounds slightly American, and the last one, she doesn't look particularly Asian.

3.6.3. Acculturation strategies: integration

The only interviewee that could be placed in the “integration” quadrant and had the best psychological adjustment was Katie, who was comfortable with both her Australianness and Chineseness. Suarez-Orozco (2004) promotes a transcultural identity, celebrating immigrant youth who are able to preserve ties to their home culture and language and also successfully navigate life in their new mainstream culture. Integration she argues leads to better academic outcomes, and higher levels of happiness, by not alienating home culture and networks. In contrast to Erica, Katie also came to Australia in kindergarten, but had a strong Chinese identity:

> Katie: I would say I'm Chinese, because my background is in China. I still follow the Chinese culture and the language is also Chinese, because of my mom and dad's background.

Katie’s parents insisted on her speaking Chinese at home, as they believed Chinese is an important world language, and also to keep her connection with her relatives in China, including, most importantly, her father, who was still living in China and doesn’t speak English well. There was less tension in Katie’s identity; by defining herself as Chinese (but with an Australian citizenship) her self-image is consistent with how her friends and family see her – as Chinese.

> Katie: They [friends)] know that I'm born in China, and they know that I can speak Chinese fluently. So my friends think I'm Chinese. Yeah. But they know that I'm an Australian citizen.

Sustained contact was required to maintain the parent culture (Levitt, 2009). Keeping contact with the parents’ cultures was made possible for these transnational families through regular communication and frequent trips back and forth to both countries. All the students reported regular communications with family members in their homeland, community language classes. The long-stay visits from grandparents was another link to their home cultures.

Those who pursue an integration strategy to acculturation are also aware that English proficiency of almost all children in the second generation, regardless of their parents' English abilities, holds promise for the successful integration into Australian society and the labour market when they become adults. Immigrants pursue integration into the majority society because the long-term prospects of the family who had sacrificed many things to come to Australia hinge on the second generation's social adaptation and educational success (Portes & Macleod, 1996).

In addition to the child's acculturation, researchers have also identified "dissonant acculturation" (Portes & Rumbaut, 2005; Qin, 2006), whereby acculturation happens faster for the children than for their migrant parents. This dissonance or gap leads to alienation between the child and the parents, as their frames of reference for viewing the world diverge. Growing apart from one's parents may be common with adolescent development in general, but it becomes more accentuated in immigrant youth.

3.6.4. Identity making

Ong's (1999) work, *Flexible Citizenship: The Cultural Logics of Transnationality*, challenged the traditional notion of nation-states and the obligations of a citizen. Due to globalisation and the rise of transnationalism, individuals and families have multiple attachments to different nation-states and cultures. Tools for mobility are the multiple passports and residences necessary for the best education or employment opportunities. As these transnational actors maintain ties to the home country at the same time as they live in the host country, they can develop hybrid cultural identities. This ability to 'code-switch' between languages and cultures can be an asset (Titone, 1989) not only to the individual but to the plural societies they inhabit. However, for migrant children, identity-making can also be a source of anxiety, especially for second generation (Suarez-Orozco and Suarez-Orozco, 2001). Apart from the direct impact of the move itself, I anticipated that identity-making would be the main area to

cause the hypermobile child anxiety, given the importance of social identity to mental health (Brance et al., 2024). As Suárez-Orozco (2004) asked:

> *For these youth, forging a sense of identity may be their single greatest challenge. Do they feel comfortable in their homeland? Do they feel accepted by the "native-born" of the host country? What relationship do they have with their parents' country of origin? Is their sense of identity rooted "here," "there," everywhere, or nowhere? (*p. 3*)*

Transnationalism and identity are "concepts that inherently call for juxtaposition" (Vertovec, 2001, p. 573) and it was difficult to plot the three recent-arrival students against the four acculturation strategies conceptualised by Berry.

Anika, while ethnically Indian but all her life spent in England before migrating to Australia, saw herself as Indian. Perhaps it is the constant in her life.

> Anika's mother: We really don't impose on her that you are Punjabi or Sikh. But she [Anika] strongly finds herself Indian, she considers herself Indian right now. If we are watching cricket match, she goes for the Indian team. If there is a match between India and England, she goes for India. Even if it is between Australia and India, she's cheering for India. I find that very strange that okay, but it's nice that she feels strongly Indian.

Abby speaks Cantonese as her first language at home, Mandarin at school, and at her bilingual school in China she acquired English but with an American accent before moving to Australia in Year 3. Her mother said that Abby saw herself as Chinese when asked if she was Australian or Chinese. Like Anika, her Chinese ethnicity – what people saw, what visibly marked her – was what she held onto.

Hana, a third-culture child of Japanese and English parents who grew up in Hong Kong, didn't see herself as Australian at all. She didn't know how to explain her diverse cultures and was not particularly troubled:

> Hana: People are not expecting me to be from Australia. I feel alright. Fine.

When pushed to explain, she simplified it but also confused ethnicity with passports:

> Hana: I usually just say that I'm half-half: my dad's Japanese and my mum has a British passport.

Another possible reason the three recent arrivals found it confusing to talk about their identities is that identity is a critical maturational task of adolescence (Erikson, 1968). This may explain why wrestling with self-identity did not appear a major issue among my subjects who were in Year 5 and aged 10 and 11. The difficulties mentioned earlier, like racism and the difficulty with making friends, were mostly divulged by the mothers, not the children. Perhaps the students were too young to reflect on these issues or they had made friends easily at school. They had not yet reached adolescence and started defining their identities. For example, while Hana was accepting of both her parents' ethnicities, her older sister openly denigrated her mother's Anglo culture:

> Hana's mother: If I give her [sister] a sandwich, she says, "Are you giving me a white girl lunch?" She actually uses "white" in a derogatory term.

For the question in my survey, "How would you describe yourself?" only 47% of LBOTE students described themselves as Australian or part Australian (respondents could choose more than one answer). Interestingly, even among the ELB students, only 55% described themselves as Australian or part Australian. This suggests that these 10-year-old students aligned their identities closely to where their parents came from and had perhaps not yet begun to navigate their own senses of identity. Also, my results concur with Klein et al.'s (2015) research that younger pupils are more likely to hold onto their parents' cultures and ethnicities. As they get older and their micro-environment is more shaped by peers and the majority culture, the child in adolescence is more likely to see themselves as Australian or aligned to the dominant culture. Pe-Pua et al. (1996) noted some migrant adolescents began to challenge the traditional Chinese values of their parents as they become acculturated to Australian values and norms.

Another response to each student's inability to strongly self-identify with their origin culture or host culture could be that students assume hybridity (Butcher 2004) or super-diversity (Vertovec, 2007). A hybrid identity consists of the fusion of two or more cultures, resulting in the creation of new ones. This may explain why the students interviewed found it hard to choose one identity. Are these students Asian, Chinese, Cantonese, Indian, Sikh, Australian-Chinese, or Chinese-Australian? They have multiple inputs from their backgrounds and their hyperconnected lives, which may result in dynamic, hybridised identities (Noble & Watkins, 2019).

Researchers are beginning to question the need to have rigid boxes for nationality and ethnicity. Instead with transnational children navigating a globalising world, we perhaps need to be more accepting of hybrid and ambiguous ethnic identities. In advancing Berry's acculturation theory developed more than 45 years ago, researchers are now questioning bi-dimensional conceptualisations of acculturation (Ward & Geeraert, 2016). There is a demand for the theory to meet the reality of globalisation and transnationalism. For example, how does Hana, a half-Japanese, half-British girl raised in Hong Kong now living in Australia place herself in a host culture vs home culture dichotomy; or how does Anika, a Punjabi-Indian raised in the UK, now living in Australia choose? Instead, Ward calls for us to recognise not only mono-cultures and bi-cultures, but also polycultures (Morris et al, 2015) to honour each individual's experience of culture, which may be partial, fluid and context dependent.

3.7. The price of flexible citizenship

While the benefits of flexible citizenship are tangible for the global elite who pursue it, Ong (2022) warns of the potential damage for nation-states in terms of the waning power it has on its citizens and of a sense of national belonging. The privileged global class are detached from national identities, instead subscribing to the ideal of a world citizenship and associated transnational issues such as global warming. But

at the local level, globalisation has alienated the poor who have been made worse off. For example, US workers who lost jobs to cheaper labour in Asia; Brexiteers who rejected decision-making in a supranational structure, preferring the political focus to be localised. These disenfranchised groups do not have the skills or the money to join the global elite, and the disparities may further drive social inequality and unrest in weakened nation-states. On a micro level, the next section discussed the personal price of flexible citizenship for the actors involved: the mothers, fathers and children. Each actor in the migration practice experiences gains and losses. From fragmented families to gendered roles, racism and a lack of belonging, there is a price for flexible citizenship.

3.7.1. Sacrificial wives and trailing mothers

The families in this study are hyperconnected, highly transnational, and hypermobile (Guo, 2022). A downside to this hypermobility is that not all family members might want to relocate halfway across the world. Anika and her mother were happy in the UK, had no desire to uproot themselves to Australia:

> Anika's mother: My first reaction was "No way I'm not doing that [moving]", since this is home for me, and Anika, she had friends, she was doing great in school. We had bought a house three years ago. … So I said, "Okay, if professionally it's going to make you that happy, and if it's going to give us a better family life, I give it a try for two years. If our family suffers, or Anika is not happy, we'll come back."

But since migration is a family affair, and as in this case, if the breadwinner decides for the rest of the family that migration is better, then the family must follow. The children do not typically have a say in the migratory decision, despite the choice being ostensibly for the benefit of the children. For the couple, the wife is likely the "trailing spouse" (Cooke, 2001). Among the families interviewed, only one mother was working outside the home, although some of the others had previously done so. At the altar of immigration, women are sacrificed to assume traditional gender roles as wives and mothers (Ho, 2006), even if they are educated and had worked before migrating. If the purpose of migration was to maximise the wealth of the household

and its members, the “sacrificial wives” in these transmigrant families clearly took on the traditional gender roles of primarily taking care of the children so the men’s careers and money-earning positions are undisturbed. The children did not question these gendered roles of the fathers and mothers.

In the “astronaut families” of this study, where the fathers did not migrate, the women were “trailing mothers” (Cooke, 2001) or “study mothers” (Huang & Yeoh, 2005) who followed the children on their migratory paths. Much has been researched about wives’ and mothers’ experiences of transmigration, including the loneliness of sole parenting, the loss of social and family networks, and the adaption to a new culture and language (Pe-Pua et al., 1996; Ptashnick & Zuberi, 2018; Water, 2002). While the mothers interviewed also talked about the difficulties of migration, they also seemed to accept their roles as mother and housekeeper. Only Abby’s mother was explicitly positive about her giving up her career for the children.

Abby’s mum: I never told the children that mum gave up something, that I sacrifice myself here for you. I came here for the family. I want to have quality family time, to accompany you as you grow up.

3.7.2. From everywhere but belonging nowhere?

Another problem for the hypermobile family can be having too much choice. When the world is literally available, choosing where to go may be debilitating. Hana’s family loved living the expat life in Hong Kong and being centrally based to travel to other places of importance to them, such as her father’s family in Japan and her mother’s family in England. Like many expat families, an initial two-year work contract turned into a decade or more, since life was so comfortable. Hana’s family could afford cheap domestic help, they had other expat families to befriend and act as surrogate support and families, and tax in Hong Kong was low. Another reason for such third-culture families not leaving Hong Kong is that it is not always obvious where they should “return” to.

> Hana's mother: We ended up living in Hong Kong for 13 years, the children had all their primary education, which was fantastic. As they were going into secondary school, we didn't really want them to stay in Hong Kong, because it's really a bit of a bubble. It's such a fluid population, you have people that only come for a year.

It was a "bubble", meaning the hypermobility of Hong Kong, "where people were always on the move both mentally and physically" (Ong, 1999, p. 9). The hypermobile global citizens there were from everywhere but did not belong anywhere.

Another example is Anika's father. Many nations were willing to give him residency to attract his skills as a doctor. Arguably, he has the mobility to travel the world and choose the best opportunities for his family. However, on the flipside, it is somewhat sad that they can never settle and work in India, their home country, as his Ukrainian qualifications would not be recognised there. This family were highly skilled itinerant nomads who could never go home.

> Anika's mother: He moved to England long ago, I think, in 1998. He had worked in England for many years, when we got married. Though he used to talk about [going] back to India, but he knew it won't be really possible. He loves his job. Going back to India and not working as a doctor is a disaster.

3.7.3. Can we be friends? Global citizens and local citizens

With an Asian father and a Western mother raising their mixed children in another country, Hana's family were the embodiment of globalisation. They were multi-lingual, had several homes and travelled around the world for work and play. However, there is conflict when a global citizen meets a local citizen. The most obvious is racism. The two older children had experienced racism at school, the son receiving anti-Japanese comments.

> Hana's mother: The teacher had no appreciation of [what she said] as being racist [by referring to Japanese as the "Japs"]. It's so deeply ingrained, and people have just no idea that they are racist. It's the attitude of "I didn't mean to be racist", but it's still really racist.

In the case of Anika, she quickly made friends with another new student who is also a transmigrant like herself. They could relate to each other's experiences of moving countries, even though her friend was half Chinese and half British. Anika's mother said it took Anika longer to make friends with local students.

> Anika: Yeah, I was friends with her because she had the same feelings as I. She used to live in Singapore. Then she moved to New Zealand then she moved to Australia. So I'm from England to Australia, and so we got the same experience of packing and everything.

Apart from overt racism, how does the global citizen interact with local citizens who have not travelled as much or have such transnational lives? There is a shock felt by the global citizen that not everyone understands the world like they do. There is a social class issue too, between the rich and the poor, the educated and uneducated, those who are mobile and those who are immobile. Some analysts say this divide culminated in Brexit, when UK voters, disgruntled and left on the periphery, voted to build walls against the negatives of globalisation (Blockmans, 2016).

> Hana's mother: A lot of it is like ignorance, like a girl in her class thought Africa was a country. I'm not being anti-Australia. I went back to the north of England, where I grew up. The girl cutting my hair thought Tokyo and Hong Kong were the same place. It's like saying France and Germany are the same.

The hypermobile students in this study may also have encountered unconscious bias and micro-aggressions from fellow students and teachers who had not experienced similar multi-cultural, multi-lingual lives (Santoro, 2009). Although only Hana's mother mentioned her children experiencing racism, 70% of school students in Australia are reported to experience some form of racism, particularly for migrants from non-English speaking countries, with most of it taking place in the classroom

and school grounds (Mansouri et al., 2009). By creating a sense of “us versus them”, racism has been reported as causing young people anxiety, anger, and loss of self-esteem and the sense of belonging (VicHealth, 2009). This feeling of exclusion based on race may be further compounded by social class.

Based on the findings of this study, I propose that on top of race, language and culture, another sense of “othering” for the children of these transmigrants is due to their hypermobile lifestyles. Schools and the generally Anglo teaching body, while playing lip-service to embracing diversity and other cultures, still look at culture in a simplistic way, as symbolised by traditional clothes and food. Harmony Days treat culture as a static entity rather than something that is modern and evolving (Watkins & Noble, 2019). Our transmigrant children may receive little understanding from teachers and other students of what it means to live across continents, with two or more cultures and multiple languages.

3.8. Conclusion to chapter

At the beginning of this chapter, I asked if the practice of flexible citizenship has changed in the last twenty years. From my research at Rosemount School, an independent school in an affluent suburb of Sydney, I have observed the strategy of “flexible citizenship” used by wealthy transmigrants, especially Mainland Chinese arrivals. The students in my study were the children of well-educated, cosmopolitan migrants who are likely to have entered Australia on skilled or business visas. There are more Mainland Chinese families than Indian, as the Chinese migrants tend to be wealthier than the Indian migrants, hence their prevalence at Rosemount School, a high-fee school.

Many of these migrants lead transnational lives with frequent travel and close communication between their “home” and “host” countries, with even this distinction becoming blurred depending on which member of the family is where and at what

time. Challenging the concept of a “loyal” citizen, these globalised migrants may or may not stay in Australia. With circulatory migration paths, many of them may use Australia as a stepping stone to another location, perhaps just for the education of their children. Understanding these migration patterns is important for national policy makers, local planners, and the schools educating these children.

From my data, close to 60% of the LBOTE group at Rosemount were born in Australia, about 30% had migrated to Australia before Year 3 (age 8), and 10% had migrated most recently in the final two years of the study. The SDQ difficulties score on the wellbeing measure was slightly above average for the new arrivals group; the difficulties reduced with time spent in Australia. This concurs with research on the adjustment of refugee children in Australia that shows their SDQ scores lowered over time post-arrival (Zwi et al., 2018).

The trauma of migration was most keenly felt by the recent arrivals group, who recorded a higher mean SDQ score of 13.8, compared to the Australian norm of 10.65 and Rosemount LBOTE mean of 11.6. The interviewees testified to the bewilderment and sense of loss that the children felt on arrival in a new country, a new home and a new school. The recent arrivals group clearly experienced acculturation stress with changes to family structures, with the acculturation strategies of separation and assimilation connected more to lower wellbeing scores.

In summary, I recommend schools, and especially teachers, be educated about the symptoms of externalised and internalised behaviours that could be attributed to the difficulties for students who have just arrived from another country. In addition to focusing on English language support, schools could do more to attune their practices to mitigate the stress on recent arrival children by supporting the child and family with their cultural and language adjustments. Welcome committees could be created in student year groups and parent groups to share experiences or help with the orientation of new families. Since many independent schools have demographics

similar to Rosemount's, and skilled migration is a trend that will continue, they could tap into existing migrant communities to help new arrivals.

The children in my study were pre-adolescent and perhaps not developmentally ready for identity making. The recent arrivals still held onto the ethnicity and nationalities of their parents and few mentioned being Australian. From the survey data, less than half of the LBOTE student group described themselves as Australian (or part Australian). In line with acculturation research, assimilation or integration into the majority culture is likely to come as children get older and begin to take cultural cues from peers rather than parents.

Another convincing and affirming strategy of acculturation that children of skilled migrants may adopt is hybrid identity, the accepting of not only bi-cultures but also polycultures. This is not only an important strategy for the children, but one that needs to be communicated to parents and teachers, and indeed politicians. Identity and a sense of belonging are crucial to children's wellbeing, and since identity is created when there is continuity of how others view them, Australian teachers need to understand the children of the skilled migrants that are studying in our schools. It can be harmful for a child born and raised in Australia, who sees herself as Australian, to have others in her school just see an Asian face. Similarly, conflicts can arise when the migrant parents of a child value only their culture while denigrating the Australian values their child might identify with. In this globalising world, and especially for my study group of hypermobile, hyperconnected children, it is helpful to understand that integrating and accepting the multiple cultures that a child experiences daily can support the child to be happy and well-adjusted.

CHAPTER 4: Astronaut Families and Effects on Child Wellbeing

This chapter examines an aspect of migration unique to hypermobile skilled migrants, and especially common among Chinese migrant families. One transnational strategy employed by our flexible citizens is astronaut parenting, whereby one parent (usually the mother) stays with the children in the host country and the other parent (usually the absent father) continues to work in China.

The 'split-household' family unit is not a new one in Australia. Chinese male migrants in the 1850s left their households in Southern China to work the gold fields of Australia, sending remittances to their wives and children, or extended family. These migrants were called "sojourners" by Paul Siu in 1952. These workers did not assimilate or aim to stay in the host country as their main objective of going overseas was to elevate their wealth and status back home (Woon, 1983).

The new term "astronaut" family was used in the 1990's to describe the flip side of the split-household (Lai, 1992; Ho, Bedford, & Goodwin, 1997 a,b). This time, the husband and father stayed in Asia to work and provide financial support, while the migrating pair - the wife and children - moved to a new country to fulfil residency requirements. They left for several reasons: to have a bolthole in a more stable political environment, enjoy lower density living, and a higher quality of life in the western democracies (Aye, Alice & Guerin, 2001); as well as to give their children the benefits of a western education prized among Asian families (Tsong and Liu, 2009). Yeung's 2005 study reported that 57% of children in astronaut families understood the arrangement as better for their education.

The parents were called 'astronaut parents' frequently flying between the two households on two continents, and the children termed 'satellite kids' (Irving, Tsang, Allagia, Chau and Benjamin 2003). The Chinese word 'taikongren' means astronaut,

or one who spends time in space (such as an airplane), or it could mean an 'empty' household without a wife (Skeldon, 1994).

Another similar Asian immigration trend is where parents would send their children to the host country as unaccompanied minors or "parachute kids"; the majority of the migrating children in the literature being high school age, around 13-17 years old. During the late 1990s, there were many sensational media reports of wealthy Asian teenagers who were unsupervised and untethered. On one hand, lonely and neglected and on the other hand; wild and susceptible to lawlessness (Berestein, 1996; Zhou,1998).

The astronaut family phenomenon was studied in the Australian context in 1996 by a comprehensive report by Pe-Pua et al: 'Astronaut Families and Parachute Children.' The report examined the economic, social and cultural consequences of the astronaut families and parachute children from Hong Kong. In this chapter, I will report on the migration strategy 20 years on and examine the effect on child wellbeing.

4.1. Astronaut families

4.1.1. Host countries: Canada, USA, Australia, New Zealand

Since the anthropologist Ong described the astronaut father as a multicultural manager with multiple passports and flexible capital flying across borders on business (Ong, 1999), many studies have sought to understand these transnational families. The research sites followed the migrants, especially in the host countries of **Canada** (Skeldon, 1994; Lam, 1994; Sheppard, 1999; Waters, 2002, 2009, Tsang et al., 2003; Yeung, 2005), **United States** (Zhou, 1998) and **New Zealand** (Aye, Alice and Guerin, 2001, Boyer, 1996; Ho, 2002, 2008). These countries have all implemented new immigration policies selecting migrants based on skills and those with capital to invest (Bedford et al., 2001).

In **Australia**, Mak and Chan (1995) – two Hong Kong-born clinical psychologists, researching in Australia – wrote about 'scattered families' from Hong Kong and Taiwan as new settlers in Australia. They described a positive outcome of the split nuclear family, such as increased trade ties between Australia, Hong Kong, and China. However, they also warned of marital problems and reduced family cohesion due to the mobile family members moving back and forth between Asia and Australia (Mak & Chan, 1995).

This was followed by an in-depth study by the Centre of Multicultural Studies at the University of Wollongong (Pe-Pua, 1996) on astronaut families between Hong Kong and Australia. As explained in the Pe-Pua et al. report:

"the introduction of non-discriminatory immigration policies in Canada (1962), USA (1968), Australia (1973), and New Zealand (1978) provided the framework for the emigration of the 'new' overseas Chinese." (p.3)

The Pe-Pua et al. study studied 60 Hong Kong Chinese families in Sydney through a mixture of family and individual interviews, and with other key informants such as religious, government, educational and ethnic organisations in Australia. The extensive study told us much about the living arrangements of the astronaut families and the effects on the spouse and children. Some women reported feeling lonely and unhappy with parenting alone, while others felt more independent without their husbands. The children reported the challenges of adjusting to education in Australia and missing their fathers. On the other hand, some children adapted quickly and became more mature due to the increase in responsibility compared to their pre-migration lives in Hong Kong.

4.1.2. Sending countries: Hong Kong, Taiwan, South Korea

The key sending countries of the migrants in the literature were **Hong Kong** (Ho & et al., 1997a,b; Skeldon, 1994; Pe-Pua et al., 1996; Irving & Tsang, 1999; Sheppard, 1999), and **Taiwan** (Waters, 2009; Chiang & Yang, 2008, Ip et al.,1998). Some have called the heads of households who have gained residence in New Zealand but returned to Taiwan as 'semigrants' (Boyer, 1996). 'Haven seekers' refer to Taiwanese families who have physically left a politically unstable Taiwan (Hsiao, 1995). In **Korea**, astronaut families were called "geese" families, an analogy of wild geese that travel long journeys to bring back food for their offspring (Abelmann et al., 2014). Interestingly, migrants from Hong Kong and Taiwan tended to live in astronaut families, whereas Korean migrants tended to live in nuclear families. (Lidgard, 1996). The 'study mothers' from People's Republic of China accompanying their children to study in **Singapore,** a 'global schoolhouse' (Huang & Yeoh, 2005), with the mother's residence status dependent on the studying child.

The astronaut family trend is a confluence of the above-mentioned immigration policy changes in the host countries and the rise of wealth in the Asian economies, especially in the four Asian Tigers of South Korea, Hong Kong, Taiwan and Singapore. This transnational migration strategy was deployed by the wealthy, well-educated class of the sending countries. The Pe-Pua et.al report attested to this, reporting emigrants from Hong Kong as well-educated, holding professional and managerial positions, and bringing considerable wealth as "entrepreneurs, investors and self-employed individuals." (Pe-Pua et. al, 1996, p. 4)

While some authors assume that these migrants were 'reluctant exiles' forced to settle overseas by negative political events in Hong Kong, Skeldon questioned this notion. Rather he saw them as "bold pioneers", looking for better countries of residence. (Skeldon, 1994). Certainly, his comprehensive book gave an extensive account of the brain drain from Hong Kong, the reasons and arrangements and the positive impact the migration has on receiving countries like Canada, Australia, USA, UK and Singapore.

4.1.3. Gap in the literature

Since the seminal Pe-Pua et. al. report on Hong Kong astronaut families in Sydney in 1996, there has been little further study on this immigration trend that has not abated. Also while there have been many studies on Mainland Chinese international students at secondary, tertiary and postgraduate level in Australia (Leung, 2001; Chen, 2008; Zheng et al., 2004, Zhao et al.,2022), the focus of the studies on astronaut families since the 1990s were on older children, usually teenagers or young adults (Tsang et al., 2003). There is a shortage of literature on Mainland Chinese astronaut families in Australia.

The experiences of fathers have also been rarely covered in the studies, though Pe-Pua et. al. (1996) reported men in Hong Kong missing their absent families and worrying about their safety, as well as having trouble taking care of themselves, relying on their own mothers for cooking and cleaning. In contrast, the perspective of astronaut mothers has been well-represented in the literature (Man,1995, 2008; Waters, 2002; Lam, 2004; Cooke, 2001). Studies ranged from topics of sexuality, stress, conjugal roles, economic decisions, child rearing and family planning. There have been some studies focusing specifically on satellite and parachute kids (Pe-Pua et al.; Irving, Tsang and Benjamin, 1999), including on the psychosocial adjustment of Chinese immigrant children in schools (Chiu & Ring, 1998; Leung, 2001). However, both focused on adolescents only. The effect of astronaut living on children of primary school age has seldom been examined.

By focusing on these research gaps, this study will aim to better understand the family arrangements of astronaut households in the 2020s in Australia and especially give voice to the young children to hear how the migration decision of their parents have impacted them. While my data is from a small sample size in one research site, it shows the predominance of astronaut families from Mainland China. Out of my six interviews, the four Mainland Chinese families all practised split-household migration - typical of astronaut families - with the father working back in Mainland China.

4.2. Astronaut families 20 years on

My research in Sydney, Australia more than twenty years from the Pe-Pua et. al. study in 1996, shows how the demographics of the astronaut family in Australia has changed. The sending country is now predominantly **Mainland China** instead of Hong Kong and Taiwan. This is reflective of the skilled migration trend mentioned in chapter three, as migrants from Mainland China (People's Republic of China) have become the second biggest group of arrivals in Australia.

Despite, Mainland Chinese arrivals now one of the largest migrant groups in Australia, there is little research on Mainland Chinese astronaut families. In Australia, a study on astronaut wives in 2008 was based on Hong Kong migrants in Brisbane (Chang & Darlington, 2008) and focused on the detailed experiences of the lone mother. Another study in Melbourne dwelled on the adaptation and identity formation of Taiwanese-born youth who migrated with their parents to Australia under the Business Migration Program. (Chiang & Yang, 2008).

4.2.1. Mainland Chinese Satellite Babies

Although there is an absence of research on Mainland Chinese astronaut families in Australia, in 2019, a study described transnational parent-child separation of Mainland Chinese migrant families in Sydney (Hui et al., 2019). In this practice, the child is born in Australia and sent back to be taken care of by grandparents in China, with the average duration of the separation around 20 months. Some children in the study transitioned between the two countries multiple times. Following the reunion, the infants exhibited health and challenging behaviours including selective mutism, food refusal and regressive development. There is a similar PhD study in the US in 2009 by Haihong Wang that explained the same phenomena of satellite babies. The study showed the associated parental guilt of sending babies back to China so parents could work in the US and how parenting was done from a distance. There

are other studies based in America and Canada with Mainland Chinese migrant split-household families, where the satellite babies were temporarily sent back to the home country where the extended family could manage childcare. (Bohr & Tse 2009). Sometimes called 'reverse-migration separation' it was noted as common practice among low-income Chinese migrants in New York City (Kwong et al., 2009).

Another recent study in Australia on Mainland Chinese migrants explored 'transnational grandparenting' (Da, 2003) explaining how filial piety should not be viewed as only from younger to older, but can go both ways, where grandparents deeply accept their commitment to the family. Taking care of grandchildren and helping migrant parents with emotional support was embedded in Chinese culture. Women's participation in paid work was also more accepted and prevalent in China, with the knowledge that childcare would come from grandparents. Grandparents also passed on cultural heritage and language to the younger generation. The highly educated male and female migrants interviewed in the study did not expect the mother to stay home to take care of the children, and parent-child separation was 'sanctioned culturally' (p. 21)

4.2.2. Mainland Chinese Satellite Kids

In 2015, there was a Masters paper examining the experiences of Chinese Mainland "Satellite Children" in Vancouver (Li, 2018) that interviewed young adults 21-32 about family life in 'shuttle' families. He found that mainland Chinese 'satellite kids' led complex family lives that were quite different to how their parents grew up. These kids practised 'world switching', between their 'split' and 'full' home lives, as well as between Chinese families and Western schools. They also internalised the sacrifice the family made with the astronaut household arrangement, with the acknowledgement that their academic success was the 'pay back' for the sacrifice. Most kids talked positively about their home life, with only a few participants openly critical of their parents. The negative emotional responses were mostly regarding relationships with the father. Li called for more studies into the new population group

of Mainland Chinese, rather than viewing Chinese-Canadian culture through the lens of older generations primarily from Hong Kong.

Later, in 2020, there was research on the sociocultural adaptation of ‘parachute kids’ from Mainland China (Cheng, 2020) based in the US. The participants interviewed were between 15- 20 years old at the time of interview and were called international students living with host families. Their range of time in the recruited school was between 1-4 years, and all came from wealthy families of entrepreneurs, civil servants, or professionals.

The kids came from a position of advantage and privilege back in China to their new life in the US of ‘disadvantage’. They became disadvantaged possibly due to poorer academic grades, they struggled with a new school system, and had lost the social network of their families. The kids had to deal with unfriendliness from classmates and racism, as well as navigating sometimes host families who were more interested in the financial of the hosting arrangement rather than the wellbeing of the children in their care.

The students also talked of their newfound freedom from parental supervision and tightly controlled schools in China, which was at once a blessing but also a risk. The satellite kids had to learn to make decisions for themselves with the lack of guidance and care from parents who were far away. Teachers reported many becoming addicted to video games, particularly the male students. Of the 12 participants, some integrated well into their new country, while some maintained their separation, and some were in between not sure how to reconcile the two cultures.

4.2.3. Satellite kids now as adults

More recently there are now reflective studies on Asian American adults in their twenties and thirties who grew up as parachute kids or satellite kids, to understand the long-term impact of growing up in transnational households. (Tsong et al., 2021);

Ngan & Chan, 2022). Firstly, a positive finding was that children growing up in transnational families with long-term separation are more mature, self-sufficient and independent. This was corroborated with prior research by Tsang et al., 2003, Aye & Guerin, 2001. The post-traumatic growth model states that children can make personal growth because of a stressful experience, such that migration trauma may actually help the satellite children gain positive traits of resilience and responsibility. This bodes well for the children in my study, especially the new arrivals who experienced difficulties with their recent move to Australia, they could hopefully look forward to positive personality outcomes as they acculturated with time.

Another finding was that if the children had more agency in the family's migration decision, it could make the adjustment easier. This may not be so relevant for my study group of young primary-aged children, since it may be conceptually hard for children of this age group to understand the motivations in such a major family decision, or indeed to change their parents' mind if they did not agree to the move. However, the now adult interviewees reflected that being part of the discussion and knowing the possible challenges ahead could have helped them with the important life transition.

