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碩士論文
Master's Thesis

在美出生台裔小孩認同的探索性研究
Identification of Unanchored Anchor Babies:
An Exploratory Study in Taiwan

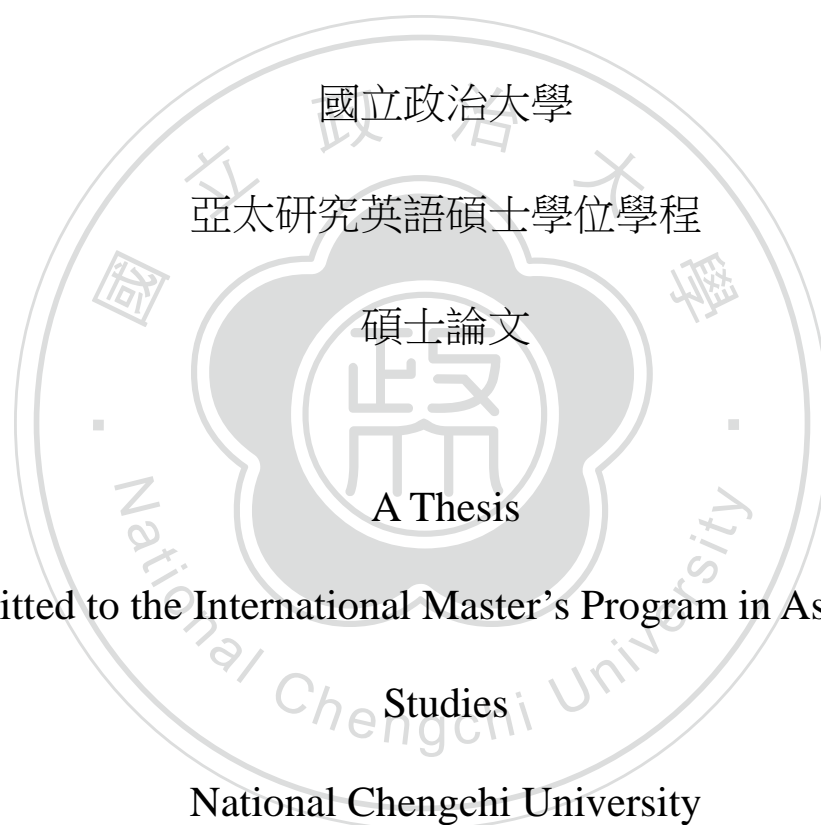
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中華民國 102 年 7 月
July 2013

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國立政治大學

亞太研究英語碩士學位學程

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Abstract

In Taiwan there is the preconception that being an American is and can be a wonderful thing. The importance that is stressed on learning English, the boom of English language cram schools, bilingual education and educational curriculum, the notion that studying at an American university will provide a surge in opportunities are some of the examples that perpetuates this concept. With the idea that all these things will make life better, it is not surprising to know that there are many children who are born in the United States and then raised in Taiwan. What identity has permeated the lives of these children who were born in the United States and have kept their American passports in addition to their Taiwanese passports? Through factors such as place of residence, educational background, and differences in life experiences we can come further to determine how and what identity these children associate with.

Many of these dual citizens that have earned their American citizenship by being born in the United States, but are psychologically attached to the country that may not their primary/current citizenship. Through qualitative data gathered in personal interviews of seven anonymous participants, we can further find indicators of how and why an individual has developed a certain identity regardless of the identity they technically have. .

Keywords: Anchor Baby, Birthright Citizenship, Dual Citizenship, Identity, Taiwan, United States

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