Interestingly, two thirds of the interviewees in the Tsong study would not repeat the same split-family arrangement they experienced as children with their own spouses/children. Interviewees stated memories of loneliness, parent-child distance and seeing the strain on their parents' marriage as reasons they would prefer to keep their family together. This may be an unforeseen long-term impact of the transnational immigration strategy of astronaut parenting. The Hong Kong satellite children in the 2022 study had returned to Hong Kong after their transnational childhoods and were planning to send their children overseas (Ngan & Chan,2022). They reported regret and nostalgia, coupled with guilt towards leaving their elderly parents. Perhaps due to their separation with family in the astronaut family arrangement when they were young, these satellite children now as adults were intent on maintaining intergenerational bonds between their own children and

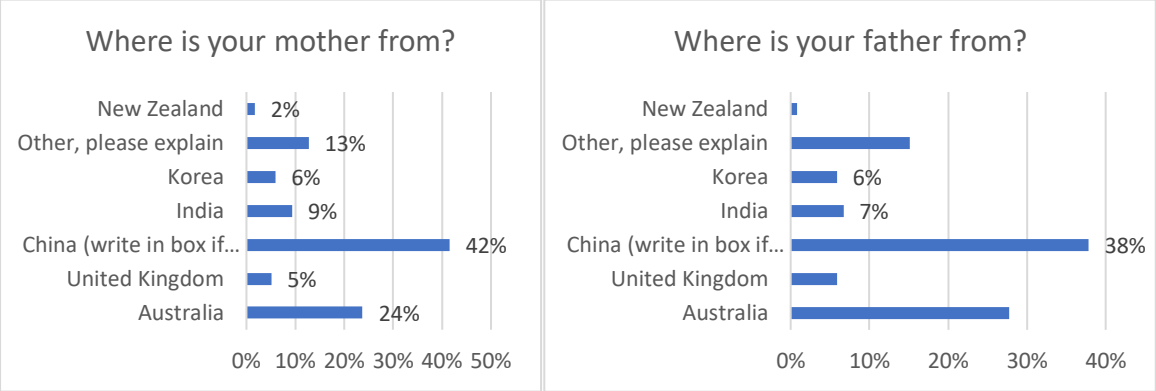
parents. Their migration plans were characterised by ‘uncertainty and hesitation’ (Ngan & Chan, 2021, p. 210) due to their earlier experiences of family separation.

4.3. Astronaut families at Rosemount School

My study of families in Rosemount school, with a large number of wealthy Chinese migrant students, provided a unique insight into contemporary practices of astronaut family arrangements. In the Year 5 students studied, the biggest cohort of fathers (38%) and mothers (42%) were from China (see Table 4.1). No students reported their parents being from Taiwan or Hong Kong. The next biggest group of migrants were from India (9% mothers, 7% fathers), followed by Korea (both mothers and fathers 6%).

Table 4.1

Birth country of students’ mothers and fathers



Source: The author’s survey results, 2020

Since astronaut parenting is a common practice among Chinese migrant family, I further investigated this sub-group. In answer to the question “Does your father live with you normally during school terms” for children whose father is from China: 49% answered “No” or “Sometimes” (see Table 4.2.). That’s almost half of the Chinese migrant families practising astronaut parenting! Although, anecdotally, I had heard students speak about the practice, it surprised me that almost half of the Chinese

migrant families at Rosemount had an absent father either ‘all the time’, or ‘sometimes’.

Table 4.2

Does your father live with you during term time?

	Father born in China	Father not born in China
Yes all the time	51%	77%
Sometimes, please explain	29%	17%
No	20%	6%
	100%	100%

Source: The author’s survey results, 2020

It has been hard for researchers to estimate the number of families practising astronaut parenting due to difficulty tracking the absent father via census data or via entry and departure data (Yeung, 2005; Li, 2018). Some researchers like Boyer (1996) have resorted to survey data. Indeed for this research, my survey data was the best place to get a sense of how many families practised astronaut parenting. The school also did not have accurate data, as the place of residence at enrolment or the contact information for the father was usually in Australia. The school did not track when and if the father moved back and forth from his home country to Australia.

My survey responses further provided insight into the practice. Students in the “Sometimes, please explain” box explained the arrangements:

> He works in China but comes here very often.

> My dad comes here a few times a year but he lives in Hong Kong

Sometimes, he is here but his work is in China so he moves from Australia and China.

My dad usually leaves home 2 times a year (overseas). He can be gone from 1-4 months per time

For fathers not born in China, the reasons given for the split-household was due to parent divorce or separation. So there was a clear difference between the migration practice versus a split-household due to divorce or separation.

My parents live in different houses so I sometimes go to my dad's and sometimes I go to my mum's.

I live with him sometimes because he and my Mum are divorced.

For those satellite children whose Chinese-born fathers live with them “sometimes” or “not at all”; they explained how often they see their fathers. The answers ranged from term by term to yearly or more.

Maybe once 3-5 months

He sometimes comes in the school holidays and sometimes comes during non school holidays

Like a term then not a term then another term...

Meets at my birthday

Once every year or once every two years

As explained in the methodology chapter, the survey was conducted in November 2020: on 11 March 2020 the World Health Organisation declared COVID-19 a pandemic and by 20 March 2020, Australia shut its borders to all non-residents. From the initial outbreak in Wuhan in January 2020, China instigated its own set of lockdowns across many cities to curb the spread of the disease. As a result of the border closures, some usually absent fathers were grounded in Australia:

Normally he goes on a few business trips per term but because of COVID-19 he hasn't been going on business trips this year.

He used to go back to China but recently he has been staying in Australia.

He moves to China every year and that happens very frequently, but this year he has not been back because of COVID-19.

However, this did not significantly skew results, as the question was phrased "Does your father live with you *normally* during school terms?" Even those students with fathers grounded due to COVID-19 still reported the father normally did not sometimes live with them.

Aside from Chinese families, some other Asian migrants also practised astronaut parenting too. Of the seven students with a father born in Korea, two seemed to have an astronaut father, explaining that they see their father "once a term during the

school holidays". This confirms Lidgard's earlier findings in 1996 that Korea migrants tend to live in nuclear families, rather than the split transnational households Chinese families tend to adopt. Of the eight students with a father born in India, only one seems to have an astronaut father, with the child explaining that "He moves around from India to Australia, 6 months or so.". From my quantitative data, it was clear that the astronaut family practice was most common among Mainland Chinese families.

For ease of analysing the survey data, I have only used fathers born in China as a filter as that represented the majority of the astronaut families. I did not include the fathers born in Korea or the fathers born in India due to the small number.

Another key member of the household in the astronaut family arrangement was the grandparents. Since families could not as easily employ domestic help in Australia as in China, it was the maternal or paternal grandparent who came to help in the absence of the father. For families with both parents present, 7% had grandparents living with them sometimes. For families with absent fathers, the number doubles to 14%. The majority of the grandparents did not speak any English.

While many Asian families chose to live with extended family and certainly Chinese families were accustomed to living with grandparents, there was an interesting nuance about the presence of grandparents in the families with both parents present versus the astronaut family. The grandparents in the astronaut family seemed to be more hypermobile, flying in and out following the father's mobility. Anecdotally in my work as an EALD teacher, I called this the "revolving door of carers"; sometimes it was the father, sometimes the mother, and other times, the grandparents looking after the child.

For families with absent fathers, maternal grandparents were also more prevalent in the household, and for longer periods of time (see Figure 4.1). The paternal

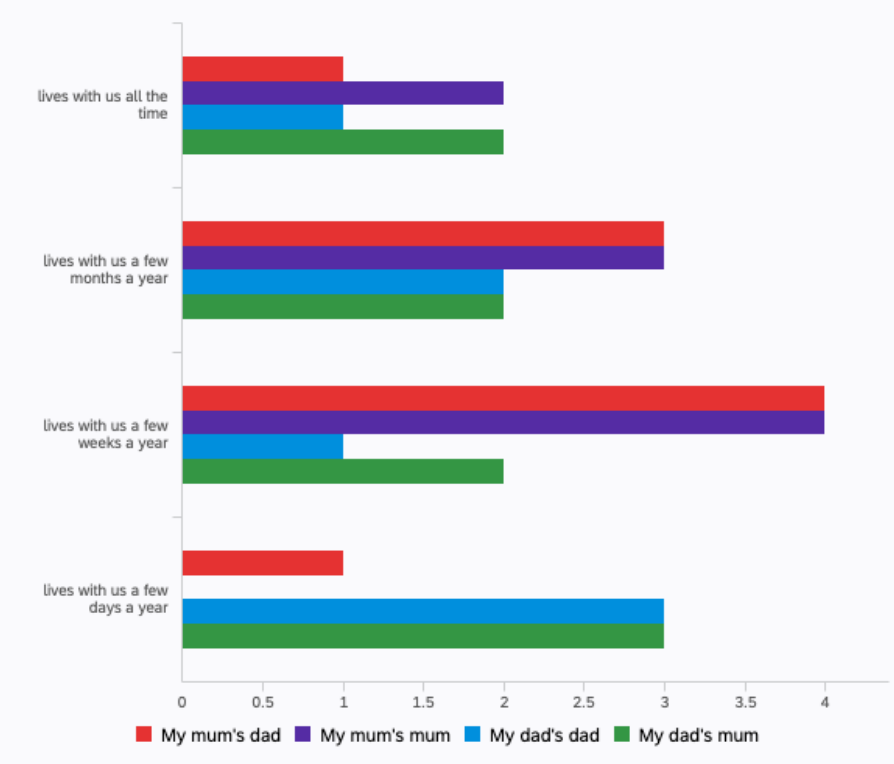
grandparents seemed to visit for shorter periods of time. This made sense, as the mother was the main carer in Australia, so would probably prefer her own parents to come and help with childcare and domestic chores, rather than her in-laws. An example below is Katie's maternal grandparents who come to help the mother:

> Katie's mum: Term time, it's just me. My mother, Katie's grandmother will come and help me. But because of Covid, it's just me alone taking care of the two children.

Figure 4.1

Grandparents who live in the absent father household

Students with fathers from China who lives with them 'sometimes' or 'not at all' (absent fathers):



Source: The author's survey results, 2020

The presence of grandparents during the survey was probably somewhat underreported due to COVID-19. Like the Mainland astronaut children in Li's study in 2018 that reported a loss of kinship networks, our astronaut families also lived largely without family networks, as reported in the previous wave of astronaut families in the 1990s (Skeldon, 1994; Lam, 1994, Da, 2003). Although 14% of astronaut households had grandparents living with them some of the time, the other 86% of astronaut families did not.

The transnational household is also more likely *not* to be a nuclear family where typically the parents live with their children in one home, bound by the nation-state (Mazzucato and Schans, 2011). While this may reflect Asian family structures of living with extended family, another explanation could be that for the flexible citizenship arrangements to work - astronaut mothers and fathers who were always on the move mentally and physically - needed to rely on extended family or paid help to share the childcare and take care of homes in both countries.

4.4. Effects of the absent father on child wellbeing

The psychological literature on astronaut families is strongly skewed towards the mother's experience (Pe-Pua et. al., 1996; Waters, 2002; Chang & Darlington, 2008). With issues such as giving up employment on becoming a 'trailing wife' (Bonney & Love 1991; Halfacree, 1995; Findlay & Li, 2005); to new domestic and parenting duties that were previously spread between extended family, the husband and domestic help; to strains of a transnational marriage. The astronaut wife, although quite materially comfortable, reported isolation, homesickness, depression (Boyer, 1996; Pe-Pua et al.,1996) and that the process of migration forced women to take on the traditional gendered role of a housewife and mother (Ho, 2006). However, some women also reported becoming empowered in decision-making and more assertive in their marriage (Lidgard, 1996; Pe-Pua et al.,1996).

On the astronaut children, I looked at the extensive report of the 1996 Pe-Pua et. al. study set in Australia and the Canadian study on the psychological adjustment of Chinese adolescent satellite children (Yeung, 2005). For the children, the absence of the father was reported as distressing. The children felt alone and disappointed that the family was not complete. They also experienced the feeling of homesickness, boredom and loneliness like the mothers (Boyer, 1996). The family roles changed too in the astronaut arrangement, with the children needing to assume more responsibility with the absence of the father and help the lone mother; some performed more household chores, looked after younger siblings, acted as interpreters, or became the family chauffeur. Many respondents indicated they have become more mature due to living without their fathers (Yeung, 2005). Pe-Pua et.al. reported some sons feeling resentful having to assume the role of the absent father.

On a positive note, astronaut children could become more assertive and independent like the mothers (Pe-Pua et al., 1996). The mother-child relationship was strengthened as did the relationships between siblings. Some children reported the astronaut arrangement did not affect them much, since even back in their home country, they had limited contact with the father who was always busy at work. Yeung reported 43% of his Hong Kong respondents - from grade 4 to first year of university – felt living in astronaut households was lonely, while 50% did not. In some studies, the satellite children were reluctant to criticise home life (Ong, 1999; Li, 2018). They saw the arrangements as normalised and mundane. The girls in my interviews also spoke about accepting the arrangement as commonplace, especially since many of their friends at school had the same astronaut family arrangements.

> Erica: Well it’s not really sad. I still go on normally. Because it’s like a really normal thing now.

> Abby: It's been me, my sister, my mum, for so long. It's like a year, right? More than a year.

In the literature, life for the children with the father away was less formal, for example around mealtimes and being required to speak Chinese all the time when dad was around. In my interviews, the girls also spoke about the father coming back and forth as a disruption to their routines. Some enjoyed having less parental pressure.

> Erica: I actually feel better (when dad is not around). I wasn't stressed. I don't like people when they check on me.

Although, slightly different in context, a study of Filipino children who grew up with absent fathers working overseas, the children were the first to defend the transnational arrangements and refute that family ties were broken (Salazar Parrenas, 2008) explaining that love and sacrifice bound the family together. To get an understanding of the ties between the child and those in their micro-environment, my survey asked Year 5 female students how close they felt to various people in their lives. Their responses provided a detailed account of their relationships with their father, mother, siblings, friends and teachers. The next sections discuss each in turn.

4.4.1. My results: Closeness to fathers

The concept of 'closeness' I have used is the idea of 'affectional-psychological closeness' as meaning feelings of positive or negative closeness to family members (Elise Radina et.al, 2019). Although a clear definition of 'closeness' may be poorly defined (Parks & Floyd, 1996), it is a fundamental concept in the study of personal relationships.

Park and Floyd found that 71% of respondents in their study defined closeness as 'self-disclosure"; meaning "talking, disclosing, telling each other everything", and this was especially high for the female population compared to the male. In addition, another factor of closeness was 'understanding"; meaning special insight, empathy with. With these two ideas in mind and with child-appropriate language, I designed

the available responsese for ‘closeness’ in the survey, to reflect the self-disclosure and understanding. The survey question for ‘closeness’ was asked in reference to the child’s relationship with her father/mother/siblings/grandparents/friends/teachers: “How would you rate your closeness to your _____”. The possible responses were :

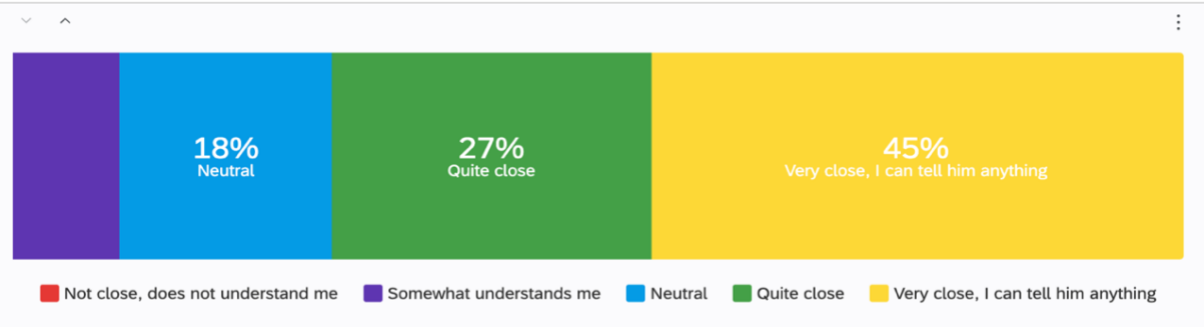
1	2	3	4	5
Not close, does not understand me	Somewhat understands me	Neutral	Quite close	Very close, I can tell her everything

In response to the question “How close are you to your father?” Students with fathers born in China who “does not” or “sometimes” lives with them (absent fathers) answered to being not so close compared to students with fathers that live with them all the time (resident fathers). 73% of students with absent fathers felt ‘quite close’ and ‘very close’ to their fathers, while for students with resident fathers, the figure was 100% (see Figure 4.2.).

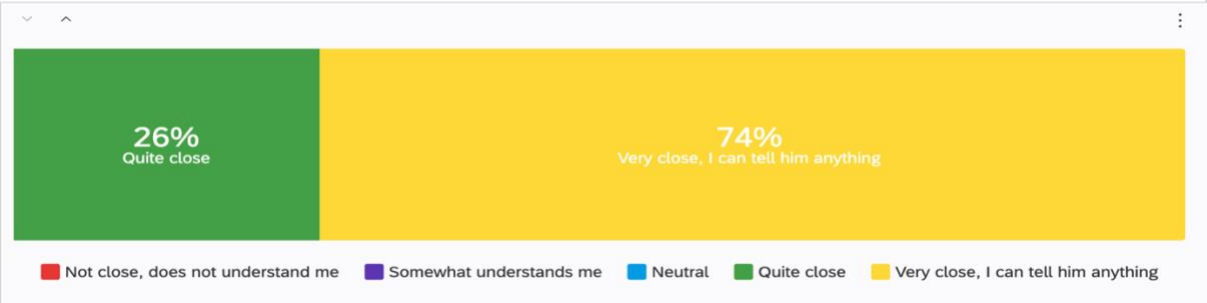
Figure 4.2.

Closeness to fathers (students with absent fathers vs resident fathers)

Students with fathers from China who lives with them ‘sometimes’ or ‘not at all’ (absent fathers):



Students with fathers from China who lives with them ‘all the time’ (resident fathers) :



Source: The author's survey results, 2020

Almost 30% of children with absent fathers felt 'neutral' to 'not close" to their fathers. Compare this to children with divorced or separated families, of whom only 7% felt "neutral to "not close" to their fathers. This suggests strongly that having a father physically absent makes it difficult for children to feel close to the father despite the family remaining ostensibly still a unit but split across two continents. Also despite much-improved telecommunications to 20 years ago, and the frequent travel between the countries of the wealthy parents, the children with absent fathers still reported feeling less close than children with resident fathers or as a comparison group, children with divorced/separated households where the child saw the father intermittently (see Figure 4.2.). Children with absent fathers (73% 'close' or 'very close') were less close to their fathers compared to children with divorced or separated fathers (93% 'close or 'very close').

Figure 4.3.

Closeness to fathers (students in divorced or separated families)

Students with fathers not from China who lives with them 'sometimes' or 'not at all' (divorced/ separated families):

Source: The author's survey results, 2020

The 2018 study on Mainland Chinese astronaut children (Li, 2018) also asked in interviews about 'closeness' to parents. "Closeness" was determined by how close their values and attitudes to life were to one parent or the other. Both male and female respondents were closest to their mothers as they had lived without their fathers for many years. From my results below, the students in astronaut families were closer to mothers. Measuring closeness by combining "quite close" and "very close" for students with absent fathers, closeness to father in total was 72% while closeness to mother was 95%.

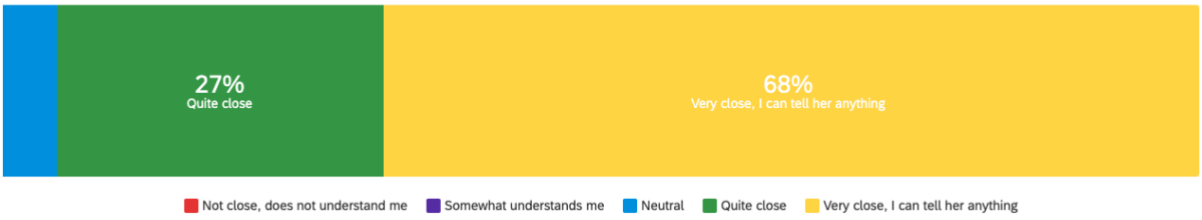
4.4.2. My results: Closeness to mothers

The satellite children respondents were closer to their mothers as they had lived without their fathers for a while. Taking the added percentage of 'quite close' and 'very close', the satellite children felt closer to their mothers (95%) than children in two-parent households (91%) (see Figure 4.4.)

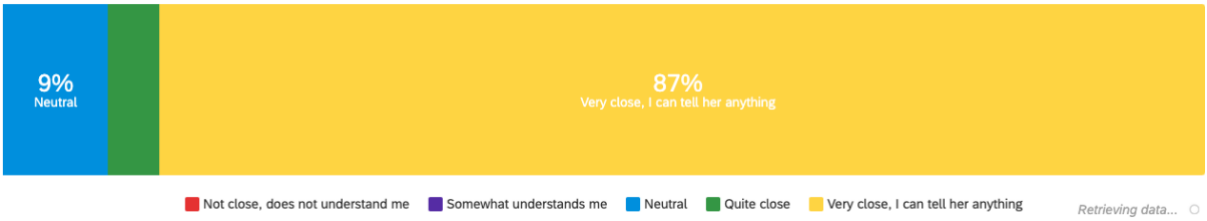
Figure 4.4.

Closeness to mothers (students with absent fathers vs resident fathers)

Students with fathers from China who lives with them sometimes or not at all (absent fathers):



Students with fathers from China who lives with them all the time (resident fathers):



Source: The author's survey results, 2020

The interviews also attested to this:

> Erica: I feel closer to mum, because she is here. My brother too, because we see our dad less than our mum

> Katie's mum: She often told me what happened at school, and I asked her how did you deal with that? I feel like she talks to me a lot; our relationship is close.

Some echoed the women in Pe-Pua et. al.'s report that stated a positive effect of the astronaut arrangement, which was that the mothers had much more time to interact with their children in Australia.

> Abby' mum: I feel very grateful. When we were in China, I worked full time, so I didn't have much time to talk to them. I came here for the family. I wanted quality family time, to accompany you during you growing up.

Although it has not always been a smooth journey, the process of migration and figuring it out together has brought them closer.

> Abby's mum: Last year she was very frustrated, I was very frustrated and struggling in that situation. I let her talk to her friends in China, that didn't

> work. Then I tried my sister in China. Her cousin, my sister's son, they were quite close. I told her she needed to start a positive cycle, then there will be a turning point.

Yeung's study of satellite children in 2005 in Canada showed the children were generally well-adjusted and he attributed it to the parents' willingness to show the child that their challenges are understood by the parents and the child could rely on the parents to help them cope. Abby's mum demonstrated this by working things out with and for her daughter:

> Abby's mum: This is not the life I wanted to make this big move. We talk about our relationship. I encouraged her to make her own decision (about enrolling in a maths course). I told her, mum trusts you to do it.

Katie's relationship was close to her mother too because they worked through difficult times together and kept communications open:

> Katie's mum: Sometimes, since I am taking care of the kids alone, I will get angry if she doesn't listen to me. I will shout at her, she will slam her things on the table. But then her anger will go quickly. She will find a new conversation and put the incident behind her. We don't need to talk about it anymore.

Again, with mothers, the physical distance made a difference. In Yeung's 2005 study, when respondents were asked what factors made them closer to their mothers, the top two categories were "see her more now" 38% and "care for each other more" 32%. This was echoed in my findings, as the children were simply spending more time with mothers than fathers. Therefore, a positive of the absent father was that mothers were building stronger bonds with their children.

However, a surprising note was that students with absent fathers while on the score of ‘quite close’ and ‘very close’ to mothers added up to 95% in total, on the measure ‘very close to mother’ – only 68% of students with absent fathers reported being ‘very close’ to their mother. For students in two-parent households, 87% reported being ‘very close’ to their mothers, almost 20% more. This is surprising as I imagined the girls without their fathers around would feel ‘very close’ to their mothers, but the results suggested otherwise. This distinction will be discussed in more detail below.

4.4.3. My results: Closeness to siblings

In the 2005 Yeung report, 31% of satellite children reported being a single child. My hypothesis at the beginning of the research was that satellite children (from China) were more likely to be the only child at home due to China’s one-child policy, compounding feelings of loneliness. Although the 35 year long one-child policy was relaxed in China in 2016 (family can now have two children), from my survey results, 23% of children with fathers born in China are single children, compared to 12% of children with fathers not born in China. In other words, almost 1 in 4 of children in Chinese migrant households were an only child. However, that was still three-quarters of the satellite children with siblings in the household.

From the Pe-Pua et. al. report, astronaut children stated feeling closer to their siblings due to not having the option of the extended family and being the family members “left in Australia”. The Yeung 2005 report talked about why respondents felt closer to siblings as they were easier to talk to than their parents, and again, they bonded over the same feelings of being in the astronaut family. However, my results showed that the astronaut children (girls only) were not closer to their sisters compared to ‘complete’ families and certainly not close to their brothers.

In the interviews, the participants did mention their sisters, but it seemed they rarely did things together as a family as each child was pursuing their own co-curricular activities, doing homework, attending tutoring and had generally busy lives outside of

school (that often did not involve the siblings). Also, for Katie, there was competition for her father's attention when the father was back in the household, and she boasted that her father liked her more than her sister.

> Katie: My mom and dad had talked about how my dad likes me more because my academic results are better than my sister's.

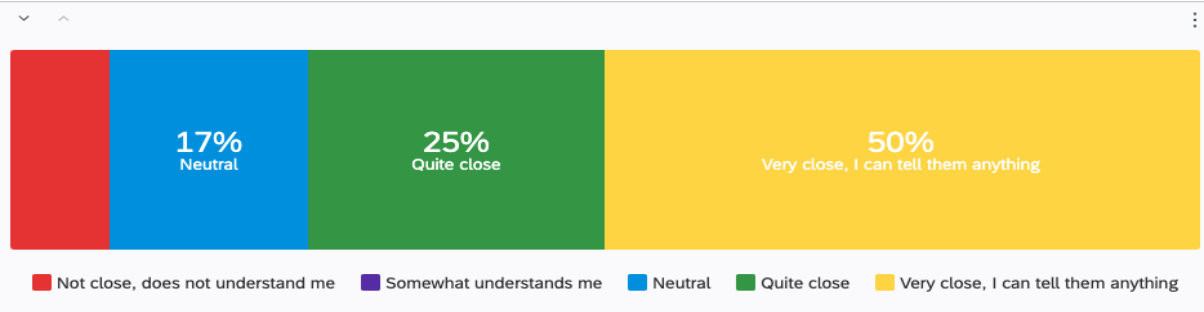
Closeness to sisters

Combining the 'quite close' and 'very close' scores, only 75% of satellite children stated feeling close to their sisters, compared to 100% of children in complete households (see Figure 4.5.). This is surprising, considering the Pe-Pua et. al. reports, but it was reflected by my interviewees who seldom talked of their sisters, and the only time was Katie who spoke of her sister in a competitive tone.

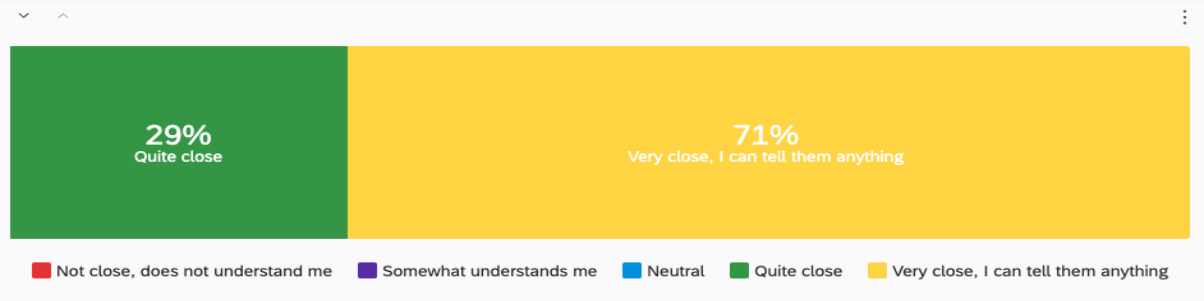
Figure 4.5.

Closeness to sisters (students with absent fathers vs resident fathers)

Students with fathers from China who lives with them sometimes or not at all (absent fathers):



Students with fathers from China who lives with them all the time (resident fathers):



Source: The author's survey results, 2020

Closeness to brothers

Looking at the self-reported closeness to brothers, the satellite children with absent fathers were not close at all to their brothers. Firstly, the number of students with absent fathers from China, with brothers was quite small (n=12), but still of these 12 students 5 said they were 'not close' to their brothers. My results showed a huge 42% that reported 'not close' to brothers. (see Figure 4.4.) One of the satellite children, Erica hinted that she had a good relationship with her younger brother. The other, Chloe reported that she had no relationship with her older brother as he was a weekly boarder.

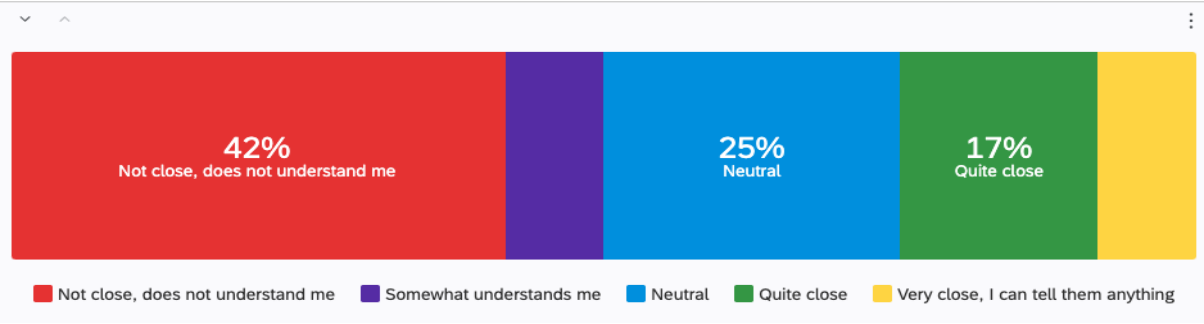
> Chloe: I only see him two times (a week). I see him for dinner on Saturday, then on the next day I see him again for dinner on Sunday, then they drive off (back to his boarding house).

The Pe-Pua et. al. report shed some light on the experience of satellite children who are boys. While they also missed their fathers, they felt resentment at being made to take on the role of the man in the household. And since the mother and daughter became very close in the astronaut family arrangement, it perhaps alienated the boy in the household further due to the strong mother – daughter bond. For further research, it would be interesting to study astronaut children that were boys to compare to my results which were only of girls.

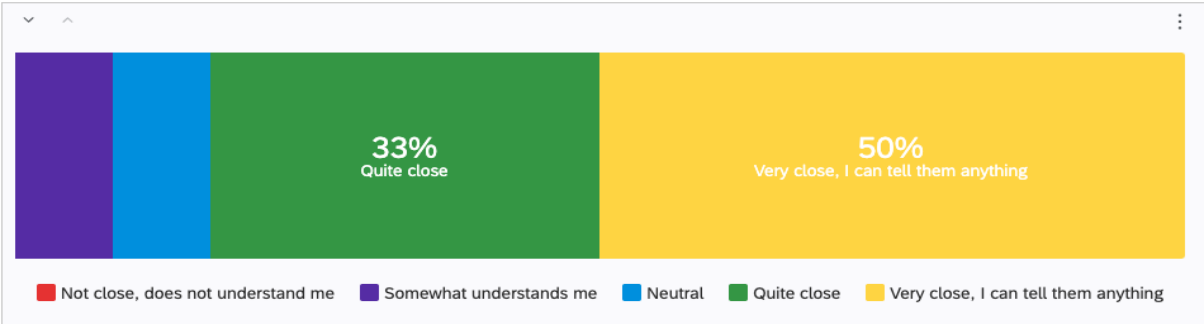
Figure 4.6.

Closeness to brothers (students with absent fathers vs resident fathers)

Students with fathers from China who lives with them sometimes or not at all (absent fathers):



Students with fathers from China who lives with them all the time (resident fathers):



Source: The author's survey results, 2020

In summary, the satellite children (girls in my study), compared to girls with resident fathers were less close to their fathers, slightly closer to their mothers and less close to their siblings. Some researchers have theorised that since Chinese parent-child communication can be 'lecturing' and emotionally unsupportive, the children may prefer to keep their thoughts and feelings to themselves (Chen et al., 2000) or share emotions with peers or somebody who will validate their feelings. (Shih, 1998). Below I compared if satellite children feel closer to their friends (peers) or somebody who will validate their feelings (for example teachers).

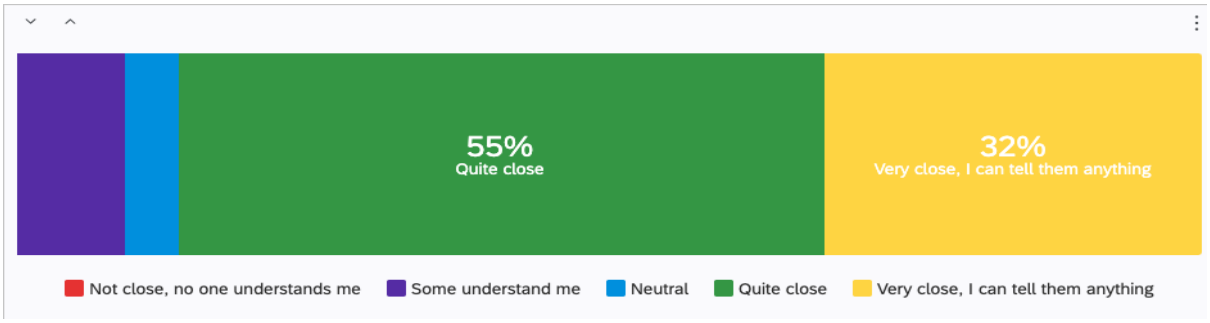
4.4.4. My results: Closeness to friends

Positively, in my results, the satellite children did report being marginally closer to their friends (87%) than children with resident fathers (82%), inferring that they perhaps did choose to share emotions with peers rather than with the absent father or their siblings (see Figure 4.7.). Like Yeung, our satellite children did not report having difficulties making friends in Australia. They had a mix of Chinese and non-Chinese friends and language barrier was not an issue since the girls were all English proficient.

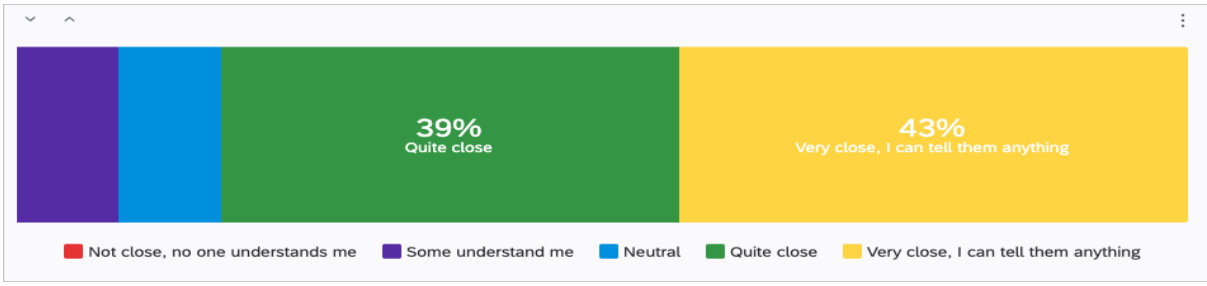
Figure 4.7.

Closeness to friends (students with absent fathers vs resident fathers)

Students with fathers from China who lives with them sometimes or not at all (absent fathers):



Students with fathers from China who lives with them all the time (resident fathers):



Source: The author's survey results, 2020

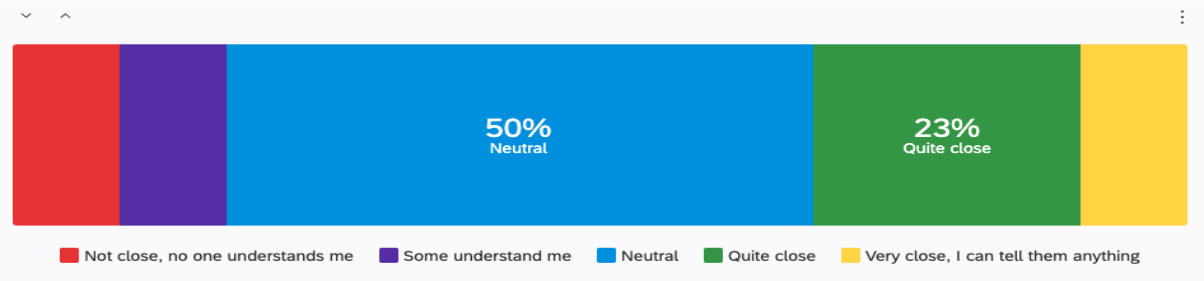
4.4.5. My results: Closeness to teachers

However, the students with resident fathers reported being closer to teachers than girls with absent fathers. My results did not show satellite children reaching out to confide in teachers, with 50% having neutral feelings for their teachers (see Figure 4.8.).

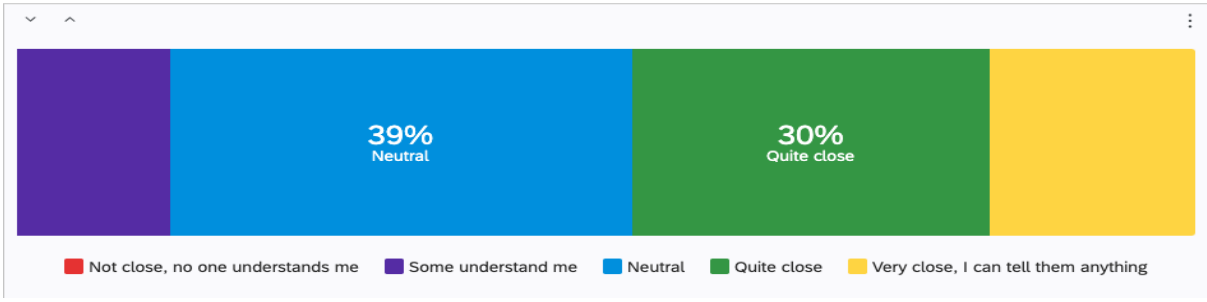
Figure 4.8.

Closeness to teachers (students with absent fathers vs resident fathers)

Students with fathers from China who lives with them sometimes or not at all (absent fathers):



Students with fathers from China who lives with them all the time (resident fathers):



Source: The author's survey results, 2020

In summary for the measures of closeness (see Table 4.3), my results did concur with Pe-Pua et. al. report that satellite children felt closest to their mothers, with some positive signs that they reached out to friends for psychological support.

However, it negated the Pe-Pua et. al. report in feelings of closeness to siblings. Those with absent fathers reported feeling less close to siblings, in particular brothers, than those children with fathers that lived with them all the time.

Table 4.3

Closeness to others of students with absent fathers vs students with resident fathers

		Fathers born in China	
		Children with Absent Fathers	Children with Resident Fathers
Child reported closeness "Quite close" and "Very close"to	Fathers	72%	100%
	Mothers	95%	91%
	Sisters	75%	100%
	Brothers	25%	83%
	Friends	87%	82%
	Teachers	32%	47%

Source: The author's survey results, 2020

One measure of closeness that was not measured in the survey was closeness to the family helper / nanny, called the 'ayi'. Many families in China employ a family helper who helps with domestic chores, cooking and childcare. As it is not very expensive to employ an ayi, it is a common practice among middle-to-upper-class families in China, with some families even having more than one. It is also common practice for the ayis (who were often migrant workers from rural provinces) to live with the family and become very close, especially with the children they take care of. In the interviews, the girls spoke very fondly of their ayis. For Abby and Katie, they have had the same ayi since they were born. The girls felt very close to them, as they are part of the family, in daily proximity but did not carry the expectation and 'lecturing' of the parents.

> Katie: She comes like, really early, like eight o'clock in the morning. And then she leaves at seven (in the evening). She cooks dinner and she looks after the house.

The ayi like grandparents and other extended family were part of the loss of kinship (Li, 2018) upon migration. While I have heard of ayis living with families in our school community, it was quite rare. More frequently it was grandparents who lived with the astronaut family and helped with the household and childcare. The reason being it would be easier to obtain a visa for extended family rather than for an ayi who was in legal terms an employee of the family.

4.4.6. The absent father and attachment theory

An interesting point worth exploring further is why the satellite children's responses to feeling "very close to" was in every category, lower than children with resident fathers. As stated above, if combining the 'quite close" and "very close" percentages, the satellite children in my study reported to being closer to mothers, and friends than children of complete families. This is understandable, as explained, with the father absent, the child is more likely to be closest to the present mother, and possibly to friends who they can confide in. However, if we were to look at only "very close" reports, satellite children still report significantly lower percentages to being 'very close" to anybody in their micro-system (see Table 4.4.). This is quite alarming.

Table 4.4

'Very close' to others: students with absent fathers vs students with resident fathers

		Fathers born in China	
		Children with Absent Fathers	Children with Resident Fathers
Child reported closeness "Very close"to	Fathers	45%	74%
	Mothers	68%	87%
	Sisters	50%	71%
	Brothers	8%	50%
	Friends	32%	43%
	Teachers	9%	17%

Source: The author's survey results, 2020

One reason could be linked with the child's ability to form secure attachments. Attachment theory suggests that all humans have a strong desire to forge bonds with their parents or caregivers as children, especially when they feel distressed or overly challenged and that long-term parent-child separations can have damaging effects on the child (Bowlby, 1979). Because most migration experiences are stressful and challenging, it is useful to look at how attachment contributes to youth adjustment (Juang et al., 2018).

Psychologists describe four attachment styles: (1) secure (2) anxious-avoidant, (3) anxious-resistant, and (4) disorganised (Ainsworth et al.,1978; Main & Solomon, 1986). Children who are securely attached develop stronger self-esteem, perform better at school, have strong social relationships, and experience problems from depression and anxiety. Securely attached children seek ***closeness*** with their attachment figure when distressed. These children know that if they show negative emotions, their caregiver will try to comfort them.

Children who have anxious-avoidant attachments do not seek contact with their caregivers, as they know they will get a negative reaction from the caregivers. These children instead avoid or distract themselves (Ainsworth et al., 1978) to not over-burden or annoy the caregiver. Anxious-resistant children cling onto caregivers as they have learnt they cannot always count on their caregivers for comfort when

distressed and they act out even more to get the caregivers' attention. Disorganised attachment relationships display odd or atypical behaviours when distressed as they have no coherent strategy to regulate their negative emotions (Lyons-Ruth & Jacobvitz, 2016). These children often display oppositional or aggressive behaviours (Benoit, 2004).

There are more studies around attachment styles and *how* and *when* children engage in proximity maintenance (Sroufe & Waters, 1977) and also the consequences for the child's "formation and quality of relationships well beyond the caregiver, including those with close friends, non-family members such as teachers, and eventually romantic partners (Simpson & Rholes, 2012).

One satellite child Abby, possibly exhibited 'anxious-avoidant' attachment when she discussed her friends:

> Abby: *I have a friend from every single friendship group, I can just float around. I don't like to be in stable friendship groups, because if you have like a problem with friends, they'll actually really, really, really stress you out. …It's a bit mean to say, but I get bored of friends. You know, everything about them and you just don't get that sense of freshness.*

Abby also possibly had signs of anxious-avoidant attachment when she said she did not want to spend time with her absent father, even when they met.

> Abby: I don't want stuff. You just need to bring me to my (Chinese theme park). Yeah, just give me a few dollars, I can go over myself.

Understanding why the children with absent fathers report lower instances of closeness to everyone in their micro-system compared to children in complete

families requires further research with perhaps paediatric psychologists, and is beyond the scope of this study.

There have been many studies on how migration brings stress to the family unit (Juang, Syed & Takagi, 2007; Titzmann et al., 2011) and specifically on long-term separation of family members (Suárez-Orozco et al., 2011). Children who have experienced separation report higher anxiety and more depressive symptoms, and longer separations may result in children feeling less connected to their parents (Suárez-Orozco & Suarez-Orozco, 2009). The conclusion is that the longer the separation, the greater the toll on the attachment relationship with parents. Other researchers have reported the huge emotional loss between parents and their children is the price of migration (Basch et al., 1994; Waters, 2002).

In addition to the separation of the child and parent, the adjustment for the remaining parent responsible for child-rearing may result in the parent feeling stressed or overworked and therefore psychologically unavailable to their children (Athey & Ahearn, 1991). These factors may also affect the attachment behaviours of the child such as the above mentioned anxious-avoidant strategy.

However, we must remember the process of migration is not only negative for the child; positive outcomes or “uplifts” include, becoming bilingual, developing inter-ethnic friendships and inter-cultural competencies, as well as a better life (Tizmann & Lee, 2018, Suarez-Orozco et al., 2018) and securely attached children, with close ties family and to friends will adapt to migration challenges much better. (Juang et al., 2007). Given the importance of attachment theory for child development, it would be wise to conduct further research focusing on the impact of the astronaut family arrangement on children’s ability to develop and maintain secure attachment and close emotional relationships to people in their micro-system.

4.5. Strengths and difficulties of satellite children

As discussed earlier, the wellbeing tool used to measure student wellbeing was the self-report Strengths and Difficulties Questionnaire. In analysing the scores, the higher the total difficulties scores, the more difficulties the child is experiencing; school counsellors are concerned if students are in 'borderline' to 'abnormal' scores.

	Normal	Borderline	Abnormal
Total Difficulties Scores	0 - 15	16 - 19	20 - 40

As we can see from the below Table 4.5, for students who are children of migrants, (ie parents were born outside of Australia), for the five girls who scored in the 'abnormal' range for the total difficulties score, four of them had absent fathers (who lived with them 'sometimes' or 'not at all' in term time.)

Table 4.5

Students with 'abnormal' SDQ difficulties scores and absent father status

	ABNORMAL		Internalised Behaviours	Internalised Behaviours	Externalised Behaviours	Externalised Behaviours
	Total Difficulties Score	Absent Father	**Emotional problems scale**	**Peer problem scale**	**Conduct problem scale**	**Hyperactivity scale**
Student A	25	**Yes**	Borderline	Abnormal	Abnormal	Normal
Student B	22	**Yes**	Abnormal	Borderline	Normal	Abnormal
Student C	20	**Yes**	Normal	Normal	Abnormal	Abnormal
Student D	20	No	Borderline	Normal	Abnormal	Borderline
Student E	20	**Yes**	Abnormal	Normal	Borderline	Normal

Source: The author's survey results, 2020

While I cannot say there is a causation, there is a strong correlation of absent fathers to students with abnormal total difficulties scores. Of the four students with absent fathers, all scored in the abnormal range for internalised and externalised behaviours.

These girls self-reported externalised behaviours such as hyperactivity, restlessness, and being angry and fighting. These symptoms are signs that mothers or teachers could watch out for while the father is absent. A study in 1999 of Hong Kong astronaut families conducted by Sheppard, an ESL teacher, described similar family arrangements to my research site, despite the study being in Ontario, Canada and on Hong Kong families. Sheppard noticed when fathers had returned to the household that the children came to school more emotionally heightened and sometimes nervous. This was coupled with a release or a sadness when the father left again. Such was the disruption to the household of the return and subsequent departure of the astronaut parent; and the mixed feelings for the satellite child.

The students in my study also reported internalised feelings such as being worried, feeling nervous, or having difficulties making and keeping friends. These perhaps conformed to the image of Chinese students being the ‘model minority” where they didn’t ‘act out’ or externalise their difficulties.

In comparison, among the girls with ‘borderline’ wellbeing scores, only 1 out of 7 had an absent father (see Table 4.6.). This suggests strong correlation between absent fathers and self-reported difficulties in the abnormal group. (Although some of the girls in the borderline group also scored in the abnormal range for some behaviours, it cannot be attributed to having an absent father.)

Table 4.6

Students with 'borderline' SDQ difficulties scores and absent father status

	BORDERLINE		Internalised Behaviours	Internalised Behaviours	Externalised Behaviours	Externalised Behaviours
	Total Difficulties Score	Absent Father	**Emotional problems scale**	**Peer problem scale**	**Conduct problem scale**	**Hyperactivity scale**
Student F	19	No	Normal	Normal	Abnormal	Abnormal
Student G	19	No	Abnormal	Normal	Borderline	Abnormal
Student H	18	No	Normal	Normal	Abnormal	Abnormal
Student I	17	**Yes**	Borderline	Borderline	Normal	Normal
Student J	17	No	Normal	Normal	Normal	Abnormal
Student K	16	No	Normal	Normal	Abnormal	Abnormal
Student L	16	No	Normal	Borderline	Abnormal	Normal

Source: The author's survey results, 2020

4.5.1. Protective practices: active involvement of absent fathers!

A study by Gold et al (2020) found that a father's involvement (closeness and engagement) with a child in middle childhood may reduce adolescents' internalizing and externalising behaviours. However, the authors differentiated between a father's presence versus his active involvement, meaning if a father is involved with the child, even if they are not living together, there are protective associations for adolescent outcomes.

Fathers contribute to their children's wellbeing both financially and through engagement. Engagement is defined as spending time with the child (M. J. Carlson,

2006; Thomson et al., 1994), interacting and being available. For example, regular contact builds trust for the child to discuss problems (e.g trouble at school) rather than acting out. An involved father is more likely to notice the above internalised and externalised behaviours and offer help. A meta-analysis of 63 studies of non-residential fathers by Amato and Gilbreth (1999), found that feelings of father-child closeness and authoritative parenting were associated with lower internalizing and externalising behaviours and improved children's academic success. In other words, it was not the frequency of visitations that was linked to positive child wellbeing, but rather the feeling of closeness and the father providing emotional support and discipline when necessary.

The fathers in the interviewed children's lives all seemed like distant figures, whether they were resident or non-resident with the child. The families had gendered roles, where the father was the breadwinner, and the wife and child accepted that his primary role was to work and provide for the family. Of the six girls interviewed, only two mothers worked. Similarly, in Yeung's 2005 study, 81% of the mothers were housewives. This mirrored the Pe-Pua et. al. findings where the adults believed the absence of one parent had little effect on the child, since before migrating from Hong Kong, the father spent little time with the children due to his work schedule. Despite the co-residence of fathers, they were perhaps present but not involved.

> Abby: Even when I was in China, he (dad) loves his work like he's obsessed with it. And he travels a lot. I'm used to him not being here.

Although Hana and Anika lived with their fathers, they were still distant figures.

> Hana: I see him quite a lot less. Usually I'll stay up because he's coming home from work earlier now; I see him just before I go to bed.

> Anika: I don't actually see him a lot. I don't see him leave in the morning. I don't see him for the entire day. I don't see him at night, because he comes late at night. He does late nights, probably 11 o'clock to 12 o'clock. He has a long time at work…but I'm still close to dad.

Of the six girls interviewed, one girl Chloe had almost no relationship with her dad:

> Chloe: I didn't see him for over a year now. Sometimes I just forget that dad exists.

Few of the satellite children talked about the fun times or the relationships they had with their fathers. This was similar to Li's report of Mainland satellite children who rarely talked with their fathers about friendships, hobbies, pop culture or current events. Talking about school was the only safe and common topic between the absent fathers and children (Li, 2018).

Abby mentioned wanting money from dad, so she could go to a theme park. This also echoed the Pe-Pua et. al. report where the father was seen simply as a 'bringer of gifts". This again is a traditional gendered role of the father, where the division of labour in a transnational migrant household is that the father was the 'good provider', whereas the mother did the emotional work of caring for the family (Salazar Parrenas, 2008).

Only Katie talked about her father fondly. She was nervous when he left and missed him when he was in China. She exhibited feelings of wanting a complete family like the some of the respondents in the 1996 Pe-Pua et. al. report.

> Katie: It would be much better if my grandma,grandpa and my dad were here.

Despite the Amato and Gilbreth report (1999) that stressed the importance of the quality rather than the quantity of contact between the absent father and the child, in my interviews I sensed the closeness between the child and the absent father was associated with the frequency of contact. Unlike in 1999, cheaper air travel, email, social media gave our new astronaut families many more options to keep in touch with the absent father.

For Katie who was closest to her father, they facetimed every day at the same time.

> Katie's mum: We speak every day, at the same time, He will Facetime us. They will say every night, I miss you. Dad will feel so sweet.

For Abby it was three times a week, for Chloe, it was more like once every two weeks. Of the three, Katie was closest, and Chloe the least, suggesting a correlation between closeness with the father and the frequency of communication. Before the parent-child could have 'quality' time, they needed to at least have time together, even if it was via the phone. This strongly concurred with Yeung's 2005 report on why some satellite children's relationships with fathers were improved despite the separation: the top reason (56%) was that "communication was improved and more frequent" (p.102), followed by 20% who gave the reason as the father was "more supportive and care more evident" (p.102).

The mothers interviewed were aware of the growing distance between the father and the child due to their astronaut arrangement.

> Abby's mum: I have to say that I have to facilitate the discussion (between her children and the absent father). So I try to do this, because dad is very busy as well. They were quite close when we were in China. This is a big discussion point between my husband and I…

In Li's 2018 report, the satellite children reported trying to talk about difficult issues with the father, with the mother mediating from the sidelines. The male child reported awkward silences and language barriers that kept the father and son from airing out their differences; also the loss of connection due to the long absences of the father.

Erica's parents had tried to keep the family together, but it was still financially more secure for the father to work in China.

> Erica's mum: I wasn't very sure if it works, but just happened. Yeah, it's hard (astronaut parenting)... Before we moved here, I was thinking we can invest in like small business in Australia, like a café or a newsagency. We can be flexible, you can look after the family, then if financially we are okay, he doesn't have to continue that business in China. But that didn't work out. What you think, it is quite different from what is the reality

Erica's family's decision to practise the astronaut arrangement mirrored Yeung's study in 2005, that some families chose this arrangement out of economic reasons. If parents could not find work in Canada that afforded them financial security and a standard of living, they feared it would affect their satellite children's psychological well-being (Yeung, 2005 quoting Shek, 2003). So, in fact, family dispersal and living with a sometimes absent father was the lesser evil than financial instability for the family.

4.5.2. Consequences for the family unit

In the literature, the consequences of an absent father are many (McLanahan & Teitler,1999). Children with absent fathers have poorer outcomes such as lower educational attainment; lower labour force participation and earnings due mainly to the lack of economic resources from a one-parent earning household. This scenario is unlikely to affect our wealthy astronaut families.

The second consequence of absent fathers is the loss of parental resources. With only the mother single-parenting most of the time while the father was in China, there was one less parent to read to the child, discuss problems, help with homework or enforce discipline. From my data, we can see astronaut families, with only the mother parenting, they almost never helped the child with homework (see Table 4.7.). This could be due to lack of time, since the single mother must manage the household alone.

> Katie: (Mum) she's very busy. She has to do everything herself, because somethings we can't help her with, like cooking and doing things. Every day, it's really busy because I have a lot of after-school activities. Also she has to stay home and look after my younger sister.

Table 4.7

Homework help: students with absent fathers versus resident fathers

Survey Q: Do your parents/carers help with your homework?	**every day**	**most days**	**once in awhile**	**never**
Students with fathers from China who lives with them sometimes or not at all (absent fathers):	0%	9%	22%	68%
Students with fathers from China who lives with them all of the time (resident fathers):	4%	17%	39%	39%

Source: The author's survey results, 2020

In addition, forced to be both the mother and father, single mothers may experience high levels of stress which may undermine their attempts at good parenting. As a

result, the mothers may become too lenient or too strict (McLanahan & Teitler, 1999).

> Katie's mum: Her father is very nice to her. He is more patient than me. I have a temper. I feel more urgent, more impatient.

Contrary to other reports of transnational fathers parenting from a distance and the gendered role of the authoritarian father (Salazar-Parrenas, 2008), the absent fathers in my study seemed to take on the role of the 'good guy', since they are not around and did not take on the traditional Chinese role of disciplinarian. The lone mother must be at once the soft nurturing mother and the disciplinarian father (Pe-Pua et. al., 1996):

> Erica: If dad sees me do something wrong, he is like "Oh don't do that. Go do your work" Not in a strict way, but in a more relaxed way. But then my mum is like "What are you doing? Go back to work!"

> Chloe: He's (my father) not that strict with everything, you know? He just has that sense of freedom!!!

The absence of a father affects the checks and balances in the household, what Hetherington (1992) calls "parental buffering". Chloe lived only with her mother, and when her mother got angry with her, she had no one to turn to.

> Chloe: Normally when I'm sad... I just go on the toilet and watch my phone. As the toilet is the only door that I can lock.

It was obvious that Chloe did not have a relationship with her absent father to 'buffer" the difficulties she had with her mother. She noticeably was also not close to her brother since he was much older and at boarding school.

Looking toward the longer-term impacts of absent parents, our astronaut families need to be aware that alienation between a child and her parents may come developmentally with adolescence but is also more pronounced in an immigrant family. (Qin, 2006) This is due to 'dissonant acculturation' (Portes & Rumbaut, 2005) whereby after migration, a child adapts to the new culture much faster than the parents. The parents may still hold onto behaviours from China, but the dissonance occurs when the child compares their parents to what they see in Australia. This alienation may be further aggravated as the child loses heritage language and finds it hard to communicate with her parents. On top of Qin's 'dual frame of reference' if we add into the mix, fathers who are separated from the child physically and emotionally, we could assume the effects seen here of child-father distance in primary-age children may increase over time.

In summary, fathers and mothers can take a more active role to mitigate the negative effects of the astronaut family arrangement on the child's wellbeing. Fathers can be in contact more regularly with their children and be more actively 'fathering' by showing care and being there emotionally for the child even if they are not able to be physically in the same country.

4.6. Conclusion to chapter

The astronaut family arrangement has been a migration practice used in particular by Chinese families since western nations like Canada, US, Australia and New Zealand changed previously racist immigration policies to ones based on migrant skills and investments. The confluence of rising riches in Chinese families first from Hong Kong and Taiwan in the 1990s led to a well-documented phenomenon of astronaut families and satellite children from these sending places. The result from

my research showed the practice has not abated, and twenty years on in Sydney, we see the trend among Mainland Chinese families, with almost 50% of the studied cohort of Chinese households with absent fathers. While previous studies focused mostly on adolescents, my results showed that astronaut parenting is occurring with younger children: from kindergarten upwards. Astronaut parenting also exists in other Asian households like Korean and Indian, but not to the same extent as Chinese families. In lieu of an absent father, grandparents tend to be more present in the households to help the lone mother.

Although many social theorists argue that family dispersal is a logical extension of migration (Man 1995; 2013, Skeldon, 1994; Waters, 2001; Tsang et al.,2003), my results showed that the absent father does come at a cost to the children. The satellite children are less close to their fathers (72%) than children from complete families (100%), or children from divorced or separated families (93%). The positive side of the absent father means the mother and daughter relationships are much closer and stronger. Interestingly, the satellite children also feel closer to friends (87%) compared to sisters (75%), with perhaps some sibling rivalry for the absent father's attention. An area for possible further research is the attachment systems of satellite children, with my results showing less feelings of being 'very close" to anyone in the child's micro-systems from parents, siblings, friends and teachers, compared to children from complete families.

From the Strengths and Difficulties scores, there is a strong association of self-reported difficulties by students with absent fathers. With girls reporting externalised behaviours such as hyperactivity, restlessness, and being angry; and also internalised feelings such as being worried, feeling nervous, or having difficulties making and keeping friends.

It is important for families to realise that while the father is not physically present, by him being engaged, having regular communications with the child, an involved father can still contribute to a child's wellbeing. The fathers could take on more of the

emotional care work of fathering rather than just seeing themselves as the ‘good provider’. Although the astronaut arrangement has been adopted by the family for the benefit of the children, it would be a shame for the family to lose cohesion and affect the children’s relationship with the father for the gains of a western education. The pressures of the astronaut family on the father has not been explored in this study, but it would be worthwhile to understand the effects on each actor in the arrangement. In the same way, although the mothers did mention the burden of often being the sole-parent in a new country, their resilience, sacrifice and coping strategies have not been greatly explored in this study.

The children in my study may have been too young to reflect or verbalise clearly the effect of the absent father on them, accepting the split-household as normalised. However, from the high SDQ difficulties scores and interview comments indicating anger, distance and a sense of loss, I would conclude that astronaut parenting had some negative effects on child wellbeing.

The reflective analysis of adult satellite children (Tsong et al., 2021) unanimously said they would not choose that way of living for their own families, and although they recognised the sacrifice of the parents, they felt the toll on their wellbeing and the family unit was not worth the price.

CHAPTER 5 High Parental Expectations and the Effect on Child Wellbeing

This last chapter examines parenting practices of these wealthy, hypermobile migrant mothers and fathers and the effect on the children. Chapter 3 explained the arrangements and attitudes of the 'flexible citizenship' family. Migration clearly had an effect on the wellbeing of the children as they learned to acculturate to their new country and school. Chapter 4 investigated the astronaut families twenty years on, how the absent father arrangement worked and its effects on the child. This last chapter examines the relationship between parental expectations and the wellbeing of the child.

From my interviews with the six students, one key theme that came from the ground up was the weight of parental expectations. The girls talked about expectations from their migrant parents to not just adapt to their new school but get As; to attend tutoring classes in the afternoons, evenings and weekends; to get into the best teams in sports; to practise piano for many hours.

This chapter seeks to understand why migrant and Asian parents have high expectations for their children. What exactly were these expectations? And finally, while there has been a lot of research on the positive association between high parental expectations and high academic outcome (Danişman, 2017; Yamamoto & Holloway, 2010; Zhan, 2006*)*, I would like to probe into how these high expectations affect the child's wellbeing.

In the not-so-distant past, children were seen as economic assets: an extra body to help with the harvest, and for girls, a daughter to be married off for the family to ascend a social class. Fast forward to Australia today, with global competition, many migrant parents accept the neo-liberal culture of meritocracy, that individuals are responsible for their own success through 'self-sufficiency, enterprise and hard work"

(Ho, 2020). The parents have adapted child-rearing practices to secure a future for their children through ‘concerted cultivation’ (Lareau, 2011) where the child’s potential and talents must be developed at every turn. Parental expectations are high to ensure the child gains skills and attributes that enable them to live similar if not better adult lives of transnational mobility and wealth as their parents. Parents must manage where they live, where the child goes to school, what activities the child does, as childhood is now the ‘site of investments towards a secure future’ (Lee Atterberry, 2021 p.806). For the transnational affluent class, the mother’s investment can be described by Sharon Hays’ concept of *intensive mothering* (1996) as “child-centered, emotionally absorbing, labor-intensive, and financially expensive”.

5.1. Defining parental expectations

The term parental expectation is defined as parents’ beliefs and judgements about their child’s future achievements in terms of school grades and level of education completion (Alexander et al. 1994; Glick and White 2004; Goldenberg et al. 2001). Parental expectations differ from parental aspirations, which can be defined as idealistic goals or wishes for their child’s future rather what they realistically believe the child will achieve (Dockery, et al, 2022).

Many studies have shown the positive association between high parental expectations and student achievement (Danişman, 2017; Yamamoto & Holloway, 2016; Zhan, 2006), however some have also made the association between intense parental expectations and damage to the adolescents’ psychological wellbeing (Ma et al, 2018). When high parental expectations are not fulfilled, the parents may come down hard on the child, which then may cause stress and depression in adolescents (Ang & Huan, 2006; DiBartolo & Rendon, 2012). Findings have documented the shame Asian students feel due to their academic ‘underachievement’ and the conflict that it causes among families (Lee & Zhou, 2014) whose children do not fulfil the stereotype or ‘success frame’ of the high-achieving Asian student.

Yamamoto and Holloway (2010) have attempted to explain how parental expectations influence a child's academic performance, broken down into four aspects of 1. child motivation, 2. self-efficacy beliefs, 3. parental involvement and 4. teachers' positive evaluation. These will now be discussed in turn.

Based on the ecological systems theory (Bronfenbrenner, 1996), a child's development is strongly influenced by people in their immediate circle, and one of those actors is of course his/her parents. Therefore, if a parent has high expectations for the child, the child soon understands that the parent values his/her achievements; and in turn internalises the parent's expectations and is motivated to achieve that success. In other words, the child whose parents have high expectations, adopts those high expectations for him/herself, which motivates the child to work hard at school.

Secondly, self-efficacy is the belief that we can control our own efforts and behaviours (Bandura, 1977). Researchers have explained that a child's self-concept of ability can be cultivated by positive feedback, especially from parents (Gniewosz, et al., 2015; Pesu, Aunola, Viljaranta, & Nurmi, 2016). Parents with high expectations are more likely to give their child encouragement and feedback, which builds self-efficacy, which then drives academic achievement (Ma et al, 2018).

Lastly, parents can influence others within Bronfenbrenner's (1996) ecological model, such as teachers. Parents with high expectations for their child's academic success are more likely to be involved in their child's education, such as helping with homework and provide more educational resources (Englund et al, 2004; Long & Pang, 2016; Simpkins et al., 2012); as well seek support from school and teachers for their child. In all three ways, we can see how parental involvement in a child's education can drive a child's self-motivation, self-efficacy and teachers' behaviours too. These all work in pushing a child academically. Coupled with this, schools and

teachers who communicate high expectations for children, also influence their students to perform better academically (Yamamoto & Holloway, 2010).

5.1.1. Asian parents and parental expectations

Studies have shown that Asian American parents are more likely to hold higher expectations than parents from other ethnic groups (Peng & Wright, 1994; DiBartolo & Rendon, 2012; Qin, 2008). Parents from a Chinese background may have high demands on the child's academic success due to strong cultural norms among Chinese parents. Following Chinese Confucian teaching, if a child fails academically, it is a sign of poor and irresponsible parenting (Chao, 1994; Kwok & Wong, 2000).

The astronaut parenting arrangement popular among Chinese parents shows at another deep level the ways parents, and especially Chinese mothers, are willing to sacrifice for the education of their children. The 'study mothers' in Singapore stated clearly that their migration was an investment in their child's education and futures; and that their stay in Singapore was purely to accompany their child during their schooling (Huang & Heoh, 2005). In addition, education as a means of upward mobility is deeply ingrained in the Chinese psyche due to the imperial examination system in dynastic China. Therefore, scholars and academic achievement were prized as a way to secure a good future and elevate the family's social status. Although the imperial examination system was finally abolished in 1905, the value of education as a means to success has had long-lasting influence on Asian societies (Huang & Heoh, 2005), even beyond Confucian-influenced societies. For example, this 'ethnic capital' was reported among British Pakistanis, whose children had higher rates of university enrolment compared to their white peers (Shah et al., 2010; Maire & Ho, 2024). The value of education as a means to social mobility was strong among certain ethnic groups, in particular East and South Asians.

With these high parental expectations on academic achievement from Asian parents, research shows that their children were more likely to suffer from poor social and psychological adjustment compared with other ethnic groups (Choi et al., 2013; Qin,

2008). With the combined parent and teachers' expectations to achieve, and the child's own internalised desire to achieve, the weight of expectations can be stressful, and if goals are not met, the child could lose face, self-confidence and/or become anxious (Ang & Huan, 2006). In a Chinese study, students who could not meet their parents' expectations felt shame, hopelessness and worthlessness, feelings associated with depression (Wang et al, 2015). Poor academic results even made some Asian students reject their ethnic identity, given the popular model minority trope of Asians as successful students (Lee & Zhou, 2014).

In addition, the methods that some Asian parents use to compel their child to achieve academically could also affect their children negatively. For example, Chinese parents tend to be more controlling and restrictive than many other parents, which in turn could contribute to the adolescent's stress and negative emotions (Borelli, Margolin, & Rasmussen, 2014; Kwok & Wong, 1999). Chinese parents brought up in the Confucian culture of parenting believe that children who fail to exercise self-control must be taught to behave properly, and as a result, they tend to be authoritarian in their parenting practices (Kwok & Wong, 1999). Also researchers found that Chinese parents expressed their expectations to the child directly, but did not express love or support as openly. In other words, Chinese children may perceive less warmth from their parents (Wu & Chao, 2011). Some researchers found that students' academic achievement was not out of a feeling of self-ability but out of a fear of failure (Yamamoto & Holloway, 2010) and disappointing their parents.

5.1.2. Migrant parents and parental expectations

Immigrants chose to leave their own societies for 'greener pastures' in a new country. Their aspirations for a better future is strongly tied to their current social class (Portes, McLeod, Parker, 1978 p. 243); such that "the higher the past educational, occupational and income attainment, and the greater the knowledge of Englsih, the higher the aspirations". This explains the high aspirations our skilled migrants have on their migratory decision to move to Australia for their children's education. They understand education to be a means of social mobility (Basit, 2012) and this aspirational capital transmitted from parent to child in part makes up for the

loss of social capital re-establishing themselves in a new country. Dockey et al. (2022) have noted how Asian parents have significantly higher expectations for their children's education.

Much has been written about the importance migrants place on education. The children in my study are offspring of hyper-selected skilled migrant parents who are well-educated and well-resourced, and they brought with them a 'success frame' (Lee & Zhou, 2014). The measure of success is framed as earning straight A's, graduating as the high school valedictorian, attaining an advanced degree preferably from a brand name college, and working in either the professional fields of medicine, law, engineering or science.

5.1.3. High socio-economic parents and parental expectations

Many international and Australian studies confirm that parents from a high socio-economic background have higher expectations for their children (Archer et al., 2014; Davis-Kean, 2005; Smyth, 2020; Tan et al., 2019; Wiseman & Zhao, 2022); and in Australia: Koshy et al. (2019) sought to understand parental expectations for attending university; Yu and Daraganova (2014) studied the educational expectations of Australian children and their mothers from the LSAC annual report. The main reason that parents of a high socio-economic class expect their children to do well at school and go on to higher education is to enable the transmission of intergenerational advantage (Dockery et al.,2022). This is especially evident in the investments made by parents in private schooling, with some schools charging tens of thousands of dollars per year in fees. In Australia, 34.4% of students attend catholic and independent schools, i.e. choosing a non-government schools (ABS Schools, 2020). The continual increase in enrolments in these schools is a testament to high socio-economic parents choosing private education over government schools. The parental expectation of transferring advantage through better educational outcomes, and social networks is evident with the connection of private schooling.

In sum, it is no surprise that our skilled Asian migrant parents, of a wealthy socio-economic class have high expectations for their children to succeed academically. We can see that parental expectations can be a double-edged sword: on one hand high parental expectations have a strong association with student motivation and achievement (Ma et al, 2018); on the other hand, the work of Qin (2008) and others with Asian American students tells us that high parental expectations are also associated with student anxiety and depression.

5.2. My results: A survey of parental expectations.

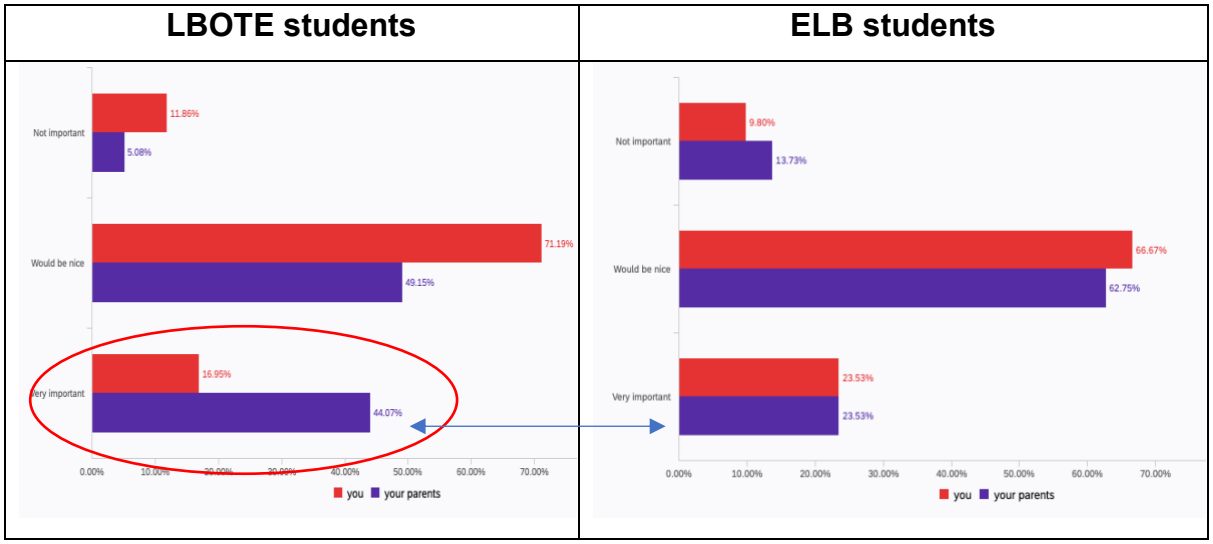
The questionnaire I designed did not set out to ask the children about their parents' expectations, except in two questions: 'How important is receiving a prize in speech day for yourself?' and 'How important is receiving a prize in speech day for your parents?' The speech day award ceremony happens at the end of the school year, where prizes are given out to students with the highest academic achievement, as well as for academic endeavour (effort) and awards for achievements in sports.

My results showed that LBOTE students did not care as much about the prize as their parents did. Interestingly, for ELB students, 9.8% reported the prizes being 'not important' for themselves, but even more reported their parents as not valuing the prizes (13.7%). In other words, English language-only students believed their parents cared less about the prizes than they did themselves.

Among LBOTE students however, 44.0% of children of migrants deemed the speech day prizes as 'very important' for their parents (See Figure 5.1). This far outstripped the child's valuation, with only 16.9% of students deeming it 'very important'. Another key difference was that only 23.5% ELB children said that their parents valued the awards, compared to 44% of LBOTE children. This number supports the literature reviewed earlier that wealthy Asian migrants have higher academic expectations for their children.

Figure 5.1 The importance of speech day prize

How important is getting a prize on speech day to you/ and your parents?



Source: The author's survey results, 2020

To understand what our wealthy Asian migrant parents were expecting of their children, we look to the interview results, with key themes below.

5.2.1. Parental expectations in academic achievement: "at least an A"

All the mothers interviewed cared intensely about their child's schooling and achievement. This was expected as parents at Rosemount were from high socio-economic families. The mothers read the bi-annual student report cards for the 'attainment' grade to measure the child's academic achievement. However, their attitudes about the children's grades echoed the Asian interviewees (Lee & Zhou, 2014) who talked about their parents' "Asian scale", where an A-minus grade is equivalent to an 'Asian F'.

For teachers following the Australian Curriculum, Assessment and Reporting Authority (ACARA) guidelines, a grade C should be given to show a student has demonstrated 'satisfactory achievement' of an Achievement Standard; therefore a '*C rating indicates that a student is performing at the standard expected of students in*

that year group' (ACARA website). Thereby lies a huge disparity between Asian migrant parents' expectations of As, against teachers' expectations that a grade C is perfectly acceptable evidence of achievement. The chasm between parental expectation and teacher expectation is where our students fall. Despite the children doing their best and being told by teachers that they have achieved the standard, a student clutching a report card of Cs returned home to be scolded by their parents for failing at school. This sentiment of failure was clearly expressed by both the children and the mothers interviewed in my study.

> Anika's mum: There was a time in year five, that she was getting all 'C's". I didn't show the report to Dad because he would have been very upset.

This mirrored a study by Yao in 1990 where Chinese immigrant parents expected their children to receive on average As, and "would never be willing to accept 'C's" (quoted in Yang & Zhou, 2008 p 95).

> Abby: If I get a C, my mum will kill me. But if my effort is A, then that's fine.

Three of the six girls I interviewed expressed how important getting the A was and how disappointed they and their parents were when the grades were not As:

> Anika: They look at it (report card) very carefully. They are pretty determined to get me in the B and A section. You could say they're very forceful, when it comes down to these sorts of things.

Not only were the parents concerned that Anika was not achieving good grades, Anika herself - a 10-year-old - also seemed to deeply feel she was to blame for not getting As.

> Anika: When I came in year four, a lot of the studies were pretty easy for me, so I felt ahead. But that year, I didn't study a lot. I studied a few times a day, probably half an hour a day, but it wasn't like every single day I studied. If I have to admit it, I was a bit lazy. I tried to push myself, but often, I don't end up challenging myself enough. I kind of got let down by that. This year I'm determined that I can at least get A grades.

She appeared to embody her parents' expectations and spoke poorly of herself and her laziness. This 'internalising' of parental expectations by adolescents is a motivator for their own academic success (Zhang et al., 2011). However, neither Anika nor her mother spoke of the huge adjustment she had to make in the last year before the interview of moving from the UK to Australia, switching schools, making new friends and starting a new curriculum.

The problem of maintaining or getting the A was easily fixed in the parents' minds: double the effort and send the child to additional classes or to be tutored. The high level of parental expectations was coupled with high parental involvement to provide educational resources to ensure better results. Anika started coaching after her first 'poor' report card, she herself requested it from her parents. Chloe's mother was even more direct:

> Chloe: (I normally get Bs). My mum wants me to get A and then last year, I didn't. I only got like one A and she added two tutors.

The parenting described by Chloe and Anika reflected an ethnic minority parenting style that was at once "high in demandingness and high in responsiveness" (Huang & Gove, 2015). The parents demanded a high score, and if it was not achieved, they were quick to respond by adding extra classes for the child.

The only mother interviewed who did not share this high expectation or high responsiveness was Hana's mum, who was English. She had a laissez-faire attitude towards academics compared to the Asian mums interviewed. This is in line with studies comparing European American parents against Asian-heritage parents, which found European American parents emphasised autonomy and confidence and were more permissive (Choi et al, 2013). Hana's mother's attitude to tutoring was similar to Anglo-Australian parents who were vehemently opposed to tutoring (Ho, 2020), believing it to be 'cheating' and adamant that children should achieve at school on their natural ability.

> Hana's mum: Tutoring? I strongly disagree with it.…to try to get them ahead …I think it is absolute nonsense. If one of them (the children) was struggling with a particular subject, I wouldn't hesitate, so the remedial kind would be fine. I don't even believe in homework in the junior school. Her (Hana's) maths seems a bit weak, but I don't think she needs a tutor for it.

Despite noticing her daughter's weakness in maths, Hana's mother would not address the problem by adding a tutor or being involved in her studies. Those practices seemed to go against her parenting principles of letting the child work it out herself.

5.2.2. Parental expectations in sporting achievement: getting into the 'firsts'

The 'A' was not only demanded for academic subjects. For Abby, a 'B' in PE was enough to send mum off to register her for extra swimming classes:

> Abby: I do swimming now. Because my mum thinks I'm not that good at swimming. And I kind of failed my PE grades because I was bad at swimming and diving. I got a B in last year's report for PE. My mum thinks I'm supposed to get A, for PE.

For other parents, the evidence of achievement is not on the report card, but on the sports field. For Hana, the parental pressure was to do well in sports. Although Hana's mother was not concerned with academics, participation in sports was important to her and her family:

> Hana's mum: Children's sports are really good way to make friends. It's so good for the girls to do a sport. I like the idea of teamwork. Just going outside and running around for an hour, (getting) really tired and training during the week…it's really, really good for you.

Despite her eldest daughter suffering from serious concussion for over a year due to playing rugby, Hana's mum would not stop her children from playing sports, and especially rugby which was a big family sport. She said the children all "adored" rugby and that her daughter Hana was "desperate" to play. Interestingly, Hana didn't espouse the same passion about rugby, and when she spoke of rugby it was not clear if Hana loved rugby or just wanted to do well as it was clearly valued by the family:

> Hana: At home, everyone is so relaxed. We don't get that much pressure, but it's usually for sport, like rugby. Like getting into the firsts. Like the As or Bs (teams) And then like how well you play. My dad plays rugby. Everyone else (all siblings) plays except for my mum.

For Hana, playing sports on Saturdays equalled time with her dad, who she didn't see much during the work week. Her father's feedback and advice boosted Hana's sense of self-efficacy; it was also a chance for the child to bond with her father over a shared interest. However, there was still pressure to achieve, the measure of that was for the child to be in the first team or A team, and to perform well in the games. Children's sports games became a weekly way for parents to visibly see a child's

achievement, and measure against other children (Coakley, 2006). Unlike an end-of-unit test or an end-of-semester report card, a child's performance and achievement in sports are visible and immediate. While sports for young people does have many benefits such as developing teamwork and building fitness, some studies show parents with high expectations for their children on the sports field create high levels of stress and anxiety for young athletes (Merkel, 2013).

5.2.3. Parental expectations for university

For Chinese parents, studies show they expect both their sons and daughters to do well academically and at the very least to go to university (Yang & Zhou, 2008). For the wealthy migrant parents in my study, there was no doubt that their children would go onto tertiary studies, but the question was where:

> Anika's mum: I know that the competition for university is really high... There are more students against every university and every course here in Australia. Because Australia attracts students from New Zealand, China, Indonesia, India - this is the best place in this part of the world. That bothers me. Would she (Anika) have a fair chance? Maybe in England she might have a better chance of admission to a good university.

Hana's parents also talked about multiple possible destinations for tertiary studies, between the usual destinations of the US, UK and Australia. Abby was the same, with an eye on America, China and Australia as possibilities for university. Students whose parents hold high expectations for academic achievement did correlate with higher grades (Davis-Kean 2005; Pearce 2006; Vartanian et al. 2007) and the high likelihood of being college-bound. However for the students in my study, they were not just going to university, but they were aiming at the best, top-tier brands like the ivy-league in the US or Oxford and Cambridge in the UK. There was no talk of the cost of attending these institutions as international students, the tuition alone would be upwards of AUD 30,000 per annum.

> Hana: My sister wants to go to university in England. I think England or America. She wants to go to Oxford.

Although the children surveyed were in Year 5 and quite far from going to university after Year 12, academic achievement even at primary school level was seen as a path to college and to future successful employment. Many Chinese parents believed that in order to get into a good university, the preparation needed to start when the child was young (Lin & Chen, 1995). The parents interviewed all spoke of tertiary education as a given for their children, and for this goal, they needed to lay the foundations even while the children were still in primary school.

5.2.4. Parental expectations for high-status employment

As to be expected for the children of skilled migrants, who themselves are well-educated and came as professionals or investors, the parents held high expectations for their children to pursue high-status employment post-tertiary education.

Anika as the daughter of a skilled doctor, voiced that she may follow in her father's footsteps, and her parents would like it if she pursued a career in medicine. Abby's parents were university-educated professionals who were bilingual and worked in multinationals in China and Australia. She had obviously discussed her university and career goals with her mum. She was articulate – for a 10 year old - in knowing what careers were available and lucrative, and also where her co-curricular robotics activities could take her. She was also possibly regurgitating the 'success frames' her hyper-selected parents had given her for acceptable high-status future jobs:

> Abby: There are two subjects (I may study at university): finance and IT, and also engineering and IT. They're all good subjects. I'll probably choose one of them.

Hana mentioned her parents cared about maths and sports; maths most likely as her father was a banker and could lead to a career in finance. Hana also repeated the cultural models her parents had instilled in her:

> Hana: If you are good at maths and science. Then you can probably get into anywhere (university) because you are smart.

Chloe was doing robotics as an extra-curricular activity, again with an eye on the future. Although her brother was studying architecture to go into the family business, Chloe may have more choice:

> Chloe: I can do whatever I want, but my mum really, really, desperately wants me to do robotics, because that's the only career with a future.

Katie did not talk about university or future job prospects. Could it be that Katie's family was wealthy and would have a business for Katie to inherit? Her mother did not work, and she also did not discuss in the same way the other mothers did about university or future careers.

Abby in the end let herself talk and dreamed a little about her real passion. She wanted to be a camp leader, after having really enjoyed herself at school camp. She mentioned a family friend who, having proven herself capable as a lawyer, and having earned enough money to be financially stable, allowed herself to do something she enjoyed.

> Abby: She worked for a really long time; she earned enough money. And she opened her own camp resort. I can do that. Yeah, I'll earn my money and open up my camp resort as well. And then I can just play.

Abby's dreams were an anomaly in the interviews. All the girls seemed to have 'internalised' their parents' dreams and expectations for them of a high-status job as a banker, doctor, or working in IT. None of the girls (except Abby) mentioned what they wanted to pursue as a career based on their interests and abilities.

5.2.5. Parental expectations to live up to your potential

What if the child or even the parents do not know what a child's dormant ability is? In this case, how does one "unlock the potential within?" The logical course of action would be to expose the child to as many activities as possible, whether it be in robotics, fencing or two musical instruments to uncover their hidden talents.

> Chloe: She (mum) always says I have potential. And she likes making me do things to bring out my potential, even if it's in areas that I don't like but ...

To the affluent families in my study, who possessed abundant financial means, the possibilities to 'discover one's potential' were endless, not bound by money but only by the number of hours in a day. To understand how "potential" drives the busy schedules of children in affluent families, we can use Ong's analogy of why "flexible citizenship" is a burgeoning side effect of globalisation. Ong explains the made-in-heaven-match of "capital-bearing foreigners" eager to park their capital and families with "capital-hungry nation-states" (2022, p. 599) in Western developed countries who are ready to receive their funds in exchange for residency. We can see this symbiotic relationship too at the micro-level between families and extra-curricular providers. To meet the desire of parents wishing to unlock their children's innate talents, "potential-seeking parents" are met with "potential-unveiling providers".

Children were not left alone after school to watch TV or play with siblings, that would be a waste of the child's potential. There is a common belief in Chinese families that

all children have the potential to succeed (Ho, 2020). Every activity thus should contribute to ‘potential-building’. Even playing sports or playing piano was not enough in itself for health or enjoyment of music, it should be done with the end outcome of developing skills in other important areas like brain development or getting into college.

None of the parents expressed any wishes for their child to be a concert pianist (not in line with the acceptable high-status employment for a child’s future or within the success frame!); nor did anyone speak of a love of music. Instead, they insisted their children played the piano and practised it for hours to become smarter, and to develop traits that could cross over to other areas of learning. This was in line with many studies on cultural learning differences. Li demonstrated the act of learning to Chinese adults was marked by “diligence, enduring hardship, persistence and concentration” (Li, 2002). The parents forced their children to practise the piano not for music per se but to learn the skills of enduring hardship and concentration.

> Chloe: I hate it (piano). But I don't like just sitting there for two hours and pressing on the keyboard. She (mum) thinks that piano is good for my brain and makes me smart.

In some ways, their wealth enabled the mother to pursue ‘intensive mothering’, as the mothers often did not work and had the time to organise, drive to extra-curricular activities and the money to pay for it.

There was also a sense that the migrant parents wanted to give their children the best: opportunities they never had. Although Katie’s mum let her stop the violin and switch to the guzheng, she would not let Katie give up the piano. Katie’s mum regretted she had never learnt to play an instrument and Katie felt guilty that she now has all the opportunities her mother did not have growing up in China. Katie was also empathetic to her mother's wishes and the amount of work she had done to find teachers, book the exam etc. Her mother, in her interview, was quick to say how

non-domineering she was, in that if her children lost interest in something, she was happy for them to give it up, like the violin. Interestingly, Katie actually explained the dispute, while her mother did not mention it:

> Katie: I want to do everything (all my activities) but piano. But my mum only cares about piano, because she said that one of her biggest regrets is not learning an instrument. I've already been playing the piano since I was in kindy. Right now. I'm in grade six, she doesn't really want me to give up now. But then she said that, once I get to grade eight, I can stop if I want to. My mum spent so much time booking the piano lessons…. so I don't know if I actually want to quit but it's really busy. I have to practice piano every day.

Playing and practising the piano was not something Katie wanted to do, so it was a source of contention for Katie. She was very close to her mother and eager to please her. It seemed for Katie and Chloe, to fall short of their mothers' expectations was worse than playing the dreaded piano. In the same way, Chloe mentioned 'hating Chinese' because her online tutor shouted at her through zoom. But she continued it weekly, because she didn't want to disappoint her mother.

> Chloe: I don't like doing Chinese. I always leave it to the last second. It makes me very stressed.

5.2.6. Parental expectations to give your best, all the time

From my experience as a teacher, I have often observed parents claiming that they don't care about the achievement grade only about the effort grade. To see an 'A' in the effort column satisfies them that their child has "tried her best", and is not lazy or wasting their natural born intelligence and talents.

Abby described what being lazy looks like to her and her mother. What sounded like a normal half-hour rest after a school day *before* she started her homework, looked to Abby's mother like a waste time:

> Abby: Every time I go home, and I open the fridge, get a drink, lay on the couch, watch half an hour TV and then go to work. Mum thinks that it's too relaxing. I probably didn't agree at the start, but then when I came to Rosemount I agreed.

Abby explained how her report last year was a 'disaster' because she was not getting a high "A" even for effort. (The effort grade at Rosemount School is split into low – middle – high).

> Abby: With effort last year in my report, i was so bad. For literacy, I got A for effort but it was in the low part of A. And for maths, it was in the middle part of A and my mom was a bit disappointed. If you spent all your effort, and you got a C, it's fine, because that's all you can do. So, we got to find a strategy, work it out…

Abby, like many Chinese students, did not fatally accept her intelligence or achievement is limited. She saw herself as capable of getting an A in attainment, mastering any subject if she put in the effort. This attitude can be seen in other Chinese students who see effort in studying as "internal, controllable and a cause of academic performance" (Hau & Salili, 1991 p.175). Effort was not an intangible concept for Abby either - she could articulate a clear action plan (with her Mum's help) to improve her effort. She explained concrete steps to improve her effort such as pre-viewing upcoming units before they were taught; reviewing content learnt through her own notes and doing more practice; showing teachers her effort visibly in class such as handing homework in and engaging in class discussion.

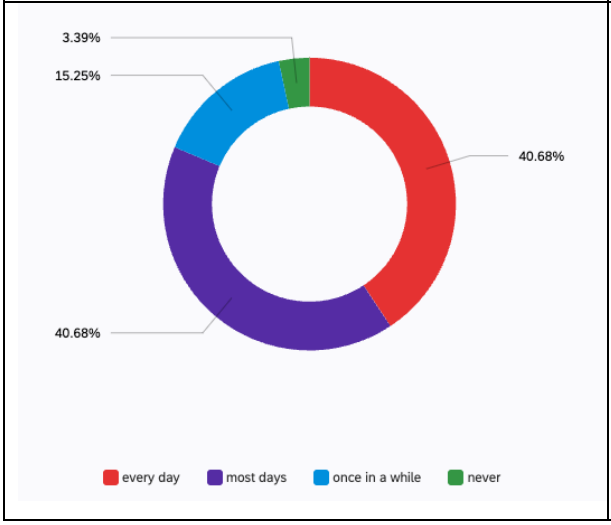
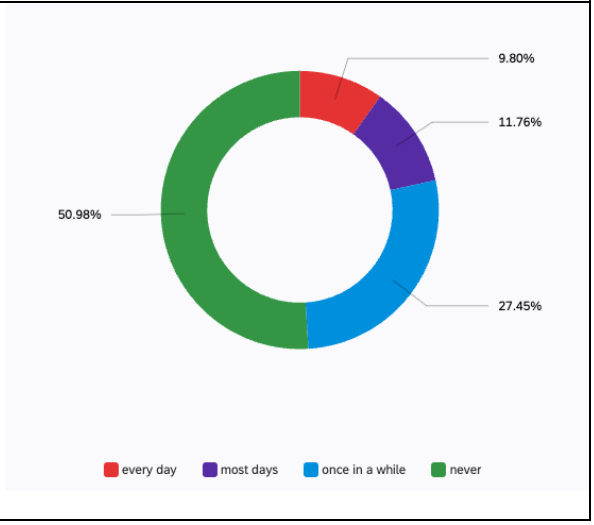
> Abby: (Reports about to come out) I think I did really well this year. I handed my homework in all the time, I answer questions in class.

This focus on effort is one of the factors that differentiate Asian parents from European parents (Okagaki & Frensch, 1998). Asian parents are more likely to view academic success as a product of hard work rather than innate intelligence or academic learning (Holloway, 1988). For Chinese families, parents seldom attribute children's poor grades to a lack of innate ability but instead to a lack of effort (Yang & Zhou, 2008). A study in 2014 of Chinese children in China and North American Caucasian children aged 6 to 17 found that Chinese children and parents believed musical ability requires hard work: the Chinese children on average practised piano 295 minutes per week vs North American Caucasian children who practised 159 minutes per week (Comeau et al., 2015). The success of the Chinese musicians was down to the child work ethic, motivation and parental supervision.

This was reflected in the parents in my study too, who believed if only their children worked hard, practised more, they could get the As. In answer to the question: Do your parents /carers/ tutors set you extra homework tasks? A staggering 40.68% of LBOTE students did extra homework everyday (not from school), compared to 9.80% of ELB students (see Figure 5.2) . Over 80% of LBOTE students did extra homework every day or most days compared to just over 20% of ELB students. This corresponds to reports that Asian-Australian children spent more time on educational activities than their peers (Ho, 2020).

Figure 5.2

Do your parents /carers/ tutors set you extra homework tasks?

LBOTE students	ELB students
	

Source: The author's survey results, 2020

Although Abby's mum moved the children to Australia to escape the pressures of schooling in China, she held onto a typical Chinese authoritarian parenting style that was controlling and restrictive: banning TV for three months until grades improved; not allowing Abby to be 'too relaxed' after school like resting for half an hour; and being disappointed with anything but 'A's.

This was not too unlike Amy Chua's parenting described in *Battle Hymn of the Tiger Mother* where her daughters were not allowed sleepovers, watching TV, playing computer games (Chua, 2011), should they distract the child from studies or instrument practice. A study on parenting practices in China sounded similar to the home life described by Abby. "Drastic measures include taking away the children's play time, locking up leisure-time magazines, curtailing TV times to name just a few." (Lin & Chen, 1995, p. 152). While there were no physical punishments like the ones described in the study, Abby's mother, the newest migrant from China seemed to practise many accepted parenting strategies in China. She deemed these necessary for her child to not be 'relaxed' but to put in effort all the time.

We shall explore how these intense parental expectations on the child to achieve in academics, on the sports field and to constantly try their best are taking a toll on children's wellbeing.

5.3. Effect of high parental expectations on child's wellbeing

To gauge if these parental expectations give the migrant children a sense of 'illbeing', we can look at the SDQ scores of the LBOTE and ELB students below (Table 5.1) :

Table 5.1

Mean SDQ scores for LBOTE versus ELB students

LBOTE students	ELB students
Mean score 11	Mean score 10

Source: The author's survey results, 2020

As mentioned earlier, LBOTE students have higher academic expectations from their parents with 44% of their parents deeming it 'very important' to receive a speech day prize, compared to 23% for ELB students. Looking at the SDQ scores, LBOTE students have slightly higher SDQ scores (mean score 11) than ELB students (mean score 10). However, both scores are well within the 'normal' SDQ score (scores over 16 are borderline and scores over 20 are classed as abnormal.)

However, if we looked more closely at the students with abnormal and borderline SDQ scores, we do find LBOTE students have parents with high academic expectations: 58% of LBOTE parents thought it 'very important' to get a prize at Speech Day (see Table 5.2). It was much higher than ELB students with abnormal difficulties scores (25%). From this we can infer some association between a child's

high difficulties scores and high parental academic expectations. In other words, while many factors can affect a child's wellbeing, for LBOTE students, high parental expectations appear to be one of them.

Table 5.2.

Question: How important is receiving a prize in speech day for your parents?

LBOTE students with abnormal to borderline wellbeing scores		**ELB students** with abnormal to borderline wellbeing scores	
Not important	0%	Not important	13%
Would be nice	42%	Would be nice	63%
Very important	58%	Very important	25%

Source: The author's survey results, 2020

The gap between LBOTE parents' expectations for an academic prize versus what the child wanted was big. While 58% of LBOTE parents deem a prize 'very important', only 8% of the children deem it 'very important' (see Table 5.3). From the interviews, we can hear how this pressure can be enormously stressful for the child.

Table 5.3.

Question: How important is receiving a prize in speech day for you?

LBOTE students with abnormal to borderline wellbeing scores		**ELB students** with abnormal to borderline wellbeing scores	
Not important	25%	Not important	0%
Would be nice	67%	Would be nice	100%
Very important	8%	Very important	0%

Source: The author's survey results, 2020

5.3.1. Effect on the child when they fall short of parental expectations

The nuance I would like to draw out here, is that while high parental expectations can lead to high academic achievement, it is when the children fall short of their parents' expectations that brings out a negative effect on the child.

Take Chloe as an example. Chloe came to Australia in Kindergarten with little to no English language. She was withdrawn from normal classes to receive English as an additional language support and relied on classmates to translate basic classroom instructions for her. By Year 3, through a combination of innate ability and hard work, she was awarded the academic achievement prize at speech day, meaning she not only received As in her report card, but she was performing in all academic areas in the top 10% of her cohort of 100 students – an amazing feat for any student, but especially one who came to the country a few years prior. However, as with a leprechaun's pot of gold at the end of a rainbow, meeting her mother's high expectations was always tantalizingly out of reach:

> Chloe: I really don't like when I tried really hard on something, and she (mum) said it's not good enough. She normally gets angry at me because I didn't do something well or didn't hand it in on time ... I just like bawl out, and I'm writing my papers and my paper is wet!

Chinese parents have been observed to respond less positively to academic success and more negatively to academic failure than European American parents (Ng et al, 2007). Therefore, in Chloe's case, her high academic success was not so much celebrated as expected; but the moment when she did not consistently meet her mother's high expectations, her mother would get angry.

In Abby's case from an outside observer's view, she was doing amazingly well since her move to Australia from China in the previous year. She had to do a lot of adjusting starting at a public school before moving to Rosemount, to maintaining the Chinese curriculum and Australian curriculum as well as navigating a new school, new friendships and living without her dad and ayi. However, she was not happy with herself and felt stressed, as despite her Herculean efforts, she was not measuring up, especially to her own expectations.

> Abby: The pressure (is) from myself, because I'm feeling that I can do better. I'm not doing my best. Goals are really hard to set. Because if you set them like, I must finish all my work this week, it doesn't sound that far away. But when I'm actually playing piano, I'm thinking of the goal, but that actually stresses me out. Because, I should be doing this, but then I don't want to do it.

The two students reported stress from not meeting parental expectations and their own internalised expectations. The academic achievement of first generation students should be especially noteworthy given the challenges of the child adapting to a new country, new language, new school (Costigan et al., 2010), however, there is little acknowledgement of this from the children or parents.

5.3.2. Psychological costs of high expectations

Constigan et al. discussed the psychological and interpersonal costs of high achievement and high parental expectations. Firstly, the ***psychological costs*** to the child like stress. Studies show the stress felt by Chinese youth, who understand their parents' sacrifice of coming to a new country primarily for the child's education and the stress for the child to thus excel to 'pay' for the sacrifice (Zhou et al, 2003).

Not surprisingly, if students did poorly at school (even if it was perceived rather than actual), they subsequently felt low self-esteem and symptoms of depression (Costigan et al., 2010).

> Anika: They (my parents) get pretty depressed when they see I got a 'C". I feel ashamed of myself and kind of depressed that I did so low.

> Chloe: I got academic achievement in year 3, and academic endeavour (effort) last year. But she (mum) really really wants me to get academic achievement and then she was kind of sad when I didn't get it last year. Then she was really really sad I didn't get anything in year 4.

In addition, research from Hsin and Xie in 2014 noted that Asian American youth had lower positive feelings about themselves than white students. They also spent less time with friends and had more conflict with parents. The researchers posited that the lower subjective well-being was due to high parental expectations and especially the feeling of failure when the child did not meet them. Also that even if a child excelled, they may not feel satisfied as they were expected to do so, and the parents would only push them to achieve even more (Lee & Zhou, 2014). For Abby, even though she had made huge efforts to adapt to her new school and curriculum, her mother wanted her to start preparing for next year.

> Abby: My mom's like, you need to move: You're in year six, next year is seven, get ready for high school. So now she forces me to create a timetable, a checklist. And I have to like actually complete it. Or I can't watch TV, like the rest of the weekend.

5.3.3. Interpersonal costs of high expectations

Secondly, the ***interpersonal costs*** to the child, is that their relationship with their parents may suffer because the stress and high expectations could cause alienation (Qin et al., 2008) as they do not feel supported by their parents. Qin et al. report that despite high educational achievement among Asian American students, the other

side of the model minority story is the price students pay with poor psychological and social adjustment.

From my results, there was a remarkable gap in measures of child closeness to mothers and fathers, for students whose parents deem speech day prizes ‘very important’ (see Table 5.4). For mothers that do not deem a speech day prize ‘very important’ students rated themselves much closer than mothers who placed importance on speech day prizes. It was the same for closeness to fathers. We can infer that children whose parents held lower expectations for high academic achievement are closer to their mothers and fathers because there was less stress in the relationship.

Table 5.4.

Closeness to parents and importance of speech day prize

	Parents deem speech day prize ‘**very important”**	Parents deem speech day prize ‘**not important”**
Closeness to mothers ‘very close’	68%	80%
Closeness to fathers ‘very close’	54%	70%

Source: The author’s survey results, 2020

Constigan et al. also warned that peer relationships may suffer, as parents restrict play time or limit socialization to only other high-achieving students. This was also played out in my results, that children with more academically demanding parents were less close to friends (see Table 5.5). Those students whose parents deemed speech day as ‘very important ‘– only 45% reported being close to friends, against 70% of students whose parents deemed an academic prize unimportant.

Table 5.5.

Closeness to friends and importance of speech day prize

	Parents deem speech day prize '**very important"**	Parents deem speech day prize '**not important"**
Closeness to friends 'very close'	44%	70%

Source: The author's survey results, 2020

From the interviews though, it was not so much that the parents limited socialization to other high achievers, but more that with all the extra tutoring, extra homework and extra-curricular, there was little time to play with friends.

> Katie: Dance competitions, and concerts have impacted my schedule a lot. If someone invites me to a birthday, I can't really go because of dance. But I try to make time to but most of them know I only have time on Sundays.

The way the girls explained it, it seemed friendships were made with other children who did the same tutoring classes, or extra-curricular activities. Little snippets of time commuting to after-school lessons on the train, car-pooling home after activities, grabbing a bite to eat between tutoring; these seemed to be times when friendships were consolidated for the children. They talked of these times with friends - not as playdates where time was given to play – but instead, these 'dead' times or 'peripheral' times were the only time they spent together with friends while waiting for the main focus of their activity on individual self-cultivation.

Another consequence of the large amount of time spent on studying and concerted cultivation is that the child misses out not only on birthday parties but on what other children are interested in, like popular culture. Abby's busy schedule and her mother's ban on TV made her unaware of what was popular among other children, and possibly denied her common conversation topics to make friends:

> Abby: We never watch TV (because of mum); I didn't have time as well. I only knew there were singers and idols in this world three years ago. I was really isolated. I went to my friend's house for a farewell party, and they were watching TV. Suddenly I realised there was so many stuff in the world that I don't know about. And I go on the web and search it all up.

5.3.4. Health costs of high expectations

Lastly, the ***health costs*** to the child of academic pressure. Lin and Chen's study of Chinese students (1995) showed 18% suffered near-sightedness in primary school. In a more recent study in Hong Kong (Zhang et al., 2023), myopia had increased to 46% of 8-year-olds in 2021. This was due to less time spent outdoors, near-work time (such as reading and writing) and increased screen time (using a computer and handheld electronic devices), but also genetic contributions from parental myopia. Of all the girls interviewed (with high SDQ scores), they all wore glasses.

Another example of the psychological impact of academic pressures was the study in China that showed how academic stress resulted in dismal health outcomes for children such as insomnia, short attention span, memory loss, unstable moods and disappointment in life (Lin & Chen, 1995).

From the SDQ self-report, of the three students who reported high academic pressure from parents, Abby confirmed being "very angry" and "I fight a lot" and

having peer problems, preferring to be alone. Anika also had abnormal scores in the externalising symptoms for conduct. Like Abby she reported feeling ‘very angry” and ‘accused of cheating’. Abby reported having sleep problems.

Abby: I don’t know why but I keep waking up. And I just can’t sleep.

Interestingly, filtering the survey results by high expectations parents (those who deemed a speech day prize ‘very important’), versus those parents who thought it ‘not important’, those parents with lower academic expectations tended to spend more time outdoors and also with friends and family (see Table 5.6).

Table 5.6.

What do you and your family do in your spare time? (Think of a normal week and select activities you are most likely to do as a family)

High expectations Parents (speech day prize very important)	**Low expectation Parents** (speech day prize not important)
1. Watch TV, movies 2. Go to restaurants 3. Go shopping	1. Be outdoors – at park / beach 2. Visit family or friends 3. Go to restaurants / Watch TV movies

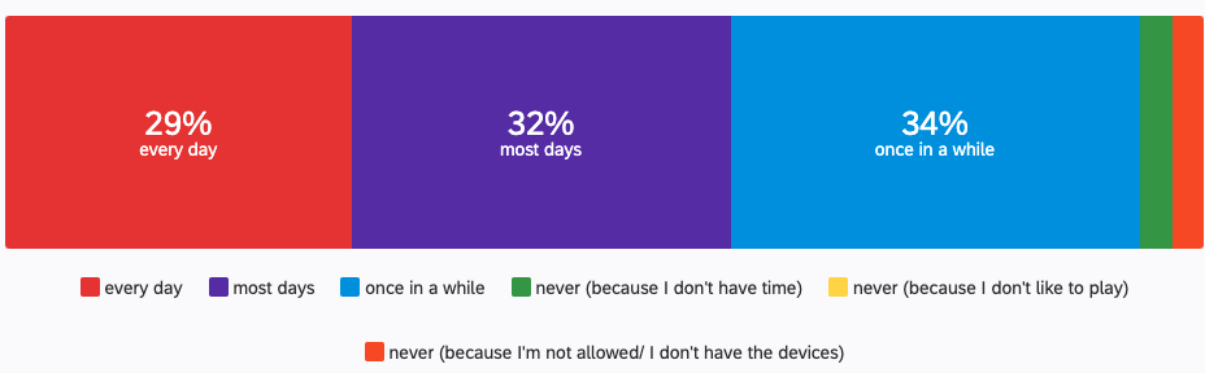
Source: The author’s survey results, 2020

In terms of screen time, from the interviews, I got the sense that being on electronic devices was a time of release for the girls. Playing a game, watching YouTube was a quick and easily accessible break from studies. Unlike a playdate which the girls could not organise or get to, or playing with siblings who were not always available, playing on their devices was a quick, easily acceptable tool for them to de-stress.

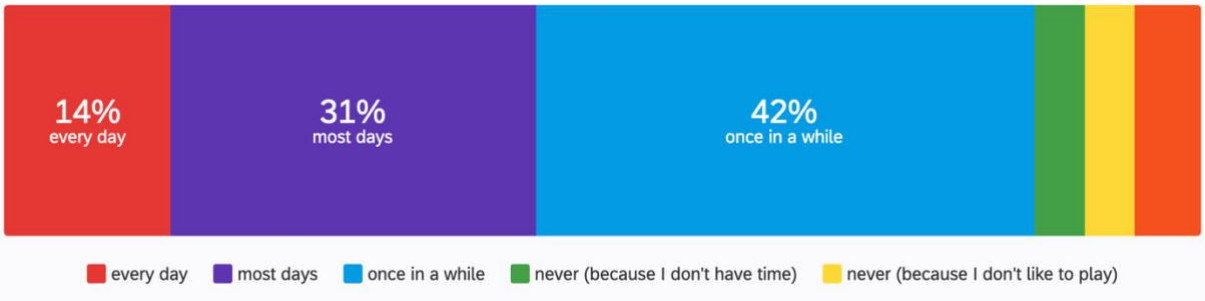
Again, interestingly filtering the survey results by high expectations parents (those who deemed a speech day prize ‘very important’), versus those parents who thought it ‘not important’, those girls with high academic expectations parents tended to spend more time on their devices ‘everyday’ 29% versus 14% (see Figure 5.3).

Figure 5.3. Importance of Speech Day prizes to parents

High expectations Parents (speech day prize ‘very important’)



Low expectations Parents (speech day prize ‘not important’)



Source: The author’s survey results, 2020

In summary, the stress caused by high parental expectations on children had real psychological, interpersonal and health costs for the child. The interviews attested to the shame the child internalised in not meeting their parents’ demands. The surveys showed the greater distance between the child and her parents and friends. Lastly, the SDQ statements reported the children’s externalised feelings of anger and hyperactivity as an outward sign of their anxiety. Other unfortunate health outcomes were myopia and poor sleep. In addition, the focus of studying hard correlated to less time outdoors and more time on devices.

5.3.5. Positive effects of high expectations

Despite the alarming findings above of the real costs of the high parental expectations on the children, there were also some positive effects of the high expectations: being the academic success they enjoyed at school.

The interviews revealed that the addition of extra tutors and classes was not necessarily stressful for the children; some students reported enjoying the extra work. Chloe didn't protest at all in being made to do an online English class from 7-9pm on a Sunday night, and in fact she enjoyed the classes. Quite in contrast to some perceptions that tutoring is akin to child abuse (Ho, 2020):

> Chloe: I do English on Sunday afternoon, seven to nine pm. She (mum) thought it was very useful. And I like it! I get to do fun things. Yeah online because the teacher is in England. She teaches at Cambridge. She's a very good teacher. It's like a small group with students in Australia.

Abby who had a very busy schedule, actually loved spending the many hours doing robotics, even if all her Saturdays were devoted to it. She found that she excelled at it and the more she did, the better she got.

> Abby: I do robotics. I really like it. I do it at school and also outside of school. I do six hours every single Saturday.

For Katie, although she had done English and Maths tutoring for a long time, and the maths she was doing was two years ahead of her grade, she didn't mind going. The stress for her was more that doing the tutoring after three hours of dance, she got tired.

All the girls interviewed talked about their busy schedules very matter-of-factly, apart from Katie who said she got tired, none of the other girls complained about their packed mornings, afternoons and weekends. Anika's mum was the only one who queried the long time spent after school at tutoring, and she only did it once a week.

> Anika Mum: We did coaching centre once a week. I used to drop her there and it would be three hours plus, from 5 to 8pm, and she's coming home at 8.30pm. I asked her is it too much? She said "No. I love it." So if you love it, then why not? She comes home very happy in the evening. I noticed her.

Although Anika did not say in her own words that she 'loved' the coaching centre, she did feel it was benefitting her and improved her grades.

My quantitative survey showed a positive relationship between students that did well academically and positive wellbeing. For students who stated "I find it very hard" on subjects like English, Maths and even PE, they tended to show higher difficulties scores, as table 5.7 shows. The mean SDQ score for the cohort is 11. Any number above that is a student showing more difficulties, with 16 and above to be borderline and 20 above to be abnormal. For example, students who found maths 'very hard' had higher SDQ scores. The reverse is true in that the SDQ mean score goes down the more a student felt accomplished at the subjects. For examples 'I am very good' at English, Maths and PE students had lower SDQ scores (see Table 5.7).

Table 5.7.

SDQ scores against student self-report on academic subjects

	Literacy/ English					
	Total	I find it very hard	I'm not bad	Neutral	I'm quite good	I am very good
Average	11.7		16.5	14.5	11.2	9.7

	Maths					
	Total	I find it very hard	I'm not bad	Neutral	I'm quite good	I am very good
Average	11.6	18.0	13.7	13.4	11.4	11.0

	PE / Sport					
	Total	I find it very hard	I'm not bad	Neutral	I'm quite good	I am very good
Average	11.6	14.0	12.2	12.2	11.1	11.2

Source: The author's survey results, 2020

An important study by Tania Clarke challenged the thinking that there is an inevitable 'trade-off' between children's wellbeing and academic achievement (Clarke, 2020) Clarke argued that children's wellbeing and academic achievement are positively associated.

This is true from my findings too, that the more a student reported finding subjects difficult, the higher their SDQ difficulties score was. However, schools, parents and children must be honest in looking at the cost of high academic achievement. From the above, the psychological, interpersonal and health costs were real and at the primary-school age, is it justified or necessary?

5.5. Conclusion to chapter

Our Asian migrant parents are of a high-socio economic class. All three categories, Asian, migrants and high socio-economic class parents have been shown to hold higher parental expectations for their children than other groups. They have moved

their families to Australia primarily for the stated purpose of education, and it is understandable that they wish for their child to succeed at school, in order to propel the family upwards in social mobility.

Research has shown high parental expectations to be strongly associated with high student achievement due to the child internalising the expectations and thus driving their own motivation and hard work. In my interviews, even though they were not adolescents but young children, they reflected their parents' views of achievement measured by grades and accepted the high demands asked of them. This included asking for tutors, doing extra classes, and making study plans to improve their grades in the next report card. The parental expectations were also not limited to the report card, but on the sports fields, and in all endeavours, where a child was expected to try their best at everything, all of the time.

These parental expectations did take a toll on the children; the children talked about the stress of being compliant children. They had to do extra hours of study outside of schoolwork; had little downtime and did things they did not enjoy like piano or Chinese lessons because their parents wanted them to. The children expressed feelings of depression and lowered self-esteem when despite their best efforts, their achievements fell short of their parents' high expectations. An innocuous 'C' on a report card that should tell of satisfactory achievement, instead became a stick for the child. The huge chasm between the 'C' and the elusive 'A' may inflect shame, disappointment and hours more work or tutoring.

This achievement/adjustment paradox (Qin, 2008) showed the dark side of the quietly achieving Asian student. My study showed the real pressure felt by young primary-school children from Asian migrant backgrounds. The children in my research spoke of the psychological, interpersonal and health costs of trying striving for their parents' high expectations.

The children's accounts I have presented were not as extreme as students' experiences in China or other Asian hothouses like South Korea, Taiwan, Singapore Japan or Hong Kong (all high performers in PISA rankings) that include violent punishment or youth suicides. Some studies show these competitive education systems are harmful for pupils' wellbeing (Wang et al., 2015). Also despite doing better academically, Asian American students often had lower self-esteem compared to peers from other racial groups (Chen & Graham, 2018). In light of much research in this area, I agree with Clarke's call for schools and policy makers (Clarke, 2020), to agree that a child's emotional, social and psychological wellbeing is as important for a child's development as demonstrating the acquisition of skills and knowledge. In the same way, parents should be mindful that they must not only aim for academic achievement without recognising that ***how*** the child achieves those goals is 'empirically linked to their wellbeing" (Clarke, 2020).

All the girls interviewed worked very hard in their academic, music and sports endeavours. They were, of course, extremely fortunate to attend a private school with state-of-the-art facilities and an eye-boggling array of extra-curricular activities. They were also lucky that their parents could afford to pay for many hours of enrichment classes on top of private school fees to develop skills that may help them in their futures. The flip side of the bargain was their busy schedules afforded them barely any downtime, or time with friends and family.

From talking to the children in the interviews, what they wanted the most were the simple things. For Erica, when asked "Of all the things you do, or even the things you don't have time to do, what do you really love? What makes you happy?" Erica just wanted a playdate:

> Erica: Just one friend, but sometimes two. Not a whole bunch.

For Chloe, without a relationship with her absent father, or her much older brother at boarding school, and living alone with a very demanding mother, she just wanted someone to talk to, perhaps to feel loved unconditionally, no matter how hard she tried or how much she achieved or didn't.

> Chloe: I can tell everything to my dog.

For Abby who was so demanding of herself, having internalised her mother's huge expectations on her to almost be a physical incarnation of the success of her family's move to Australia – all Abby wanted to do was run! She discovered her love and natural ability for running while sitting around at lunch at her old public school:

> Abby: I actually sucked at running in China, I was like the slowest person in the class. But at school, I ran every single lunch. Because that's all we played.

Could children not be children anymore, where the idea of the child is not a "waste – wasted resources, wasted time, wasted opportunities" (Katz, 2008); or a vessel for the family's social mobility? In the childhoods described by my interviewees, there were many areas of stress, a success frame where their raison d'etre was to achieve their parents' expectations with little agency of their own.

Wouldn't it be wonderful to hear the children speak of the simple pleasures of playing with friends, running at lunchtime, or feeling unconditional love from their parents whether they achieved an A or not? If the true character of each era comes alive in the nature of its children (Marx,1973) then we should be able to see children who are emotionally and socially well, in addition to doing academically well.

Chapter 6. Conclusion

This study set out to understand the effects of migration on the wellbeing of young children of skilled migrants in Australia. With skilled migrants to Australia now accounting for more than 70% of permanent migrants, it is imperative we know more about this highly educated and affluent migrant group and their children's adaption into Australian society. My research site at Rosemount School for Girls, an independent school in a well-to-do Sydney suburb afforded me valuable insights into this migrant group and the unique migration practices of 'flexible citizenship' and 'astronaut families'. Most LBOTE students in my study were from Mainland China, reflecting the national trend whereby China-born immigrants are now Australia's second largest group of permanent visa arrivals, slightly below India and much ahead of the United Kingdom. The literature review noted that there was limited research into migrant children in the primary-school age bracket in Australia, and that many of the studies on astronaut families were conducted over twenty years ago, focusing on primarily Hong Kong and Taiwanese migrants.

My positionality as a teacher at the school afforded me invaluable trust and connection with both the students and mothers involved in the study. However, it was important to ensure that participants did not feel obliged to take part in the research due to my role in the school. My research was approved by ethics committees at both UTS and Rosemount School, and though this was a lengthy process, the rigour and care instilled in the research design to uphold ethical considerations was well worth the effort. I believe the resulting high participation rate in the student surveys (90% of the cohort) and the willingness of mother-child pairs to come forward for the interviews were a testament to the thoughtful work designed to minimise the power imbalance as a teacher-researcher, or potential obligation and harm to participants. Also encouraging was the participants' interest in contributing to the study especially voiced by the migrant mothers. They were pleased the school was interested in their family's migration experience and hoped my findings could benefit their broader community.

The survey results gave many critical responses to questions the school could not answer just from enrolment data, such as the nuances of the migration arrangements, the age of arrival to Australia of students, and who lived in the migrating household. The Strengths and Difficulties Questionnaire wellbeing scores compared against demographic data gave me valuable insights into different segments of the student body such as LBOTE students versus English Language Background students; students with absent fathers versus students with resident fathers; and students with parents holding high versus low expectations. Analysis of the interviews gave more depth to the numbers and greatly enhanced the three empirical findings chapters.

Chapter three found that the practice of flexible citizenship was not only among Mainland Chinese arrivals, but could be observed among other wealthy, well-educated skilled migrants from India, Korea and multi-racial families. These transmigrants may have settled here while their children were at school in Australia, but with their hyper-mobile mindset and global connections, they may not stay. Their passports and wealth allowed frequent travel between homes in Australia and the sending country such that family life was lived 'transnationally" in a physical and emotional sense.

The trauma of migration was keenly felt by the most recently-arrived students, with both mothers and daughters voicing a sense of loss, confusion and the challenges of adapting to a new country. However, the SDQ scores were better for the 1.5- and second-generation students suggesting the difficulties reduced with time spent in Australia, in line with other research studies on migrant and refugee children (Zwi et al., 2018). Schools could do much more to assist the adaptation of recent arrivals and their families. Although these children (and their skilled migrant parents) often arrive in Australia with proficient English, therefore flying under the radar of English language support teachers like me, my findings showed the process of adjusting to a new country, school and making friends was difficult and caused stress to the children and family unit.

Schools need to do more than just focus on English language learning. They could do more to help new migrants establish local social networks, especially among the parent community. There already being migrants from similar cities and language backgrounds in the school, parent groups could be organised along lines of cultural backgrounds. Beyond one school, just as independent schools have teacher networks across schools to share knowledge and learning, independent schools could run cultural or interest-based parent groups. Schools and associations such as the Association for Independent Schools NSW (www.aisnsw.edu.au); Independent Primary School Heads of Australia (https://ipsha.org.au); Combined Independent Schools (www.cis.edu.au) that are active in the independent schools sector could do more to promote cross-cultural understanding among parents and teachers. They could also assist new migrant parents to navigate the school system, for example homework expectations, home-reading programs, sports opportunities and in later years, help with subject selection and HSC, ATAR and other university-related information. Schools especially independent schools which have benefitted from the increased enrolments and income from skilled migrant families have a duty not just to educate students but to foster a sense of belonging for the families. Schools are the perfect place to encourage this, as they are the site of acculturation for the students. Often students adapt to the new culture much faster than their parents, causing an acculturation gap or stress between the parent and child. Especially in our examples of the astronaut families where the mother is often a stay-at-home carer and has even fewer chances to come into contact with Australian mainstream culture in her day to day life.

Migrant children acculturate into the dominant culture, especially in the social milieu of the school. However, how they approach this has implications for their wellbeing. Those students (Erica) who spoke of trying to assimilate and 'shed' their own culture and language, or saw themselves as separate to the majority culture (Chloe) displayed greater difficulties in wellbeing. As with other prior studies on migrant acculturation (Berry, 2005), Katie who used a strategy of integration – of embracing both cultures – had the best wellbeing outcomes. This is especially pertinent for school policy and especially for teachers to understand. Schools are the milieu for intergroup contact and for migrant children, it is their main site of acculturation. As

such, teachers need to have a better understanding of the link between acculturation and wellbeing. It can be detrimental to a student's sense of self and wellbeing to be told not to speak their home language at school or to be given negative messaging about their lunch choices and other practices like tutoring, that have become associated with Asian migrants. While pre-service teachers do learn strategies to support English language learners, there needs to be more professional training on supporting the acculturation of migrant children at school and therefore of their wellbeing outcomes.

Chapters four's exploration of the astronaut family is an important update on research from the Australian Pe-Pua et. al. study in 1996. A significant contribution of this research was the ability to quantify the phenomenon. Surprisingly, almost 50% of the studied cohort of Chinese households had absent fathers; the lengths of absences ranged from a few weeks, to a school term, to sometimes a year when the child would not see the father. From the SDQ scores, there was a marked association between children with absent fathers and higher difficulties scores. The qualitative interviews gave voice to the emotional toll of the astronaut family arrangement: from some children feeling resentful of the father, to missing the father, to not knowing their father. In addition, compared with children with resident fathers, children with absent fathers were less likely to report being 'very close' to people in their micro-systems, including parents, siblings, friends and teachers.

Migration has been known to force family members into more traditional gendered roles (Ho, 2006), with the mothers interviewed becoming the sole caregivers and household managers, often giving up paid employment to take care of the children in Australia. In the same way, the father's role was reduced to being just the 'breadwinner' in China, without much or any responsibility for the emotional work of fathering. However, from the interviews, there were also some good examples of families working hard to make the astronaut family arrangement work, with frequent communications and the father taking an active interest in the social and emotional wellbeing of the child; not only looking at the academic report card or buying material things to compensate for time away.

There are many implications of these findings, firstly for schools to be more aware of the presence of fathers, and the effect absent fathers can have on child wellbeing. With more teacher training and open communication between schools and families, teachers may be able to help mothers mitigate some of the effects of the absent father, such as expectations of homework help or volunteering at school, since many of the mothers are sole parenting. Secondly, the findings should help parents understand the migration arrangement's effect on the child. From the interviews, some of the mothers were acutely sensitive to building the father-daughter relationship, by encouraging frequent contact and facilitating discussions between them. Although the children interviewed found the absent father arrangement to be 'normal', (like I did on reflection of my own childhood), the studies on adult satellite children speak volumes to their evaluations of their astronaut family arrangements. While accepting the sacrifice all family members made for the migration choices, adult satellite children report not wishing to replicate the same bargain with their own families (Tsong et al. 2021).

The last empirical chapter delves into the effect of parental expectations on child wellbeing. Skilled migrants are Asian, migrants and of high socio-economic class, all groups shown to hold higher parental expectations than other parent groups. While research shows high parental expectations are strongly associated with high student achievement (Danisman, 2017; Yamamoto & Holloway, 2016; Zhan, 2006), my findings showed the stressful reality of these young children trying to live up to these expectations. The expectations of the parents were not only limited to academic excellence measured with 'A's on report cards, but parents wanted to see their child achieve on the sporting field, as well as exhaustingly for the child, to be 'doing their best', 'fulfilling their potential', in every endeavour, all the time.

This led to sometimes even the children asking for tutoring, and certainly the parents enrolling the child for many hours of extra classes and activities, even ones they did not enjoy like Chinese and piano lessons. The interviews were illuminating in the way the children carried out the parents' demands without question, internalising the

parent's expectations for high achievement. If the child's report card fell short of expectations, the children in the interview expressed their shame and depression. The huge chasm between a teacher's idea of a satisfactory 'C' and a parent's demand of an 'A' is where these migrant children frequently reported self-blame and a lowered sense of self-esteem. This achievement/ adjustment paradox is the dark side of the 'model minority' student (Qin, 2008).

The implications are so important for schools and parents to be aware of. It is not through lack of effort or the child's failing in school that she got a 'C', but rather they are caught in a mismatch of expectations between the school and their parents! Schools need to more explicitly explain the meaning behind grades, and that a C indicates satisfactory performance. Parents need to see and hear what their children consider important to fulfil their expectations and dreams. For example, 16.95% of LBOTE students deemed a speech day prize 'very important' compared to 44.07% of their parents. Parents need to ask themselves at what price their success frame of the brand-name college, the high-status job, or the speech day prize? And weigh it against the potential impact on their child's psychological and physical health and interpersonal wellbeing.

In summary, answering the research questions set out in the study on what impacted the wellbeing of children of skilled migrants, I can conclude from my survey and semi-structured interviews that recent migration, the absent father and not meeting high parental expectations did negatively impact the children. The recent arrivals expressed a sense of loss and difficulties adapting to a new country; the students with absent fathers conveyed resentment and a loss of relationship with the absent father; and the effort of trying to meet high parental expectations caused students stress and shame if they failed to do so.

Having highlighted the above issues though, it is important to state in my conclusion that this study is not an anti-migration piece! Migration's impact on children is not universally negative. For the cohort of students surveyed, the majority (82%) scored

within the normal range for SDQ score, slightly above the Australian norm of 80% (Mellor, 2005). From my results, 20% of LBOTE students compared to 16% of ELB students scored in the 'abnormal to borderline' range, with the higher percentage attributable to their migration experiences as discussed above. The Harvard Immigration Initiative website (n.d.) urges schools, parents, and policy-makers to not view outcomes of immigrant children from a 'deficit-view'. In fact, immigrant children have already gone 'above and beyond' as they must meet development tasks all children struggle with like self-regulation, academic endeavour, healthy lifestyles etc, but in addition, children of immigrants must also navigate acquiring new cultural and linguistic competencies and establishing social identities and a new sense of belonging (Suarez-Orozco et al., 2018).

Therefore, it is important to point out the remaining 80% of LBOTE students, who also experienced migration either as first generation or second generation migrants, were doing well socially and emotionally as measured by their normal SDQ scores. In other words, most migrant children in my study were socially and emotionally competent children as defined by the Australian Institute of Health and Welfare:

> 'Socially and emotionally competent children are confident, have good relationships, communicate well, do better at school, take on and persist with challenging tasks and develop necessary relationships to succeed in life' (Report on Australia's Children, AIHW 2020, p. 31).

While the majority of Year 5 students at Rosemount School for Girls, including the majority of LBOTE students, were doing well socially and emotionally, I am pleased my findings helped shine a light on the difficulties experienced by the other 20% of students and importantly, what we can do about it.

Another benefit to my position as a teacher at Rosemount School is the receptive audience to my work and recommendations. I have presented my research findings to teachers at my school, highlighting the needs of LBOTE students and families, and engendered much dialogue and several actionable policy changes. One of them is that my work is now embedded in a parent series, which invites parents to engage with their practices of migration and parenting. The wellbeing workshops for parents

focus on topics such as the importance of sleep; emotional regulation; and healthy food choices and now include a session on migration and effects on child wellbeing. Beyond Rosemount School, I have also shared my research through my teaching network: in the local Sydney North Shore Independent School EALD network, the wider Association of Independent Schools of NSW network, and through the NSW Teachers' Guild. In academic circles, I have spoken at the Australian Sociological Association conference and hope to publish articles contributing to knowledge in this area.

Limitations and potential directions for future research

There are limitations to this research study. This is a small-scale study of children of skilled migrants in one school setting in Sydney. The findings cannot be generalised for *all* children of skilled migrants nor *all* children of Chinese migrants. The biggest omission in this project was the experience of boys. An area for future research would be to study the effects of migration on boys and especially the absent father phenomenon. The seminal Pe-Pua et. al. study in 1996 noted that boys felt resentment towards the astronaut family arrangement as they were often needed to 'fill in' for the absent father. In my findings, the girls reported being much closer to the landed mother than the astronaut father; it would be crucial to understand how migration affects the family dynamics for boys. In a recent research paper looking at the wellbeing and integration of refugee children in Australia (Lee and Cheung, 2022), they found that girls had higher SDQ difficulty scores than boys. It would be useful to do a similar measure for sons of skilled migrants.

My research also threw up some other potential directions for future research which are outside of the scope of this study, but would contribute further to our knowledge of migrant children, especially in the Australian context.

Potential future research: Satellite Children and Attachment Theory

An important and intriguing finding was that of the attachment of satellite children. While children with absent fathers were closer to their mothers than children with resident fathers, a lower percentage of children with absent fathers reported being

‘very close’ to anyone in their microsystem, including parents, siblings, friends and teachers. This is alarming and warrants further investigation on the attachment behaviours of satellite children. The research on children in astronaut families has tended to focus on the household arrangements (Pe-Pua et al., 1996; Ho & Bedford, 2008) and the mother and children’s adjustments (Yeung, 2005; Cheng, 2020), but few have examined the satellite children through the lens of attachment theory. There is literature that immigrants are more likely to have insecure attachments compared to non-immigrants (van Ecke, 2005). Another line of inquiry could be on the age of separation and length of separation. The children in my study were aged 10-11. Bowlby’s (1969,1988) work places importance on primary attachment in early childhood, with the sensitive period up to 5 years old. Further study is needed to understand how the on-off separation involved in astronaut families affects the child’s attachment security, and whether emotional fathering from a distance can still enable father-child attachment.

Potential future research: Hypermobility, Identity and Belonging

Another area for exploration would be migrant children’s identity and belonging. My findings showed that these hypermobile children living in transnational households still held on mostly to their parents’ ethnicities. However, with the growth of the ‘global citizen’, and hybrid ethnic and cultural identities (Bhabha, 2004) it would be worthwhile to probe if these children would indeed reject mono-culture and mono-lingualism as they mature into adolescence. My group of primary school children have largely adapted well to life in Australia, but if we followed them into adolescence, where we know developing identities are compounded by the challenges of puberty (Busby et al., 2014), how would they fare with their identity-making? Also if they choose to embrace their *place polygamy* (Beck, 1999), how are their identities linked with their mobility? How do the children of flexible citizens construct their cultural identities and sense of belonging? Anecdotally, following a staff presentation, the Head of English connected with this topic. She said many senior school students chose to write about this ‘liminal space’ of navigating their sense of belonging and identity; it frequently came up as a topic in the students’ English HSC extension creative writing works. In the same way, I have seen the topic of identity explored in students’ HSC artworks. Art-based research (ABR)

methodology – by interrogating student art works and/or creative writing - could be a novel way to understand children's experiences of migration, and identity-making. ABR offers participants an alternate way to share their perspectives and experiences, especially beyond language (Harasym et al., 2024).

Potential future research: Migrants from Other Countries of Origin

A potential avenue for future research is to broaden the study of the skilled migrant groups to those from India, or the third and fourth biggest groups from the Philippines and Nepal respectively (ABS, 2021). My research group at Rosemount School was limited to mostly children of Chinese skilled migrants. Would there be a difference of wellbeing outcomes based on the country of origin of the skilled migrant group? There was some evidence of the astronaut family arrangements in other ethnic groups in Rosemount School, such as Indian, and Korean. What are the migration patterns of Filipino and Nepalese skilled migrants and what wellbeing issues are pertinent to their children?

Despite recent calls to halt immigration numbers in Australia due to the housing crisis, new skilled migrants will likely continue to arrive. Migration has been the driver of the successful multicultural country that Australia has become, and in turn, continues to attract skilled workers and wealthy global investors (Review of Migration System, 2023). A marker of a successful immigration program is the ability of migrants to find jobs and be self-sufficient, but the integration and wellbeing of their children should also be an important indicator of success. My research study contributes to our understanding of the wellbeing of these children. For policymakers, they will hope these well-adjusted migrant children grow up and contribute to Australia's economy; for schools, they may hope for cohorts of migrant students that are well-integrated and do well academically; for parents, they may hope their child's wellbeing is a stable base upon which to build the family's intergenerational capital. My wish for this study is to give voice to the children. For the LBOTE students I see every day, working hard and doing their best, I hope this study tells adults about your life, and that they are spurred by your voices to improve the wellbeing of other children in your shoes.

Appendices

Appendix A. Participants Information Sheet and Parent Consent Form for Survey

UTS UNIVERSITY OF TECHNOLOGY SYDNEY

PARTICIPANT INFORMATION SHEET for SURVEY
(families to keep)

Wellbeing of EALD Students AND UTS HREC ref no ETH20-4789

WHO IS DOING THE RESEARCH?

My name is Victoria Adamovich and I am the English as an Additional Language or Dialect (EAL/D) teacher at Pymble Ladies College junior school and also a Masters of Research student at UTS. My supervisor is Dr Christina Ho, Associate Professor of the Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences at UTS.

WHAT IS THIS RESEARCH ABOUT?

This research looks at the wellbeing of EAL/D students. Moving to a new country can be a difficult process and I would like to understand how the family structures and choices may affect the child's wellbeing. The results of this research will help teachers understand all girls better, identify wellbeing issues relating to migration and design programs to help improve wellbeing.

The 1st stage of the research in term 4 2020 will be for all Y5 girls to do a wellbeing survey. The results will help me understand if there are any differences in wellbeing between EAL/D students versus the general cohort. In the 2nd stage of the research (in term 2 2021) approximately 5 students and 5 parents will be invited for one-to-one interview to further explore the results of the survey.

WHY HAVE I BEEN ASKED?

Your child has been invited to participate in this study because she is the year 5 cohort. Year 5 students were selected as they are cognitively able to answer the survey questions. The self-report wellbeing survey (Strengths and Differences Questionnaire) is suitable for children aged 10 and above. It has also been designated as the best source of information indicating social and emotional wellbeing in children and young people by the Australian Institute of Health and Welfare.1

IF YOU CONSENT TO PARTICIPATING IN THIS RESEARCH, WHAT WILL IT INVOLVE?

If you consent to your child's participation:

- Your child will answer a questionnaire online, on their iPad at school. It will take approximately 20 minutes to complete;
- A small number of students and parents may be contacted after the survey for stage 2 of the research. There will be a separate information and consent form sent out for this.
- The response from the survey will be kept in a secure server and all files (electronic and paper) will be held securely for a minimum of 5 years following the writing of the Masters thesis and then destroyed.

[1] REPORT ON THE SECOND AUSTRALIAN CHILD AND ADOLESCENT SURVEY OF MENTAL HEALTH AND WELLBEING, 2015

ARE THERE ANY RISKS/INCONVENIENCE?

Yes, there may be some risks/inconvenience. Reflection on their wellbeing may potentially cause distress to some students. The *Pymble* school counsellor and connect teachers will be on hand should any students wish to talk further about wellbeing concerns.

DO I HAVE TO SAY YES?

Participation in this study is voluntary. It is completely up to you whether or not you decide to take part.

WHAT WILL HAPPEN IF I SAY NO?

If you decide not to participate, it will not affect your relationship with the researcher or the University of Technology Sydney. It will not affect your relationship with the teachers or Pymble Ladies College. 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 Victoria Adamovich or your child's connect teacher.

CONFIDENTIALITY

By signing the consent form, you consent to the researcher collecting and using personal information about your child for the research project. All information will be treated confidentially. No participant names are collected in the survey. The aggregated results will be discussed in Victoria Adamovich's Masters thesis.

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 me *vadamovich@pymblelc.nsw.edu.au* or christina.ho@uts.edu.au.

In addition, you may wish to contact staff at Pymble Ladies College : Dr Sarah Loch *sloch@pymblelc.nsw.edu.au*, Director of Research and Development, or Mrs Kate Brown the Head of Junior School *kbrown@pymblelc.nsw.edu.au*.

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.

CONSENT FORM for SURVEY PARTICIPATION
(please return to school)

WELLBEING OF EAL/D STUDENTS AND *HREC ref no ETH20-4789*

I _____ [parent name] agree for my child to participate in the research project [Wellbeing of EAL/D Students and UTS HREC approval reference number when obtained] being conducted by Victoria Adamovich, vadamovich@pymblelc.nsw.edu.au.

I have read the Participant Information Sheet.

I understand the purposes, procedures and risks of the research 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 for my child to participate in this research project as described and understand that I am free to withdraw my child at any time without affecting our relationship with the researcher, the University of Technology Sydney or Pymble Ladies College.

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

I agree that the research data gathered from this project may be published in a form that:

- Does not identify my child in any way.

I am aware that I can contact Victoria Adamovich vadamovich@pymblelc.nsw.edu.au and the Head of Junior School, if I have any concerns about the research.

_____ ____/____/____
Name and Signature [parent] Date

/ /
Name and Signature [child] Date

Appendix B. Quantitative Survey Outline

Survey Outline of Students in Year 5

Research project: Wellbeing of EALD students **University of Technology Sydney**

Thank you for completing this survey. This research aims to develop a greater understanding of the wellbeing of our students in particular EALD students.

About Yourself

1. How **old** are you today? 9 ❑ 10 ❑ 11 ❑ 12 ❑
2. When is your date of birth? _____
3. Do you **speak** a language other than English at home? No ❑ Yes ❑ (what language?)_____
4. If yes, how well do you **speak** the other language (s)?
   Fluently ❑ I can speak in sentences ❑ I can say a few words ❑ I don't speak, but I can understand ❑
5. Can you **read** the other language?
   I can read very well ❑ I can read some words/ sentences ❑ I cannot read ❑
6. Can you **write** the other language?
   I can write very well ❑ I can write some words/ sentences ❑ I cannot write ❑
7. Describe where **your parents** are from? e.g. United Kingdom, China, India, Korea, Australia, New Zealand. (You may write more than one) Mum_____ Dad _____
8. In what country and city were **you born**? Country _____ City _____
9. How long have you lived in Australia?
   - ❑ Less than 1 year (I moved to Australia this year in Y5)
   - ❑ 1-2 years (I moved to Australia in Year 3 or Year 4)
   - ❑ 3-5 years (I moved to Australia in prep school K-2)
   - ❑ All my life

10. How would you **describe yourself** (only select one):

- ❑ Australian
- ❑ Australian and my parents' country e.g (Australian and Chinese)
- ❑ My parents' country e.g Chinese
- ❑ None of the above
- ❑ Other please explain _____

11. What year did you **start Pymble Ladies College**?

Year 5 ❑ Year 3 or 4 ❑ Prep ❑

12. How well do you **like school**?

1 2 3 4 5

I don't like going to school I like school I love going to school every day!

13. How would you rate your closeness to **your friends** at school?

1 2 3 4 5

not close, no one understands me quite close very close, I can tell them everything

14. How would you rate your closeness to **your teacher (s**) at school?

1 2 3 4 5

not close, they don't know me at all quite close very close, I can tell them everything

Your Father (answer about step-father if he is closer to you)

15. What is your father's current occupation? E.g. teacher,manager, business owner, doctor, not working, please explain _____
16. What is your father's level of English?

Speaks no English ❑ Speaks sentences ❑ Speaks well ❑ Speaks, reads, writes English fluently ❑

17. Was your father born in Australia? Yes ❑ No ❑
18. Did he study in Australia? Yes ❑ No ❑
19. How would you rate your closeness to your father?

1 2 3 4 5

not close, we don't talk quite close very close, I can tell him everything

20. Does your father live with you?

Yes ❑ go to Question xx (Your Mother) Sometimes ❑ No ❑

21. If Sometimes or No, where does he live?

    In Sydney ❑ Outside Sydney but in Australia ❑ In another country ❑

22. Usually, how often do you see your father?

    Once a week ❑ Once a month ❑ Once a term ❑ During the school holidays ❑

    Other ❑ please explain _____

Your Mother (answer about your step-mother if she is closer to you)

23. What is your mother's current occupation? E.g. teacher, manager, business owner, doctor, not working, please explain _____
24. What is your mother's level of English?

    Speaks no English ❑ Speaks sentences ❑ Speaks well ❑ Speaks, reads, writes English fluently ❑

25. Was your mother born in Australia? Yes ❑ No ❑
26. Did she study in Australia? Yes ❑ No ❑
27. How would you rate your closeness to your mother?

    1 2 3 4 5

    not close, we don't talk quite close very close, I can tell her everything

28. Does your mother live with you?

    Yes ❑ go to Question xx (Your Siblings) Sometimes ❑ No ❑

29. If Sometimes or No, where does she live?

    In Sydney ❑ Outside Sydney but in Australia ❑ In another country ❑

30. Usually, how often do you see your mother?

    Once a week ❑ Once a month ❑ Once a term ❑ During the school holidays ❑

    Other ❑ please explain _____

Your Siblings

31. Do you have brothers and sisters (including step siblings)?

    No ❑ go to Question xx (Your Home)

    Yes I have brothers ❑ How many _____ age(s) _____. No brothers ❑

    Yes I have sisters ❑ How many _____ age(s) _____ No sisters ❑

32. How would you rate your closeness to your sibling in general?

1 2 3 4 5

not close, we don't talk quite close very close, I tell them everything

Your Home

33. In what suburb do you live? _____

34. Do you live in a house ❑ unit/apartment ❑ Other ❑ please explain _____

35. Who else lives in your home (even if it is part of the time) ?

Grandparents ❑ Other ❑ (e.g cousins, aunty, uncle) please explain _____

36. Grandparents that live in your home:

My mum's dad ❑

lives with us all the time ❑ lives with us a few months a year ❑ lives with us a few days ❑

speaks no English ❑ speaks sentences ❑ speaks well ❑ speaks, reads, writes English ❑

My mum's mum ❑

lives with us all the time ❑ lives with us a few months a year ❑ lives with us a few days ❑

speaks no English ❑ speaks sentences ❑ speaks well ❑ speaks, reads, writes English ❑

My dad's dad ❑

lives with us all the time ❑ lives with us a few months a year ❑ lives with us a few days ❑

speaks no English ❑ speaks sentences ❑ speaks well ❑ speaks, reads, writes English ❑

My dad's mum ❑

lives with us all the time ❑ lives with us a few months a year ❑ lives with us a few days ❑

speaks no English ❑ speaks sentences ❑ speaks well ❑ speaks, reads, writes English ❑

My grandparent (s) helps us with:

cooking/cleaning ❑ driving to school or activities ❑ homework ❑ care of siblings ❑

Other ❑ please explain _____ None ❑

37. How would you rate your closeness to your grandparents?

1 2 3 4 5

not close, we don't talk quite close very close, I can tell her everything

38. Others that live in your home :

_____ (e.g cousin, aunty, uncle) age _____

lives with us all the time ❑ lives with us a few months a year ❑ lives with us a few days ❑

speaks no English ❑ speaks sentences ❑ speaks well ❑ speaks, reads, writes English ❑

They help us with:

cooking/cleaning ❑ driving to school or activities ❑ homework ❑ care of siblings ❑

Other ❑ please explain _____ None ❑

39. How would you rate your closeness to the other person(s) in your home?

1 2 3 4 5

not close, we don't talk quite close very close, I can tell her everything

Your Homework

40. How do you feel about your schoolwork?

❑ I do well in all subjects of school

❑ I do well in some subjects but not all. My best subject(s) is /are_____

❑ I don't do well in subjects like _____

41. How many nights a week do you do homework from school?

0 ❑ 1-2 ❑ 3-4 ❑ 5-7 ❑

42. Approximately how long do you spend doing homework each night?

Less than 30 mins ❑ 30-60 mins ❑ 60-90 mins ❑ More than 90 mins ❑

43. Do your parents help you with homework?

    every day ❑ several times a week ❑ once a week ❑ less than once a week ❑ never ❑

44. Do your parents set you extra homework tasks?

    every day ❑ several times a week ❑ once a week ❑ less than once a week ❑ never ❑

45. How often do you read for pleasure (not a book you have to read for school)?

    every day ❑ several times a week ❑ once a week ❑ less than once a week ❑ never ❑

46. Do your parents read books with you?

    every day ❑ several times a week ❑ once a week ❑ less than once a week ❑ never ❑

47. Do you go to a coaching centre/school or see a tutor?

    Yes ❑ No ❑

48. If Yes, what subjects and how often?

    Subject _____ once a week ❑ 2-3 times a week ❑ more than 4 times a week ❑

    Subject _____ once a week ❑ 2-3 times a week ❑ more than 4 times a week ❑

    Subject _____ once a week ❑ 2-3 times a week ❑ more than 4 times a week ❑

49. How long have you done tutoring/coaching?

    Less than 6 months ❑ 6-12 months ❑ 1-2 years ❑ More than 2 years ❑

50. Have your taken scholarship exams for *Pymble* or other school?

    Yes ❑ No ❑

Your Extra-Curricular

51. What extra curricula activities lessons do you do in school **AND** how often? (Select all that apply)

❑ Music _____once a week ❑ 2-3 times a week ❑ more than 4 times a week ❑ _____once a week ❑ 2-3 times a week ❑ more than 4 times a week ❑

_____once a week ❑ 2-3 times a week ❑ more than 4 times a week ❑

❑ Sports _____ once a week ❑ 2-3 times a week ❑ more than 4 times a week ❑

_____ once a week ❑ 2-3 times a week ❑ more than 4 times a week ❑

_____ once a week ❑ 2-3 times a week ❑ more than 4 times a week ❑

_____ once a week ❑ 2-3 times a week ❑ more than 4 times a week ❑

❑ Dance/Gym _____ once a week ❑ 2-3 times a week ❑ more than 4 times a week ❑

_____ once a week ❑ 2-3 times a week ❑ more than 4 times a week ❑

_____once a week ❑ 2-3 times a week ❑ more than 4 times a week ❑

_____once a week ❑ 2-3 times a week ❑ more than 4 times a week ❑

❑ Other _____ once a week ❑ 2-3 times a week ❑ more than 4 times a week ❑

_____ once a week ❑ 2-3 times a week ❑ more than 4 times a week ❑

52. Do these activities require extra practice or training at home? Yes ❑ No❑
53. If yes, how much time per week?

    Less than 30 mins ❑ 30-60 mins ❑ 1-3 hours of practice ❑ More than 3 hours of practice ❑

Expression of Interest: Further participation of Year 5 students

Would you be happy to talk more about the questions in this research project? This would involve:

- A 60 minute private one-to-one interview with you at school,

No ❑

Yes, I would like to be in an interview later ❑

Name _____ Connect Class _____

All information you share is confidential and private.

Thank you for completing the survey. ☺

Appendix C. Strengths and Difficulties Questionnaire

Strengths and Difficulties Questionnaire

S 11-17

For each item, please mark the box for Not True, Somewhat True or Certainly True. It would help us if you answered all items as best you can even if you are not absolutely certain . Please give your answers on the basis of how things have been for you over the last six months.

Your name..... Male/Female

Date of birth.....

	Not True	Somewhat True	Certainly True
I try to be nice to other people. I care about their feelings	☐	☐	☐
I am restless, I cannot stay still for long	☐	☐	☐
I get a lot of headaches, stomach-aches or sickness	☐	☐	☐
I usually share with others, for example CD's, games, food	☐	☐	☐
I get very angry and often lose my temper	☐	☐	☐
I would rather be alone than with people of my age	☐	☐	☐
I usually do as I am told	☐	☐	☐
I worry a lot	☐	☐	☐
I am helpful if someone is hurt, upset or feeling ill	☐	☐	☐
I am constantly fidgeting or squirming	☐	☐	☐
I have one good friend or more	☐	☐	☐
I fight a lot. I can make other people do what I want	☐	☐	☐
I am often unhappy, depressed or tearful	☐	☐	☐
Other people my age generally like me	☐	☐	☐
I am easily distracted, I find it difficult to concentrate	☐	☐	☐
I am nervous in new situations. I easily lose confidence	☐	☐	☐
I am kind to younger children	☐	☐	☐
I am often accused of lying or cheating	☐	☐	☐
Other children or young people pick on me or bully me	☐	☐	☐
I often volunteer to help others (parents, teachers, children)	☐	☐	☐
I think before I do things	☐	☐	☐
I take things that are not mine from home, school or elsewhere	☐	☐	☐
I get along better with adults than with people my own age	☐	☐	☐
I have many fears, I am easily scared	☐	☐	☐
I finish the work I'm doing. My attention is good	☐	☐	☐

Appendix D. Parent Consent Form for Interview

UTS UNIVERSITY OF TECHNOLOGY SYDNEY

PARTICIPANT INFORMATION SHEET for INTERVIEW

(please keep this sheet at home)

Wellbeing of EAL/D Students AND UTS HREC Ref No. ETH20-4789

WHO IS DOING THE RESEARCH?

My name is Victoria Adamovich and I am the English as an Additional Language or Dialect (EAL/D) teacher at Pymble Ladies College junior school and also a Masters of Research student at UTS. My supervisor is Dr Christina Ho, Associate Professor at the Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences, UTS.

WHAT IS THIS RESEARCH ABOUT?

This research seeks to understand the wellbeing of EAL/D students. Moving to a new country or living with two cultures and languages can be wonderful and sometimes challenging. I will be asking questions to you and your child to understand how the child feels about school, homework, friends, teachers and the family environment. Your participation in these interviews will help the researcher and school understand the needs of EAL/D families and students and how best to support them.

The first stage of the research was completed in term 4 2020, where more than 100 Year 5 girls participated in the online wellbeing survey. We are now at the second stage of the research (in term 2 2021). I would like to invite about 5 students and their parent to do a one-to-one interview.

WHY HAVE I BEEN ASKED?

You and your child have been invited to participate in stage 2 of the research as your daughter indicated in the survey that your family speak another language other than English at home.

IF YOU CONSENT TO PARTICIPATING IN THIS RESEARCH, WHAT WILL IT INVOLVE?

If you consent to the interview:

1. **Your child** will be interviewed by the researcher at school, at a time convenient to your family.
2. **You, the parent** will be interviewed by the researcher at school, at a time convenient to you.

The interview will ask you and your child about family, school, homework, friends and general wellbeing.

The interview will take approximately 60 minutes, be audio-recorded and transcribed.

The interview will be conducted in a private room at school.

Your child and you will be invited to bring photographs or objects from home to talk about family.

The interview will be conducted in English, however the researcher can speak Mandarin Chinese if you or your child feel more comfortable in this language.

After each interview, the researcher will share the transcript with the interviewee. The interviewee can decide to edit or withdraw any parts of the conversation you do not wish to be in the final transcript.

ARE THERE ANY RISKS/INCONVENIENCE?

Yes, there may be some risks/inconvenience. Reflection on the child's wellbeing and family may potentially cause distress to you and/or your child. Following each interview, the researcher will have a debrief to see if you or your child wish to discuss anything further with a counsellor.

If at any time during the interview, you or your child become distressed, you can ask to skip that section of the interview or stop the interview.

DO I HAVE TO SAY YES?

Participation in this study is voluntary. It is completely up to you whether or not you and your child decide to take part in the interviews.

WHAT WILL HAPPEN IF I SAY NO?

If you decide not to participate, it will not affect your relationship with the researcher or the University of Technology Sydney. It will not affect your relationship with the teachers or Pymble Ladies College. 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 Victoria Adamovich.

CONFIDENTIALITY

By signing the consent form, you consent to the researcher collecting and using personal information about you and your child for the research project. All information will be treated confidentially. Both interviewees will be assigned a pseudonym. Only the researcher has access to participants' names. The results will be discussed in Victoria Adamovich's Masters thesis, but your names will not be used.

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 me *vadamovich@pymblelc.nsw.edu.au* or christina.ho@uts.edu.au.

UTS UNIVERSITY OF TECHNOLOGY SYDNEY

CONSENT FORM for PARTICIPATION in the INTERVIEW

WELLBEING OF EALD STUDENTS AND UTS HREC *Ref No. ETH20-4789*

(please return to Mrs Adamovich in envelope provided if you wish to do the interview)

☐ I agree for myself and my child to participate in interviews for the research project [Wellbeing of EALD Students and UTS HREC Ref No. ETH20-4789] conducted by Victoria Adamovich, vadamovich@pymblelc.nsw.edu.au.

I have read the Participant Information Sheet.

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

I freely agree for me and my child to participate in this research project as described and understand that we are free to withdraw at any time without affecting our relationship with the researcher, the University of Technology Sydney or Pymble Ladies College.

I agree that the research data gathered from this project may be written in a Masters thesis in a form that:

- Does not identify me or my child in any way.

I am aware that I can contact Victoria Adamovich vadamovich@pymblelc.nsw.edu.au if I have any concerns about the research.

_____ ____/____/____
Name and Signature [parent] Date

_____ ____/____/____
Name and Signature [child] Date

Our preferred time to do the 1 hour interview would be:

	Monday	Tuesday	Wednesday	Thursday	Friday
Child					
Parent					

Please provide a contact telephone number to Victoria Adamovich so we can arrange a suitable time:

best telephone number _____

Appendix E. Parent and Child Interview Outline

EALD Student Wellbeing Research – PARENT Interview Schedule

Introduction and procedure, relate to survey

Recap: What is your cultural background? How long have you been in Australia?

If applicable:

1. Why did you migrate to Australia? (Was kids' education a major reason?)
2. Did you consider other countries to migrate to?
3. What visa did you arrive on? (e.g. skilled, family reunion, refugee, student, etc)
4. What was your job before you migrated? (What job do you have now?)
5. How easy was it to settle in Australia? (e.g. employment, social integration)

Recap: What school does your child attend? What year is your child in?? How long have they been in this school?

6. Why did you choose this school?
7. How many other schools did you consider before choosing this one?
8. Did you discuss school choice much among friends and family?
9. How happy are you with the school overall? What are the best features of the school? Is there anything you are unhappy about with the school?
10. How happy are you with how your child is going at school?
11. How important are academic results to you? How important are results compared to other things, like trying hard, or learning good values?
12. Do you think your child takes their schoolwork seriously enough?
13. Does your child ever get anxious about schoolwork, or any other aspect of school?
14. Does your child have good friends at school? How do you know? Do they have playdates? Do you know the friends families?

We asked in the survey about homework and want to follow up with some further questions.

15. How important do you think homework is? Explain.
16. How long do you think a Year 5 student should spend on homework each week?
17. Could you describe your child's homework routine, i.e. when and where they do it, etc.
18. Is your child usually happy to do their homework, or do you need to help them?

In the survey you indicated that your child does/does not attend tutoring.

19. What's your view about tutoring? Why do you feel your child does/does not need it?

If applicable:

20. What subjects does your child receive tutoring for?
21. How do you choose which tutoring centre to send your child to?
22. How happy are you with this tutoring centre?
23. How much does tutoring cost?
24. How does your child feel about going to tutoring?

25. Did your child do any extra study before the NAPLAN test? What? Why/not?
26. Did you talk with your child about their NAPLAN results?

Your child indicated in the survey that grandparents/extended family live with you

27. Why/not?
28. How is the living arrangement?
29. Are they helpful to you when they come? Do they have difficulties adapting to life in Australia?
30. How would you describe their relationship with your child(ren)? Are there difficulties in communication in English/other language?
31. Do they enjoy being in Australia? And living with you?

We asked in the survey about the activities your child was involved in outside school and wanted to ask you further questions about this.

32. Do you think extra curricula activities are an important part of your child's education?
33. If yes, in what way? If no, why not? [prompt: do they help or get in the way of school work?]
34. How happy are you with the quality of teaching at your child's school?
35. Do you feel comfortable approaching the school and your child's teacher to discuss his/her schoolwork or any concerns you may have? Why/not?
36. Does the environment at the school encourage your child to work hard? If yes, which aspects?

For those in absent fathers/ mothers:

37. How often if your spouse away from Australia?
38. How do you feel when your spouse is away? What are the upsides? The downsides?
39. How did this arrangement come about?
40. How does this arrangement affect your marriage and family life?
41. How do your child(ren) feel when their father/mother is away? How do you deal with this? Do you think the arrangements negatively impact their wellbeing?

Ask about their social connections

42. Are there lots of families at the school from the same cultural background as you? Do you tend to socialize with them more, or not really?
43. Do you think people from different cultural backgrounds have different attitudes to education? If yes, what are they?
44. How would you compare your child's education to your own experience of education?
45. Do you have much involvement in the school, e.g. attending P&C meetings, assemblies, concerts, fundraisers, etc. Why or why not?
46. Migrants to new countries may experience social isolation – do you feel welcome by Australians?

Ask about the wellbeing of their child

1. When migrants move to a new country, they may experience uncertainty in belonging and identity. Do you feel Chinese? Or Australian?
2. How do you think your children feel? How do you want their identity to be?

3. Do you intend to stay here only until your children finish school or university? Or do you feel like you have roots in Australia and want to stay long term?
4. Are you worried about the wellbeing of your child? Do they show any signs of stress or anxiety about moving here?
5. Wellbeing comes from feeling good about themselves – does your child have high self-esteem? Are they confident ? Are they different in China vs in Australia?
6. Wellbeing also comes from social connections – has your child made good friends (in or out of school)?
7. Any questions you'd like to ask us?

Thank You

EALD Student Wellbeing Research – STUDENT Interview Schedule

Introduce ourselves and explain how we will be asking questions about school and things students do at home. Explain that the answers to these questions are private and that we don't tell anyone their name. Point out that because we have so many interviews to remember we record them so we can write the information down and refer to it later. Also add that if they want to stop at any time in the interview they just need to let us know. Finally say that there is no right or wrong answer to these questions; it's just their opinion that we're interested in.

6. What is your name?
7. Where were you born and how long have your lived in Australia?
8. Where are your parents from?
9. Would you describe yourself as Australian, Chinese Australian or Chinese? Why?
10. Do you feel happier in China or in Australia? Why?
11. Where do you want to live when you grow up? Why?

12. What language does your family mainly speak at home? How well do you speak it? Can you read and write?
13. Do you learn in a Chinese language school or just at home?
14. Do you feel happy that you speak another language? Or do you feel it is an extra thing to learn? A burden?
15. How do you feel about your English level?
16. When did you start at Pymble Ladies College?
17. Do you like school? Why, why not?
18. How do you feel about your teacher(s)? Are you close to one? Do you feel they care about you?
19. Who are your best friends at school? Are they Chinese, Indian, Australian? Where are they or their family from?
20. Do you tend to mix with friends who are also Chinese/Asian/Mixed, or not really?
21. Was it easy to make friends at school? How many good friends do you have?
22. Are there any girls at school that you have problems with?
23. Have you ever told a teacher about any problems with other students?
24. Do you feel any teasing or misunderstanding from students or teachers because you are Chinese?
25. Do you think you're doing OK in school?
26. What's your favourite subject? Why?
27. Do you generally find schoolwork easy or hard?
28. Do you worry much about your schoolwork?
29. Do you worry about your report or grades?
30. What about tests, like NAPLAN?
31. Do you do homework every day? If not, how often?
32. Do you like homework? Why, why not?
33. Does your parent set you extra homework?
34. Does anyone help you do your homework?
35. If 'yes' who is it and does this help? If no, do you think you'd do better if someone in the family helped you?
36. Do you think you get enough homework or too much? Why do you think this?

37. Do you have tutoring for your school subjects outside school?
38. What subjects do you have tutoring in? How often?
39. Why do you do tutoring?
40. Do you like tutoring? Why, why not?
41. Do many of your friends go to tutoring?
42. Do you think kids from different cultural backgrounds have different idea about studying? E.g. Have you noticed that other people's parents are stricter than yours? Or less strict?
43. Are you involved in any activities at school, like a band or choir or sports?
44. How much time do you spend doing these things?
45. Which do you enjoy? Are there any activities you don't want to do but your parents make you do it?
46. Are you allowed to spend much time playing with friends? How often? E.g. once a week, or more or less?
47. Have you had a sleepover at a friend's house?
48. Do you like reading (that is not part of schoolwork)?
49. What kinds of things do you like reading?
50. Do you read every day?
51. Do your parents read with you?

About your mother

1. Tell me about your mother, what is her job? Do you see her a lot?
2. Does she speak good English?
3. Was she educated in China or Australia?
4. Is she involved with school? e.g. attending P&C meetings, assemblies, concerts, fundraisers, etc. Why or why not?
5. Does she have good friends in Australia? Do they go out together?
6. Does she miss living in China, or does she prefer Australia?
7. Would you say you are close to you mum? Why or why not?

About your father

1. Tell me about your father, what is his job? Do you see him a lot?
2. Does he speak good English?
3. Was he educated in China or Australia?
4. Is he involved with school? e.g. attending P&C meetings, assemblies, concerts, fundraisers, etc. Why or why not?
5. Does he have good friends in Australia? Do they go out together?
6. Does he miss living in China, or does he prefer Australia?
7. Would you say you are close to you dad? Why or why not?

In the survey you mentioned that grandparents/extended family live with you

8. Why do they live you? How is the living arrangement?
9. Do they enjoy being in Australia? And living with you?
10. What do they do when they are here? Help in house, drive,
11. Do they speak good English?
12. Are there difficulties in communicating with them in English or Chinese?
13. Are there things you disagree on?

14. How would you describe their relationship with you? Are you close?

For those with absent fathers/ mothers:

1. How often is your father/mother away from Australia?
2. How do you feel when your parent is away? Are there upsides? The downsides?
3. Why do your parents have this arrangement? Do you agree?
4. Do you think there are any tensions between your parents because of the arrangement? Do they communicate more or less?
5. How do you keep communicating with your parent when they are away?
6. Do you feel close with your mother / father? How do you know?

Wellbeing from SDQ questionnaire

1. You answered in SDG _____ can you tell me more?
2. You answered in SDG _____ can you tell me more?
3. You answered in SDG _____ can you tell me more?
4.

Thank you.

References

Abelmann, N., Newendorp, N., & Lee-Chung, S. (2014). East Asia's Astronaut and Geese Families: Hong Kong and South Korean Cosmopolitanisms. *Critical Asian Studies*, *46*(2), 259–286. https://doi.org/10.1080/14672715.2014.898454

Ahearn, F. L., & Athey, J. L. (Eds.). (1991). *Refugee children: Theory, research, and services*. Johns Hopkins University Press.

Ainsworth, M., Blehar, M., Waters, E., & Wall, S. (2014). Patterns of attachment: A psychological study of the strange situation. *Routledge Taylor & Francis group Psychology press.*

Alati, R., Najman, J. M., Shuttlewood, G. J., Williams, G. M., & Bor, W. (2003). Changes in mental health status amongst children of migrants to Australia: A longitudinal study. *Sociology of Health and Illness*, *25*(7), Article 7. https://doi.org/10.1046/j.1467-9566.2003.00373.x

Alexander, K. L., Entwisle, D. R., & Bedinger, S. D. (1994). When Expectations Work: Race and Socioeconomic Differences in School Performance. *Social Psychology Quarterly*, *57*(4), 283. https://doi.org/10.2307/2787156

Amato, P. R., & Gilbreth, J. G. (1999). Nonresident Fathers and Children's Well-Being: A Meta-Analysis. *Journal of Marriage and the Family*, *61*(3), 557. https://doi.org/10.2307/353560

Andrade, A. S., Roca, J. S., & Pérez, S. R. (2023). Children's emotional and behavioral response following a migration: A scoping review. *Journal of Migration and Health*, *7*, 100176. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jmh.2023.100176

Ang, R. P., & Huan, V. S. (2006). Relationship between Academic Stress and Suicidal Ideation: Testing for Depression as a Mediator Using Multiple

Regression. *Child Psychiatry and Human Development*, *37*(2), 133–143. https://doi.org/10.1007/s10578-006-0023-8

Archer, L., DeWitt, J., & Wong, B. (2014). Spheres of influence: What shapes young people's aspirations at age 12/13 and what are the implications for education policy? *Journal of Education Policy*, *29*(1), 58–85. https://doi.org/10.1080/02680939.2013.790079

Australian Bureau of Statistics. (2020). *ABS Schools 2020*. https://www.abs.gov.au/statistics/people/education/schools/2020

Australian Bureau Of Statistics. (2021). *Permanent migrants in Australia*. https://www.abs.gov.au/statistics/people/people-and-communities/permanent-migrants-australia/latest-release

Australian Institute of Health and Welfare. (2020). *Australia's health 2020*. https://doi.org/10.25816/5F05371C539F3

Australian Institute of Health and Welfare. (2022). *Australia's health 2022: Data insights*. https://doi.org/10.25816/GGVZ-VR80

Awasthi, S. P., & Chandra, A. (1994). Migration from India to Australia. *Asian and Pacific Migration Journal*, *3*(2–3), Article 2–3. https://doi.org/10.1177/011719689400300207

Aye, Alice, & Guerin, B. (2001). Astronaut families: A review of their characteristics, impact on families and implications for practice in New Zealand. *New Zealand Journal of Psychology*, *30*(1), Article 1. ProQuest Central.

Bain & Company. (2019). *China Private Wealthy Report*. https://www.bain.cn/pdfs/201909241138056108.pdf

Baker, C. (2023). *NHS staff from overseas: Statistics*. House of Commones. https://researchbriefings.files.parliament.uk/documents/CBP-7783/CBP-7783.pdf

Bandura, A. (1977). Self-efficacy: Toward a unifying theory of behavioral change. *Psychological Review*, *84*(2), Article 2. https://doi.org/10.1037/0033-295X.84.2.191

Basch, L. G., Schiller, N. G., & Szanton Blanc, C. (1994). *Nations unbound: Transnational projects, postcolonial predicaments, and deterritorialized nation-states*. Gordon and Breach.

Basit, T. N. (2012). 'My parents have stressed that since I was a kid': Young minority ethnic British citizens and the phenomenon of aspirational capital. *Education, Citizenship and Social Justice*, *7*(2), Article 2. https://doi.org/10.1177/1746197912440857

Bedford, R., Ho, E., & Lidgard, J. (2001). Immigration Policy and New Zealand's Development into the 21 st Century: Review and Speculation. *Asian and Pacific Migration Journal*, *10*(3–4), Article 3–4. https://doi.org/10.1177/011719680101000311

Benoit, D. (2004). Infant-parent attachment: Definition, types, antecedents, measurement and outcome. *Paediatrics & Child Health*, *9*(8), Article 8. https://doi.org/10.1093/pch/9.8.541

Berestein, L. (1996, June 10). Too young, too soon, youth: "Parachute kids", Asian teens sent here to study, grow up lonely and confused. *The Orange County Register,* E01.

Berger, P., & Luckmann, T. (1967). *The social construction of reality: A treatise in the sociology of knowledge.* (Anchor books ed. Garden City). N. Y. Doubleday.

Berry, J. W. (1997). Immigration, Acculturation, and Adaptation. *Applied Psychology*, *46*(1), 5–34. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1464-0597.1997.tb01087.x

Berry, J. W. (2005). Acculturation: Living successfully in two cultures. *International Journal of Intercultural Relations*, *29*(6), 697–712. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.ijintrel.2005.07.013

Bhabha, H. K. (2004). *The location of culture*. Routledge.

Bharara, G., Duncan, S., Jarden, A., & Hinckson, E. (2019). A prototype analysis of New Zealand adolescents' conceptualizations of wellbeing. *International Journal of Wellbeing*, *9*(4), 1–25. https://doi.org/10.5502/ijw.v9i4.975

Birman, D. (2011, April 1). *Intergenerational differences | Encyclopedia on Early Childhood Development*. https://www.child-encyclopedia.com/immigration/according-experts/intergenerational-differences-acculturation

Blockmans, S. (2016). Brexit, Globalisation and the Future of the EU. *Intereconomics*, *51*(4), 182–183. https://doi.org/10.1007/s10272-016-0598-7

Boeri, T. (2012). *Brain drain and brain gain: The global competition to attract high-skilled mgirations*. Oxford University Press.

Bohr, Y., & Tse, C. (2009). Satellite babies in transnational families: A study of parents' decision to separate from their infants. *Infant Mental Health Journal*, *30*(3), Article 3. https://doi.org/10.1002/imhj.20214

Bonney, N., & Love, J. (1991). Gender and Migration: Geographical Mobility and the Wife's Sacrifice. *The Sociological Review*, *39*(2), 335–348. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-954X.1991.tb02984.x

Borelli, J. L., Margolin, G., & Rasmussen, H. F. (2015). Parental overcontrol as a mechanism explaining the longitudinal association between parent and child

anxiety. *Journal of Child and Family Studies*, *24*(6), Article 6. https://doi.org/10.1007/s10826-014-9960-1

Bowlby, J. (1979). The Bowlby-Ainsworth attachment theory. *Behavioral and Brain Sciences*, *2*(4), 637–638. https://doi.org/10.1017/S0140525X00064955

Boyer, T. (1996). Problems in Paradise: Taiwanese Immigrants to Auckland, New Zealand. *Asia Pacific Viewpoint*, *37*(1), Article 1. https://doi.org/10.1111/apv.371004

Brance, K., Chatzimpyros, V., & Bentall, R. P. (2024). Social identity, mental health and the experience of migration. *British Journal of Social Psychology*, bjso.12745. https://doi.org/10.1111/bjso.12745

Bronfenbrenner, U. (1996). *The ecology of human development: Experiments by nature and design*. Harvard University Press.

Burgess, R. G. (2002). *In the Field: An Introduction to Field Research*. Routledge. https://doi.org/10.4324/9780203418161

Busby, C., & Corak, M. (2014). Don't Forget the Kids: How Immigrant Policy Can Help Immigrants' Children. *SSRN Electronic Journal*. https://doi.org/10.2139/ssrn.2436955

Butcher, M. (2004). Universal Processes of Cultural Change: Reflections on the identity strategies of Indian and Australian youth. *Journal of Intercultural Studies*, *25*(3), Article 3. https://doi.org/10.1080/0725686042000315731

Caligiuri, P., & Bonache, J. (2016). Evolving and enduring challenges in global mobility. *Journal of World Business*, *51*(1), Article 1. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jwb.2015.10.001

Carlson, M. J. (2006). Family Structure, Father Involvement, and Adolescent Behavioral Outcomes. *Journal of Marriage and Family*, *68*(1), 137–154. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1741-3737.2006.00239.x

Chang, E. S. (2018). Kirogi Women's Psychological Well-Being: The Relative Contributions of Marital Quality, Mother–Child Relationship Quality, and Youth's Educational Adjustment. *Journal of Family Issues*, *39*(1), Article 1. https://doi.org/10.1177/0192513X16632265

Chang, M. W., & Darlington, Y. (2008). 'Astronaut' Wives: Perceptions of Changes in Family Roles. *Asian and Pacific Migration Journal*, *17*(1), 61–77. https://doi.org/10.1177/011719680801700103

Chao, R. K. (1994). Beyond Parental Control and Authoritarian Parenting Style: Understanding Chinese Parenting Through the Cultural Notion of Training. *Child Development*, *65*(4), Article 4. https://doi.org/10.2307/1131308

Charania, N. A., Paynter, J., Lee, A. C., Watson, D. G., & Turner, N. M. (2018). Exploring immunisation inequities among migrant and refugee children in New Zealand. *Human Vaccines & Immunotherapeutics*, *14*(12), Article 12. https://doi.org/10.1080/21645515.2018.1496769

Chen, S. (2008). Chinese Research Students' Adjustment to the Australian Learning Environment. *The International Journal of Learning: Annual Review*, *15*(1), 43–50. https://doi.org/10.18848/1447-9494/CGP/v15i01/45381

Chen, X., & Graham, S. (2018). Doing better but feeling worse: An attributional account of achievement—self-esteem disparities in Asian American students. *Social Psychology of Education*, *21*(4), Article 4. https://doi.org/10.1007/s11218-018-9447-9

Chen, X., Liu, M., & Li, D. (2000). Parental warmth, control, and indulgence and their relations to adjustment in Chinese children: A longitudinal study. *Journal of Family Psychology*, *14*(3), 401–419. https://doi.org/10.1037/0893-3200.14.3.401

Cheng, B. (2020). Sociocultural adaptation of “parachute kids” from mainland China. *British Journal of Guidance & Counselling*, *48*(6), Article 6. https://doi.org/10.1080/03069885.2019.1643006

Chiang, L.-H. N., & Yang, C.-H. S. (2008). Learning to be Australian: Adaptation and Identity Formation of Young Taiwanese-Chinese Immigrants in Melbourne, Australia. *Pacific Affairs*, *81*(2), Article 2. https://doi.org/10.5509/2008812241

Childs, S., Finnie, R., & Mueller, R. E. (2017). Why Do So Many Children of Immigrants Attend University? Evidence for Canada. *Journal of International Migration and Integration*, *18*(1), Article 1. https://doi.org/10.1007/s12134-015-0447-8

Chiu, Y.-W., & Ring, J. M. (1998). Chinese and Vietnamese immigrant adolescents under pressure: Identifying stressors and interventions. *Professional Psychology: Research and Practice*, *29*(5), Article 5. https://doi.org/10.1037/0735-7028.29.5.444

Choi, Y., Kim, Y. S., Kim, S. Y., & Park, I. J. K. (2013). Is Asian American parenting controlling and harsh? Empirical testing of relationships between Korean American and Western parenting measures. *Asian American Journal of Psychology*, *4*(1), Article 1. https://doi.org/10.1037/a0031220

Chua, Amy. (2011). *Battle Hymn of the Tiger Mother*. Penguin

Clarke, T. (2020). Children's wellbeing and their academic achievement: The dangerous discourse of 'trade-offs' in education. *Theory and Research in Education*, *18*(3), Article 3. https://doi.org/10.1177/1477878520980197

Coakley, J. (2006). The Good Father: Parental Expectations and Youth Sports. *Leisure Studies*, *25*(2), Article 2. https://doi.org/10.1080/02614360500467735

Comeau, G., Huta, V., & Liu, Y. (2015). Work ethic, motivation, and parental influences in Chinese and North American children learning to play the piano. *International Journal of Music Education*, *33*(2), Article 2. https://doi.org/10.1177/0255761413516062

Cooke, T. J. (2001). 'Trailing Wife' or 'Trailing Mother'? The Effect of Parental Status on the Relationship between Family Migration and the Labor-Market Participation of Married Women. *Environment and Planning A: Economy and Space*, *33*(3), Article 3. https://doi.org/10.1068/a33140

Cooke, T. J. (2003). Family Migration and the Relative Earnings of Husbands and Wives. *Annals of the Association of American Geographers*, *93*(2), Article 2. https://doi.org/10.1111/1467-8306.9302005

Costigan, C. L., Hua, J. M., & Su, T. F. (2010). Living up to Expectations: The Strengths and Challenges Experienced by Chinese Canadian Students. *Canadian Journal of School Psychology*, *25*(3), Article 3. https://doi.org/10.1177/0829573510368941

Credit Suisse. (2022). *Global Wealth Report*. file:///Users/VAdamovich/Downloads/global-wealth-report-2022-en.pdf

Da, W. W. (2003). Transnational grandparenting: Child care arrangements among migrants from the People's Republic of China to Australia. *Journal of International Migration and Integration / Revue de l'integration et de La*

Migration Internationale, *4*(1), Article 1. https://doi.org/10.1007/s12134-003-1020-4

Dandy, J., & Nettelbeck, T. (2002). A cross-cultural study of parents' academic standards and educational aspirations for their children. *Educational Psychology*, *22*(5), Article 5. https://doi.org/10.1080/0144341022000023662

Danişman, Ş. (2017). The Effect of Expectation on Student Achievement. In E. Karadag (Ed.), *The Factors Effecting Student Achievement* (pp. 227–245). Springer International Publishing. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-319-56083-0_14

Davis-Kean, P. E. (2005). The Influence of Parent Education and Family Income on Child Achievement: The Indirect Role of Parental Expectations and the Home Environment. *Journal of Family Psychology*, *19*(2), Article 2. https://doi.org/10.1037/0893-3200.19.2.294

De Vos, G. A. (2019). *Social Cohesion and Alienation: Minorities in the United States and Japan* (1st ed.). Routledge. https://doi.org/10.4324/9780429306242

Delle Fave, A., Brdar, I., Freire, T., Vella-Brodrick, D., & Wissing, M. P. (2011). The Eudaimonic and Hedonic Components of Happiness: Qualitative and Quantitative Findings. *Social Indicators Research*, *100*(2), 185–207. https://doi.org/10.1007/s11205-010-9632-5

Dello-Iacovo, B. (2009). Curriculum reform and 'Quality Education' in China: An overview. *International Journal of Educational Development*, *29*(3), Article 3. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.ijedudev.2008.02.008

Deloitte access economics. (2019). *Impact of the Significant Investor visa program*. Deloitte. https://acbc.com.au/wp-content/uploads/2020/04/Copy2SIV_report_June_2019_web_pages_v3.pdf

Deng, M., & Guo, L. (2007). Local special education administrators' understanding of inclusive education in China. *International Journal of Educational Development*, *27*(6), Article 6. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.ijedudev.2007.02.005

Department of Home Affairs. (2018). *Australia's Migration Trends 2017-18, Highlights*. Department of Home Affairs.

Department of Home Affairs. (2023a). *2022-23 Migration Program Report*. https://www.homeaffairs.gov.au/research-and-stats/files/report-migration-program-2022-23.pdf

Department of Home Affairs. (2023b). *Review of the Migration System*.

Department Of Social Services, Australian Institute Of Family Studies, & Australian Bureau Of Statistics. (2023). *Growing Up in Australia: Longitudinal Study of Australian Children (LSAC) Release 9.1 C2 (Waves 1-9C)* [dataset]. ADA Dataverse. https://doi.org/10.26193/QR4L6Q

Devos, T., & Banaji, M. R. (2005). American = White? *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, *88*(3), 447–466. https://doi.org/10.1037/0022-3514.88.3.447

DiBartolo, P. M., & Rendón, M. J. (2012). A critical examination of the construct of perfectionism and its relationship to mental health in Asian and African Americans using a cross-cultural framework. *Clinical Psychology Review*, *32*(3), Article 3. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.cpr.2011.09.007

Dockery, A. M., Koshy, P., & Li, I. W. (2022). Parental expectations of children's higher education participation in Australia. *British Educational Research Journal*, *48*(4), Article 4. https://doi.org/10.1002/berj.3786

Due, C., Riggs, D. W., & Augoustinos, M. (2014). Research with Children of Migrant and Refugee Backgrounds: A Review of Child-Centered Research Methods.

Child Indicators Research, *7*(1), Article 1. https://doi.org/10.1007/s12187-013-9214-6

Elise Radina, M., Deer, B.L., Herriman, R.A. *et al.* Elucidating emotional closeness within the Theory of Health-Related Family Quality of Life: evidence from breast cancer survivors. *BMC Res Notes* **12**, 312 (2019). https://doi.org/10.1186/s13104-019-4354-5

Englund, M. M., Luckner, A. E., Whaley, G. J. L., & Egeland, B. (2004). Children's Achievement in Early Elementary School: Longitudinal Effects of Parental Involvement, Expectations, and Quality of Assistance. *Journal of Educational Psychology*, *96*(4), Article 4. https://doi.org/10.1037/0022-0663.96.4.723

Erikson, E., H. (1968). *Identity: Youth and crisis*. WW Norton & company.

Finaccord. (2018). *Global Expatriates: Size, Segmentation and Forecast for the Worldwide Market.* https://www.finaccord.com/Home/About-Us/Press-Releases/Global-Expatriates-Size,-Segmentation-and-Forecast

Findlay, A. M., & Li, F. L. N. (1997). An auto-biographical approach to understanding migration: The case of Hong Kong emigrants. *Area*, *29*(1), 34–44. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1475-4762.1997.tb00005.x

Fong, V. L. (2011). *Paradise redefined: Transnational Chinese students and the quest for flexible citizenship in the developed world*. Stanford Univ. Press.

Foster, S. (Updated 2023, July 19 12.44pm). Australia now top destination for cashed up Chinese homebuyers. *Realestate.Com.Au*. https://www.realestate.com.au/news/australia-now-top-destination-for-cashed-up-chinese-homebuyers/

Furnham, A., & Bochner, S. (1986). *Culture Shock: Psychological reactions to unfamiliar environment.* Methuen.

Gao, J. (2022). Riding on the waves of transformation in the Asia-Pacific: Chinese migration to Australia since the late 1980s. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, *48*(4), Article 4. https://doi.org/10.1080/1369183X.2021.1983955

Glaser, B., & Strauss, A. (1967). *The Discovery of Grounded Theory: Strategies for Qualitative Research*. Sociology Press.

Glick, J. E., & White, M. J. (2004). Post-secondary school participation of immigrant and native youth: The role of familial resources and educational expectations. *Social Science Research*, *33*(2), Article 2. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.ssresearch.2003.06.001

Glick Schiller, N., Basch, L., & Blanc-Szanton, C. (1992). Towards a Transnational Perspective on Migration: Race, Class, Ethnicity, and Nationalism Reconsidered. *Annals of the New York Academy of Sciences*, *645*, 1–24.

Gniewosz, B., Eccles, J. S., & Noack, P. (2015). Early Adolescents' Development of Academic Self-Concept and Intrinsic Task Value: The Role of Contextual Feedback. *Journal of Research on Adolescence*, *25*(3), Article 3. https://doi.org/10.1111/jora.12140

Gold, S., Edin, K. J., & Nelson, T. J. (2020). Does Time with Dad in Childhood Pay Off in Adolescence? *Journal of Marriage and Family*, *82*(5), 1587–1605. https://doi.org/10.1111/jomf.12676

Goldenberg, C., Gallimore, R., Reese, L., & Garnier, H. (2001). Cause or Effect? A Longitudinal Study of Immigrant Latino Parents' Aspirations and Expectations, and Their Children's School Performance. *American Educational Research Journal*, *38*(3), Article 3. https://doi.org/10.3102/00028312038003547

Goodman, D., & Robison, R. (Eds.). (2013). *The New Rich in Asia* (0 ed.). Routledge. https://doi.org/10.4324/9781315003986

Goodman, R., Meltzer, H., & Bailey, V. (1998). The strengths and difficulties questionnaire: A pilot study on the validity of the self-report version. *European Child & Adolescent Psychiatry*, *7*(3), Article 3. https://doi.org/10.1007/s007870050057

Grusky, D. B., & Hill, J. (Eds.). (2018). *Inequality in the 21st century: A reader*.

Gunasekara, A., Grant, S., & Rajendran, D. (2019). Years since migration and wellbeing among Indian and Sri Lankan skilled migrants in Australia: Mediating effects of acculturation. *International Journal of Intercultural Relations*, *70*, 42–52. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.ijintrel.2019.02.006

Guo, S. (2022). Reimagining Chinese diasporas in a transnational world: Toward a new research agenda. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, *48*(4), Article 4. https://doi.org/10.1080/1369183X.2021.1983958

Hajro, A., Stahl, G. K., Clegg, C. C., & Lazarova, M. B. (2019). Acculturation, coping, and integration success of international skilled migrants: An integrative review and multilevel framework. *Human Resource Management Journal*, *29*(3), Article 3. https://doi.org/10.1111/1748-8583.12233

Halfacree, K. H. (1995). Household migration and the structuration of patriarchy: Evidence from the USA. *Progress in Human Geography*, *19*(2), 159–182. https://doi.org/10.1177/030913259501900201

Harasym, J. A., Gross, D. P., MacLeod, A. A. N., & Phelan, S. K. (2024). “This Is a Look Into My Life”: Enhancing Qualitative Inquiry Into Communication Through Arts-Based Research Methods. *International Journal of Qualitative Methods*, *23*, 16094069241232604. https://doi.org/10.1177/16094069241232603

Hartley, R., & Australian Institute of Family Studies (Eds.). (1995). *Families and cultural diversity in Australia*. Allen & Unwin in association with the Australian Institute of Family Studies.

Haspolat, N. K., & Yalçın, İ. (2023). Psychological symptoms in high achieving students: The multiple mediating effects of parental achievement pressure, perfectionism, and academic expectation stress. *Psychology in the Schools*, *60*(11), Article 11. https://doi.org/10.1002/pits.23012

Hau, K., & Salili, F. (1991). Structure and Semantic Differential Placement of Specific Causes: Academic Causal Attributions by Chinese Students in Hong Kong. *International Journal of Psychology*, *26*(2), 175–193. https://doi.org/10.1080/00207599108247885

Hays, Sharon. (1996). *The Cultural Contradictions of Motherhood*. Yale University Press

Henly Passport Index. (2023). *Henley Passport Index*. https://www.henleyglobal.com/passport-index

Herrmann, R. K., Risse-Kappen, T., & Brewer, M. B. (Eds.). (2004). *Transnational identities: Becoming European in the EU*. Rowman & Littlefield.

Hetherington, E. M. (1992). I. COPING WITH MARITAL TRANSITIONS: A FAMILY SYSTEMS PERSPECTIVE. *Monographs of the Society for Research in Child Development*, *57*(2–3), 1–14. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1540-5834.1992.tb00300.x

Ho, C. (2006). Migration as Feminisation? Chinese Women's Experiences of Work and Family in Australia. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, *32*(3), 497–514. https://doi.org/10.1080/13691830600555053

Ho, C. (2020). *Aspiration and anxiety: Asian migrants and Australian schooling*. Melbourne University press.

Ho, E., & Bedford, R. (2008). Asian Transnational Families in New Zealand: Dynamics and Challenges. *International Migration*, *46*(4), Article 4. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1468-2435.2008.00471.x

Ho, E., Bedford, R., & Goodwin, J. (1997b). “Astronaut” families: A contemporary migration phenomenon. *East Asian New Zealanders: Research on New Migrants*, pp20-41.

Ho, E., Bedford, R., & Goodwin, J. (1997a). Linking migrants into their family contexts: Methodological considerations. *Population Studies Centre*.

Ho, E. S. (2002). Multi-Local Residence, Transnational Networks: Chinese ‘Astronaut’ Families in New Zealand. *Asian and Pacific Migration Journal*, *11*(1), Article 1. https://doi.org/10.1177/011719680201100107

Holloway, S. D. (1988). Concepts of Ability and Effort in Japan and the United States. *Review of Educational Research*, *58*(3), Article 3. https://doi.org/10.2307/1170258

Hsiao, S. (1995). How many emigrants are turning back? *Sinorama*, p 2-3.

Hsin, A., & Xie, Y. (2014). Explaining Asian Americans’ academic advantage over whites. *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences*, *111*(23), Article 23. https://doi.org/10.1073/pnas.1406402111

Huang, G. H.-C., & Gove, M. (2015). Confucianism, Chinese Families, and Academic Achievement: Exploring How Confucianism and Asian Descendant Parenting Practices Influence Children’s Academic Achievement. In M. S. Khine (Ed.), *Science Education in East Asia* (pp. 41–66). Springer International Publishing. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-319-16390-1_3

Huang, S., & Yeoh, B. S. A. (2005). Transnational families and their children's education: China's "study mothers" in Singapore. *Global Networks*, *5*(4), Article 4. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1471-0374.2005.00125.x

Hugo, G. (1994). *The economic implications of emigration from Australia*. Australian Govt. Pub. Service.

Hugo, G. (2008). IN AND OUT OF AUSTRALIA: Rethinking Chinese and Indian skilled migration to Australia. *Asian Population Studies*, *4*(3), 267–291. https://doi.org/10.1080/17441730802496508

Hui, Y. M. L., Stevenson, J., & Gallego, G. (2019). Transnational parent–child separation and reunion during early childhood in Chinese migrant families: An Australian snapshot. *Australian Journal of Child and Family Health Nursing*, *16*(1), Article 1. https://doi.org/10.33235/ajcfhn.16.1.16-23

Hurun. (2022a). *Chinese High Net Worth Individuals' Value & Lifestyle Research Report*. https://www.hurun.net/en-US/Info/Detail?num=3JBHAG1OE5FQ

Hurun. (2022b). *Hurun China Rich List*. https://www.hurun.net/en-US/Rank/HsRankDetails?pagetype=ctop500

Immigration Initiative. (n.d.). *Outcome to consider for immigrants* [Immigration Initiative at Harvard]. https://immigrationinitiative.harvard.edu/topic/what-outcomes-should-be-considered/

Indian Times. (Update 2022, Jul 9). *Why Ukraine Remains A Preferred Education Destination Of Indian Medical Students*. IndiaTimes. https://www.indiatimes.com/explainers/news/indian-medical-students-in-ukraine-563765.html

Inglis, C. (2011). Chinatown Sydney: A Window on the Chinese Community. *Journal of Chinese Overseas*, *7*(1), Article 1. https://doi.org/10.1163/179325411X565407

International Monetary Fund. (2023). *Navigating Global Divergences*. https://www.imf.org/en/Publications/WEO/Issues/2023/10/10/world-economic-outlook-october-2023

Ip, D., Wu, C., & Inglis, C. (1998). Settlement experiences of Taiwanese immigrants in Australia. *Asian Studies Review*, *22*(1), Article 1. https://doi.org/10.1080/10357829808713188

Jarden, A., & Roache, A. (2023). What Is Wellbeing? *International Journal of Environmental Research and Public Health*, *20*(6), Article 6. https://doi.org/10.3390/ijerph20065006

Jones, E. M., Reed, M., Gaab, J., & Ooi, Y. P. (2022). Adjustment in third culture kids: A systematic review of literature. *Frontiers in Psychology*, *13*, 939044. https://doi.org/10.3389/fpsyg.2022.939044

Juang, L. P., Qin, D. B., & Park, I. J. K. (2013). Deconstructing the myth of the “tiger mother”: An introduction to the special issue on tiger parenting, Asian-heritage families, and child/adolescent well-being. *Asian American Journal of Psychology*, *4*(1), Article 1. https://doi.org/10.1037/a0032136

Juang, L. P., Syed, M., & Takagi, M. (2007). Intergenerational discrepancies of parental control among Chinese American families: Links to family conflict and adolescent depressive symptoms. *Journal of Adolescence*, *30*(6), 965–975. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.adolescence.2007.01.004

Katz, C. (2008). Cultural Geographies lecture: Childhood as spectacle: relays of anxiety and the reconfiguration of the child. *Cultural Geographies*, *15*(1), 5–17. https://doi.org/10.1177/1474474007085773

Kemph, J. P. (1969). Erik H. Erikson. Identity, youth and crisis. New York: W. W. Norton Company, 1968. *Behavioral Science*, *14*(2), Article 2. https://doi.org/10.1002/bs.3830140209

Khoo, S.-E., McDonald, P., & Giorgas, D. (2002). *Second generation Australians*. Department of Immigration and and Multicultural and Indigenous Affairs

Kirkpatrick, R., & Zang, Y. (2014). Erratum to: The negative influences of exam-oriented education on Chinese high school students: backwash from classroom to child. *Language Testing in Asia*, *4*(1), 2. https://doi.org/10.1186/2229-0443-4-2

Klein, E. M., Müller, K. W., Wölfling, K., Dreier, M., Ernst, M., & Beutel, M. E. (2020). The relationship between acculturation and mental health of 1st generation immigrant youth in a representative school survey: Does gender matter? *Child and Adolescent Psychiatry and Mental Health*, *14*(1), Article 1. https://doi.org/10.1186/s13034-020-00334-6

Knox, P. L., & Marston, S. A. (2004). *Places and regions in global context: Human geography* (3rd ed). Prentice Hall.

Kochhar, R. (2023, October 1). In the pandemic, India's middle class shrinks and poverty spreads while China sees smaller changes. *Pew Research Center*. https://www.pewresearch.org/short-reads/2021/03/18/in-the-pandemic-indias-middle-class-shrinks-and-poverty-spreads-while-china-sees-smaller-changes/

Koshy, P., Dockery, A. M., & Seymour, R. (2019). Parental expectations for young people's participation in higher education in Australia. *Studies in Higher Education*, *44*(2), 302–317. https://doi.org/10.1080/03075079.2017.1363730

Koslowski, R. (2014). Selective Migration Policy Models and Changing Realities of Implementation. *International Migration*, *52*(3), 26–39. https://doi.org/10.1111/imig.12136

Kowalski, P. (2010). 6 China and India: A Tale of Two Trade Integration Approaches. In B. Eichengreen, P. Gupta, & R. Kumar (Eds.), *Emerging Giants* (1st ed., pp. 184–224). Oxford University PressOxford. https://doi.org/10.1093/acprof:oso/9780199575077.003.0006

Kuptsch, C., Pang, E. F., & Internationales Institut für Arbeitsfragen (Eds.). (2006). *Competing for global talent*. Internat. Inst. for Labour Studies [u.a.].

Ku-ring-gai Council. (2022). *Ku-ring-gai Council area (Birthplaces)*. https://profile.id.com.au/ku-ring-gai/birthplace

Kwok & Wong. (2000). Mental health of parents with young children in Hong Kong: The roles of parenting stress and parenting self-efficacy. *Child & Family Social Work*, *5*(1), 57–65. https://doi.org/10.1046/j.1365-2206.2000.00138.x

Kwong, K., Chung, H., Sun, L., Chou, J. C., & Taylor-Shih, A. (2009). Factors Associated with Reverse-Migration Separation Among a Cohort of Low-Income Chinese Immigrant Families in New York City. *Social Work in Health Care*, *48*(3), Article 3. https://doi.org/10.1080/00981380802599174

Lai, D. C. (1992). Emigration to Canada: Its dimensions and impact on Hong Kong. In *Migration and the transformation of cultures* (p. 241). Multicultural History Society of Ontario.

Lam, L. (1994). Searching for a Safe Haven: The Migration and Settlement of Hong Kong Chinese Immigrants in Toronto. In Skeldon, R. (ed) *Reluctant Exiles? Migration From Hong Kong and the New Overseas Chinese* (1st ed.). Routledge.

Lamb, S., Walstab, A., & Huo, S. (2015). *Educational opportunity in Australia 2015: Who succeeds and who misses out.*

Lareau, A. (2011). *Unequal childhoods: Class, race, and family life* (2nd ed., with an update a decade later). University of California Press.

Lau, W., Silove, D., Edwards, B., Forbes, D., Bryant, R., McFarlane, A., Hadzi-Pavlovic, D., Steel, Z., Nickerson, A., Van Hooff, M., Felmingham, K., Cowlishaw, S., Alkemade, N., Kartal, D., & O'Donnell, M. (2018). Adjustment of refugee children and adolescents in Australia: Outcomes from wave three of the Building a New Life in Australia study. *BMC Medicine*, *16*(1), Article 1. https://doi.org/10.1186/s12916-018-1124-5

Lee Atterberry, A. (2022). Parental aspirations, schools, and the limits of flexible citizenship: Examining elite return migrants' schooling decisions. *Current Sociology*, *70*(6), 806–823. https://doi.org/10.1177/00113921211048524

Lee, J., & Zhou, M. (2014). The Success Frame and Achievement Paradox: The Costs and Consequences for Asian Americans. *Race and Social Problems*, *6*(1), Article 1. https://doi.org/10.1007/s12552-014-9112-7

Lee, R., & Cheung, S. Y. (2022). Refugee Children in Australia: Wellbeing and Integration. In J. Baxter, J. Lam, J. Povey, R. Lee, & S. R. Zubrick (Eds.), *Family Dynamics over the Life Course* (Vol. 15, pp. 71–96). Springer International Publishing. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-031-12224-8_5

Leung, C. (2001). The psychological adaptation of overseas and migrant students in Australia. *International Journal of Psychology*, *36*(4), 251–259. https://doi.org/10.1080/00207590143000018

Levitt, P. (2009). Roots and Routes: Understanding the Lives of the Second Generation Transnationally. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, *35*(7), 1225–1242. https://doi.org/10.1080/13691830903006309

Levitt, P., & Waters, M. C. (Eds.). (2002). *The changing face of home: The transnational lives of the second generation*. Russell Sage Foundation.

Ley, D., & Kobayashi, A. (2005). Back to Hong Kong: Return migration or transnational sojourn? *Global Networks*, *5*(2), Article 2. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1471-0374.2005.00110.x

Li, B. (2017). *The new Chinese: How they are shaping Australia*. John Wiley & Sons Australia, Ltd.

Li, G., & Wang, L. (Eds.). (2008). *Model minority myth revisited: An interdisciplinary approach to demystifying Asian American educational experiences*. IAP.

Li, Henry. (2018). *Up in the Air: Examining the Experiences of Chinese Mainland "Satellite Children" in Vancouver*. Simon Fraser University.

Li, J. (2002). A Cultural Model of Learning: Chinese "Heart and Mind for Wanting to Learn." *Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology*, *33*(3), 248–269. https://doi.org/10.1177/0022022102033003003

Lidgard, J. (1996). East Asian migration to Aotearoa/ New Zeland: Perspectives of some new arrivals. *Population Studies Centre*, *Discussion paper no 12*(University of Waikato).

Lin, J., & Chen, Q. (1995). Academic pressure and impact of students' development in China. *McGill Journal of Education*, *30*(No.002).

Long, H., & Pang, W. (2016). Family socioeconomic status, parental expectations, and adolescents' academic achievements: A case of China. *Educational Research and Evaluation*, *22*(5–6), Article 5–6. https://doi.org/10.1080/13803611.2016.1237369

Lyons-Ruth, K., & Jacobvitz, D. (2016). Attachment disorganisation from infancy to adulthood. *Handbook of Attachment: Theory, Research, and Clinical Applications*, *3rd ed*, 667–695.

Ma, Y., Siu, A., & Tse, W. S. (2018). The Role of High Parental Expectations in Adolescents' Academic Performance and Depression in Hong Kong. *Journal of Family Issues*, *39*(9), Article 9. https://doi.org/10.1177/0192513X18755194

Main, M., & Solomon, J. (1986). Discovery of a new, insecure-disorganised/dsoriented attachment patter. *Affective Development in Infancy*, *Norwood*, pp 95-124.

Maire, Q., & Ho, C. (2024). Cultural capital on the move: Ethnic and class distinctions in Asian-Australian academic achievement. *International Studies in Sociology of Education*, *33*(1), 108–131. https://doi.org/10.1080/09620214.2023.2258387

Mak, A. S.; Chan, H. (1995). Chinese family values in Australia. In *Families and Cultural Diversity in Australia* (1995th ed., pp. 70–95). Allen & Unwin.

Man, G. (1995). The Experience of Women in Chinese Immigrant Families: An Inquiry into Institutional and Organizational Processes. *Asian and Pacific Migration Journal*, *4*(2–3), 303–326. https://doi.org/10.1177/011719689500400207

Mansouri, F. (2010). *The impact of racism upon the health and wellbeing of young Australians* (2nd ed). Foundation for Young Australians.

Martin, L. M. (1994). *Equity and General Performance Indicators in Higher Education: Equity Indicators by Martin* (Volume 1; AGPS, Issue Volume 1). Department of Employment, Education and Training.

Marx, K. (n.d.). *Marx's Grundrisse*.

Mazzucato, V., & Schans, D. (2011). Transnational Families and the Well-Being of Children: Conceptual and Methodological Challenges. *Journal of Marriage and Family*, *73*(4), 704–712. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1741-3737.2011.00840.x

McKercher, B., & Yankholmes, A. (2018). Travel as learned behaviour: Western migrants in Hong Kong and Macau. *Tourism Management*, *67*, 191–200. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.tourman.2018.01.006

McLanahan, S. S., & Teitler, J. (1999). The consequences of father absence. *Parenting and Child Development in "nontraditional" Families*, 83–102.

Mellor, D. (2005). Normative data for the strengths and difficulties questionnaire in Australia. *Australian Psychologist*, *40*(3), Article 3. https://doi.org/10.1080/00050060500243475

Merkel, D. (2013). Youth sport: Positive and negative impact on young athletes. *Open Access Journal of Sports Medicine*, 151. https://doi.org/10.2147/OAJSM.S33556

Morris, M. W., Chiu, C., & Liu, Z. (2015). Polycultural Psychology. *Annual Review of Psychology*, *66*(1), 631–659. https://doi.org/10.1146/annurev-psych-010814-015001

Motti-Stefanidi, F., & S. Masten, A. (2017). A Resilience Perspective on Immigrant Youth Adaptation and Development. In N. J. Cabrera & B. Leyendecker (Eds.), *Handbook on Positive Development of Minority Children and Youth*

(pp. 19–34). Springer International Publishing. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-319-43645-6_2

Ng, F. F.-Y., Pomerantz, E. M., & Lam, S. (2007). European American and Chinese parents' responses to children's success and failure: Implications for children's responses. *Developmental Psychology*, *43*(5), Article 5. https://doi.org/10.1037/0012-1649.43.5.1239

Ngan, L. L. S., & Chan, A. K. W. (2022). Transnational Familyhood and Migration Strategies among Parachute Kids-turned-Parents from Hong Kong. *Asian Studies Review*, *46*(2), Article 2. https://doi.org/10.1080/10357823.2021.1937939

Nikkei Asia. (2023, June 13). *China millionaire exodus to continue this year: Report*. https://asia.nikkei.com/Economy/China-millionaire-exodus-to-continue-this-year-report

Nora Chiang, L.-H. (2008). 'Astronaut families': Transnational lives of middle-class Taiwanese married women in Canada. *Social & Cultural Geography*, *9*(5), Article 5. https://doi.org/10.1080/14649360802175709

NSW Department of Education. (2022). *Schools: Language diversity in NSW Government schools, 2022*. https://data.cese.nsw.gov.au/data/dataset/c6f47a14-ed07-3857-95b5-7596bb3c4314/resource/8babd84f-fef9-4c93-9997-cc7a5c6d09a0/download/lbote-factsheet-2022-final_vr_v2b_aa1.pdf

Okagaki, L., & Frensch, P. A. (1998). Parenting and Children's School Achievement: A Multiethnic Perspective. *American Educational Research Journal*, *35*(1), Article 1. https://doi.org/10.3102/00028312035001123

Ong, A. (1999). *Flexible citizenship: The cultural logics of transnationality*. Duke University Press.

Ong, A. (2022). Citizenship: Flexible, fungible, fragile. *Citizenship Studies*, *26*(4–5), 599–607. https://doi.org/10.1080/13621025.2022.2091244

Parks, M. R., & Floyd, K. (1996). Meanings for Closeness and Intimacy in Friendship. Journal of Social and Personal Relationships, 13(1), 85-107. https://doi-org.ezproxy.lib.uts.edu.au/10.1177/0265407596131005

Pearce, R. R. (2006). Effects of Cultural and Social Structural Factors on the Achievement of White and Chinese American Students at School Transition Points. *American Educational Research Journal*, *43*(1), 75–101. https://doi.org/10.3102/00028312043001075

Peng, S. S., & Wright, D. (1994). Explanation of Academic Achievement of Asian American Students. *The Journal of Educational Research*, *87*(6), Article 6. JSTOR.

Pe-Pua, R., Mitchell, C.,Iredale, R. & Castles, S (1996). *Astronaut families and parachute children: The cycle of migration between Hong Kong and Australia*. Canberra: AGPS. ISBN 0644459018.

Pesu, L. A., Aunola, K., Viljaranta, J., & Nurmi, J.-E. (2016). THE DEVELOPMENT OF ADOLESCENTS' SELF-CONCEPT OF ABILITY THROUGH GRADES 7-9 AND THE ROLE OF PARENTAL BELIEFS. *Frontline Learning Research*, *4*(3), 92–109. https://doi.org/10.14786/flr.v4i3.249

Pollock, D. C., Van Reken, R. E., & Pollock, M. V. (2017). *Third culture kids: Growing up among worlds* (third edition). Nicholas Brealey Publishing.

Portes, A. (2001). Introduction: The debates and significance of immigrant transnationalism. *Global Networks*, *1*(3), 181–194. https://doi.org/10.1111/1471-0374.00012

Portes, A., Guarnizo, L. E., & Landolt, P. (1999). The study of transnationalism: Pitfalls and promise of an emergent research field. *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, *22*(2), Article 2. https://doi.org/10.1080/014198799329468

Portes, A., & MacLeod, D. (1996). Educational Progress of Children of Immigrants: The Roles of Class, Ethnicity, and School Context. *Sociology of Education*, *69*(4), 255. https://doi.org/10.2307/2112714

Portes, A., McLeod, S. A., & Parker, R. N. (1978). Immigrant Aspirations. *Sociology of Education*, *51*(4), 241. https://doi.org/10.2307/2112363

Portes, A., & Rumbaut, R. G. (2005). Introduction: The Second Generation and the Children of Immigrants Longitudinal Study. *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, *28*(6), 983–999. https://doi.org/10.1080/01419870500224109

Ptashnick, M., & Zuberi, D. (2018). To Live Apart or Together: Integration Outcomes of Astronaut Versus Dual-Parent Household Strategies. *Journal of International Migration and Integration*, *19*(4), 849–864. https://doi.org/10.1007/s12134-018-0579-8

Qin, D. B. (2006). “Our Child Doesn’t Talk to Us Anymore”: Alienation in Immigrant Chinese Families. *Anthropology & Education Quarterly*, *37*(2), 162–179. https://doi.org/10.1525/aeq.2006.37.2.162

Qin, D. B. (2008). Doing Well vs. Feeling Well: Understanding Family Dynamics and the Psychological Adjustment of Chinese Immigrant Adolescents. *Journal of Youth and Adolescence*, *37*(1), 22–35. https://doi.org/10.1007/s10964-007-9220-4

Qin, D. B., Way, N., & Mukherjee, P. (2008). The Other Side of the Model Minority Story: The Familial and Peer Challenges Faced by Chinese American Adolescents. *Youth & Society*, *39*(4), Article 4. https://doi.org/10.1177/0044118X08314233

Rajadurai, E. (2018). *Why Australia is the world's most successful multicultural society*. The McKell Institute. https://mckellinstitute.org.au/research/articles/why-australia-is-the-worlds-most-successful-multicultural-society/

Rajendran, D., Ng, E. S., Sears, G., & Ayub, N. (2020). Determinants of Migrant Career Success: A Study of Recent Skilled Migrants in Australia. *International Migration*, *58*(2), Article 2. https://doi.org/10.1111/imig.12586

Reisz, S., Duschinsky, R., & Siegel, D. J. (2018). Disorganized attachment and defense: Exploring John Bowlby's unpublished reflections. *Attachment & Human Development*, *20*(2), 107–134. https://doi.org/10.1080/14616734.2017.1380055

Rumbaut, R. G. (2004). Ages, Life Stages, and Generational Cohorts: Decomposing the Immigrant First and Second Generations in the United States. *International Migration Review*, *38*(3), 1160–1205. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1747-7379.2004.tb00232.x

Salami, B., Fernandez-Sanchez, H., Fouche, C., Evans, C., Sibeko, L., Tulli, M., Bulaong, A., Kwankye, S. O., Ani-Amponsah, M., Okeke-Ihejirika, P., Gommaa, H., Agbemenu, K., Ndikom, C. M., & Richter, S. (2021). A Scoping Review of the Health of African Immigrant and Refugee Children. *International Journal of Environmental Research and Public Health*, *18*(7), Article 7. https://doi.org/10.3390/ijerph18073514

Salazar Parreñas, R. (2008). Transnational Fathering: Gendered Conflicts, Distant Disciplining and Emotional Gaps. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, *34*(7), 1057–1072. https://doi.org/10.1080/13691830802230356

Sam, D. L., & Berry, J. W. (2010). Acculturation: When Individuals and Groups of Different Cultural Backgrounds Meet. Perspectives on Psychological Science, 5(4), 472-481. https://doi-org.ezproxy.lib.uts.edu.au/10.1177/1745691610373075

Santoro, N. (2009). Teaching in culturally diverse contexts: What knowledge about 'self' and 'others' do teachers need? *Journal of Education for Teaching*, *35*(1), 33–45. https://doi.org/10.1080/02607470802587111

Schiller, N. G., Basch, L., & Blanc-Szanton, C. (1992). Transnationalism: A New Analytic Framework for Understanding Migration: A NEW ANALYTIC FRAMEWORK. *Annals of the New York Academy of Sciences*, *645*(1), Article 1. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1749-6632.1992.tb33484.x

Scholte, J. A. (2007). Defining Globalisation. *The World Economy*, *0*(0), 070916231942004-??? https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-9701.2007.01019.x

Seligman, M. E. P. (2011). *Flourish: A visionary new understanding of happiness and well-being* (1. Free Press hardcover ed). Free Press.

Shah, B., Dwyer, C., & Modood, T. (2010). Explaining Educational Achievement and Career Aspirations among Young British Pakistanis: Mobilizing 'Ethnic Capital'? *Sociology*, *44*(6), Article 6. https://doi.org/10.1177/0038038510381606

Shaw, R. M., Howe, J., Beazer, J., & Carr, T. (2020). Ethics and positionality in qualitative research with vulnerable and marginal groups. *Qualitative Research*, *20*(3), 277–293. https://doi.org/10.1177/1468794119841839

Sheppard, M. (1998). *The “astronaut” Family and the Schools*. University of Toronto.

Shih, T. A. (1998). Finding the Niche: Friendship Formation of Immigrant Adolescents. *Youth & Society*, *30*(2), 209–240. https://doi.org/10.1177/0044118X98030002004

Simpkins, S. D., Fredricks, J. A., & Eccles, J. S. (2012). Charting the Eccles’ expectancy-value model from mothers’ beliefs in childhood to youths’ activities in adolescence. *Developmental Psychology*, *48*(4), Article 4. https://doi.org/10.1037/a0027468

Simpson, J. A., & Rholes, W. S. (2012). Adult Attachment Orientations, Stress, and Romantic Relationships. In *Advances in Experimental Social Psychology* (Vol. 45, pp. 279–328). Elsevier. https://doi.org/10.1016/B978-0-12-394286-9.00006-8

Siu, P. (1952). The Sojourner. *American Journal of Sociology*, *58*(No.1), 34–44.

Skeldon, R. (1994). *Reluctant exiles?: Migration from Hong Kong and the new overseas Chinese*. Routledge.

Skeldon, R. (2016). Hong Kong in an international migration system. In *The Hong Kong Reader* (pp. 133–168). Routledge.

Sklair, L. (2016). The Transnational Capitalist Class. In A. Farazmand (Ed.), *Global Encyclopedia of Public Administration, Public Policy, and Governance* (pp. 1–4). Springer International Publishing. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-319-31816-5_2761-1

Smith, M., Spencer, G., Fouché, C., & Hoare, K. (2021). Understanding child and youth migrant wellbeing: Reflections from a systematic literature review in the Western Pacific region. *Wellbeing, Space and Society*, *2*, 100053. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.wss.2021.100053

Smyth, E. (2020). Shaping educational expectations: The perspectives of 13-year-olds and their parents. *Educational Review*, *72*(2), 173–195. https://doi.org/10.1080/00131911.2018.1492518

Soong, H. (2022). Raising cosmopolitan children: Chinese middle-class parents' educational strategies. *Comparative Education*, *58*(2), 206–223. https://doi.org/10.1080/03050068.2021.1984016

Speelman, H. Ø. H. and T. (2022, January 20). *China's Rapid Development Has Transformed Its Migration Trends*. Migrationpolicy.Org. https://www.migrationpolicy.org/article/china-development-transformed-migration

Sroufe, L. A., & Waters, E. (1977). Attachment as an Organizational Construct. *Child Development*, *48*(4), 1184. https://doi.org/10.2307/1128475

Suarez-Orozco, C. (2004). Formulating identity in a globalized world. In *Globalisation: Culture and education in the new millenium* (pp. 173–202).

Suárez-Orozco, C., Motti-Stefanidi, F., Marks, A., & Katsiaficas, D. (2018). An integrative risk and resilience model for understanding the adaptation of immigrant-origin children and youth. *American Psychologist*, *73*(6), Article 6. https://doi.org/10.1037/amp0000265

Suárez-Orozco, C., & Suárez-Orozco, M. M. (2009). *Children of Immigration*. Harvard University Press. https://doi.org/10.2307/j.ctvjz82j9

Suárez-Orozco, C., Yoshikawa, H., Teranishi, R., & Suárez-Orozco, M. (2011). Growing Up in the Shadows: The Developmental Implications of Unauthorized Status. *Harvard Educational Review*, *81*(3), 438–473. https://doi.org/10.17763/haer.81.3.g23x203763783m75

Tan, C. Y., Peng, B., & Lyu, M. (2019). What types of cultural capital benefit students' academic achievement at different educational stages? Interrogating the meta-analytic evidence. *Educational Research Review*, *28*, 100289. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.edurev.2019.100289

Tedeschi, M., Vorobeva, E., & Jauhiainen, J. S. (2022). Transnationalism: Current debates and new perspectives. *GeoJournal*, *87*(2), 603–619. https://doi.org/10.1007/s10708-020-10271-8

Theophanous, A. C. (1992). *Conditional migrant entry: The health rules*. Australian Government Publishing Service.

Thomson, E., Hanson, T. L., & McLanahan, S. S. (1994). Family Structure and Child Well-Being: Economic Resources vs. Parental Behaviors. *Social Forces*, *73*(1), 221. https://doi.org/10.2307/2579924

Titone, R. (1989). The bilingual personality as a metasytem: The case of code-switching. In *On the Bilingual Person* (3rd ed., pp. 55–64). Canadian Society for Italian Studies.

Titzmann, P. F., & Lee, R. M. (2018). Adaptation of Young Immigrants: A Developmental Perspective on Acculturation Research. *European Psychologist*, *23*(1), 72–82. https://doi.org/10.1027/1016-9040/a000313

Titzmann, P. F., Silbereisen, R. K., Mesch, G. S., & Schmitt-Rodermund, E. (2011). Migration-Specific Hassles Among Adolescent Immigrants From the Former Soviet Union in Germany and Israel. *Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology*, *42*(5), 777–794. https://doi.org/10.1177/0022022110362756

Trueba, H. T. . (2002). Multiple Ethnic, Racial, and Cultural Identities in Action: From Marginality to a New Cultural Capital in Modern Society. *Journal of Latinos and Education*, *1*(1), 7–28. https://doi.org/10.1207/S1532771XJLE0101_2

Tsang, A. K. T., Irving, H., Alaggia, R., Chau, S. B. Y., & Benjamin, M. (2003). Negotiating Ethnic Identity In Canada: The Case of the “Satellite Children.” *Youth & Society*, *34*(3), 359–384. https://doi.org/10.1177/0044118X02250124

Tsong, Y., & Liu, Y. (2009). Parachute kids and astronaut families. *Asian American Psychology: Current Perspectives.*, 365–379.

Tsong, Y., Tai, A. L., & Chopra, S. B. (2021). The emotional, cultural, and relational impact of growing up as parachute/satellite kids in Asian American transnational families. *Asian American Journal of Psychology*, *12*(2), 147–157. https://doi.org/10.1037/aap0000228

Tsong, Yuying, L., Yuli. (2008). *Parachute Kids and Astronaut Families* (1st edition). Psychology Press.

Useem, J., & Useem, R. (1967). The Interfaces of a Binational Third Culture: A Study of the American Community in India*. *Journal of Social Issues*, *23*(1), 130–143. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1540-4560.1967.tb00567.x

van Ecke, Y. (2005). IMMIGRATION FROM AN ATTACHMENT PERSPECTIVE. *Social Behavior and Personality: An International Journal*, *33*(5), Article 5. https://doi.org/10.2224/sbp.2005.33.5.467

Vartanian, T. P., Karen, D., Buck, P. W., & Cadge, W. (2007). Early Factors Leading to College Graduation for Asians and Non-Asians in The United States. *The Sociological Quarterly*, *48*(2), 165–197. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1533-8525.2007.00075.x

Vertovec, S. (2001). Transnationalism and identity. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, *27*(4), Article 4. https://doi.org/10.1080/13691830120090386

Vertovec, S. (2007). Super-diversity and its implications. *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, *30*(6), 1024–1054. https://doi.org/10.1080/01419870701599465

VicHealth. (2009). *Racism and its link to the health of children and young people*. https://www.vichealth.vic.gov.au/sites/default/files/VH_Racism-and-Child-Health_FactSheet.pdf

Vincent, C. (2017). 'The children have only got one education and you have to make sure it's a good one': Parenting and parent–school relations in a neoliberal age. *Gender and Education*, *29*(5), Article 5. https://doi.org/10.1080/09540253.2016.1274387

Vincent, C., & Maxwell, C. (2016). Parenting priorities and pressures: Furthering understanding of 'concerted cultivation.' *Discourse: Studies in the Cultural Politics of Education*, *37*(2), 269–281. https://doi.org/10.1080/01596306.2015.1014880

Wang, H. (2009). *"I love you, so I choose to not be with you". The Practice of Transnational Parenting Among Chinese Immigrant Families"* [Doctor of Philosophy]. Graduate School of Vanderbilt University.

Wang, K. T., Wei, M., Zhao, R., Chuang, C.-C., & Li, F. (2015). The Cross-Cultural Loss Scale: Development and psychometric evaluation. *Psychological Assessment*, *27*(1), 42–53. https://doi.org/10.1037/pas0000027

Ward, C., & Geeraert, N. (2016). Advancing acculturation theory and research: The acculturation process in its ecological context. *Current Opinion in Psychology*, *8*, 98–104. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.copsyc.2015.09.021

Warikoo, N., Chin, M., Zillmer, N., & Luthar, S. (2020). The Influence of Parent Expectations and Parent-Child Relationships on Mental Health in Asian American and White American Families. *Sociological Forum*, *35*(2), Article 2. https://doi.org/10.1111/socf.12583

Waters, J. L. (2002). Flexible families? “Astronaut” households and the experiences of lone mothers in Vancouver, British Columbia. *Social & Cultural Geography*, *3*(2), 117–134. https://doi.org/10.1080/14649360220133907

Waters, J. L. (2005). Transnational family strategies and education in the contemporary Chinese diaspora. *Global Networks*, *5*(4), Article 4. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1471-0374.2005.00124.x

Waters, J. L. (2008). *Education, migration, and cultural capital in the Chinese diaspora*.

Waters, J. L. (2009a). *Flexible families? : The experiences of astronaut and satellite households among recent Chinese immigrants to Vancouver, British Columbia*. https://doi.org/10.14288/1.0089681

Waters, J. L. (2009b). *Geographies of cultural capital: International education, circular migration and family strategies between Canada and Hong Kong*. https://doi.org/10.14288/1.0092434

Waters, J. L. (2009c). IMMIGRATION, TRANSNATIONALISM AND ‘FLEXIBLE CITIZENSHIP’ IN CANADA: AN EXAMINATION OF ONG’S THESIS TEN YEARS ON. *Tijdschrift Voor Economische En Sociale Geografie*, *100*(5), 635–645. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-9663.2009.00569.x

Watkins, M., & Noble, G. (2019). Lazy multiculturalism: Cultural essentialism and the persistence of the Multicultural Day in Australian schools. *Ethnography and Education*, *14*(3), 295–310. https://doi.org/10.1080/17457823.2019.1581821

Williamson, F. (2012). Generation 1.5: The LBOTE blindspot. *Journal of Academic Language and Learning*, *6*(2), Article 2.

Wiseman, A. W. (2021). Does Inequality Stay in the Shadow? The Cross-national Effects of Educational Equity on Private Tutoring and Student Achievement.

International Journal of Educational Research, *109*, 101808. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.ijer.2021.101808

Wiseman, A. W., & Zhao, X. (2022). Parents' expectations for the educational attainment of their children: A cross-national study using PIRLS 2011. *PROSPECTS*, *52*(1–2), 79–100. https://doi.org/10.1007/s11125-020-09460-7

Wong, S.L. (1992). Emigration and Stability in Hong Kong. *Asian Survey*, *32*(10), 918–933. https://doi.org/10.2307/2645049

Woon, Y. (1983). The Voluntary Sojourner among the Overseas Chinese: Myth or Reality? *Pacific Affairs*, *56*(4), 673. https://doi.org/10.2307/2758597

Wrench, A., Soong, H., Paige, K., & Garrett, R. (2018). Building spaces of hope with refugee and migrant-background students. *International Journal of Inclusive Education*, *22*(11), Article 11. https://doi.org/10.1080/13603116.2017.1420251

Wright, E., Ma, Y., & Auld, E. (2022). Experiments in being global: The cosmopolitan nationalism of international schooling in China. *Globalisation, Societies and Education*, *20*(2), 236–249. https://doi.org/10.1080/14767724.2021.1882293

Wu, C., & Chao, R. K. (2011). Intergenerational cultural dissonance in parent–adolescent relationships among Chinese and European Americans. *Developmental Psychology*, *47*(2), Article 2. https://doi.org/10.1037/a0021063

Yamamoto, Y., & Holloway, S. D. (2010). Parental Expectations and Children's Academic Performance in Sociocultural Context. *Educational Psychology Review*, *22*(3), Article 3. https://doi.org/10.1007/s10648-010-9121-z

Yang, K. (2007). Southeast Asian American children: Not the "model minority." *Growing Up American, 14(2)*, 127–133.

Yang, W. (Eric), & Zhou, W. (2008). What Accounts for Chinese-American Children's High Academic Performance: A Literature Review Of Parental Influences And

Home Environment. *Gifted Education International*, *24*(1), Article 1. https://doi.org/10.1177/026142940802400111

Yao, E. S. L. (1990). *A Comparison of Family Characteristics of Asian-American and Anglo-American High Achievers*. E.J. Brill. https://books.google.com.au/books?id=XFIk0AEACAAJ

Yeung, P. (2005). *The psychosocial adjustment of Chinese adolescent immigrants in satellite families in Canada*. (Thesis) M.A Simon Fraser University, Canada https://summit.sfu.ca/item/8595

Zhan, M. (2006). Assets, parental expectations and involvement, and children's educational performance. *Children and Youth Services Review*, *28*(8), 961–975. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.childyouth.2005.10.008

Zhang, X. J., Zhang, Y., Kam, K. W., Tang, F., Li, Y., Ng, M. P. H., Young, A. L., Ip, P., Tham, C. C., Chen, L. J., Pang, C. P., & Yam, J. C. (2023). Prevalence of Myopia in Children Before, During, and After COVID-19 Restrictions in Hong Kong. *JAMA Network Open*, *6*(3), Article 3. https://doi.org/10.1001/jamanetworkopen.2023.4080

Zhang, Y., Haddad, E., Torres, B., & Chen, C. (2011). The Reciprocal Relationships Among Parents' Expectations, Adolescents' Expectations, and Adolescents' Achievement: A Two-Wave Longitudinal Analysis of the NELS Data. *Journal of Youth and Adolescence*, *40*(4), 479–489. https://doi.org/10.1007/s10964-010-9568-8

Zhao, J., Chapman, E., & O'Donoghue, T. (2022). Mental Health Risks for Chinese International Students in Australia: Enduring Problems, Possible Solutions. *Education Research and Perspectives*, *49*, 1–28.

Zheng, X., Sang, D., & Wang, L. (2004). Acculturation and Subjective well-being of Chinese Students in Australia. *Journal of Happiness Studies*, *5*(1), 57–72. https://doi.org/10.1023/B:JOHS.0000021836.43694.02

Zhou, M. (1998). “Parachute Kids” in Southern California: The Educational Experience of Chinese Children in Transnational Families. *Educational Policy*, *12*(6), Article 6. https://doi.org/10.1177/0895904898012006005

Zhou, Z., Peverly, S. T., Xin, T., Huang, A. S., & Wang, W. (2003). School adjustment of first-generation Chinese-American adolescents. *Psychology in the Schools*, *40*(1), 71–84. https://doi.org/10.1002/pits.10070

Zwi, K., Rungan, S., Woolfenden, S., Williams, K., & Woodland, L. (2016). Methods for a longitudinal cohort of refugee children in a regional community in Australia. *BMJ Open*, *6*(8), Article 8. https://doi.org/10.1136/bmjopen-2016-011387

Zwi, K., Woodland, L., Williams, K., Palasanthiran, P., Rungan, S., Jaffe, A., & Woolfenden, S. (2018). Protective factors for social-emotional well-being of refugee children in the first three years of settlement in Australia. *Archives of Disease in Childhood*, *103*(3), 261–268. https://doi.org/10.1136/archdischild-2016-312495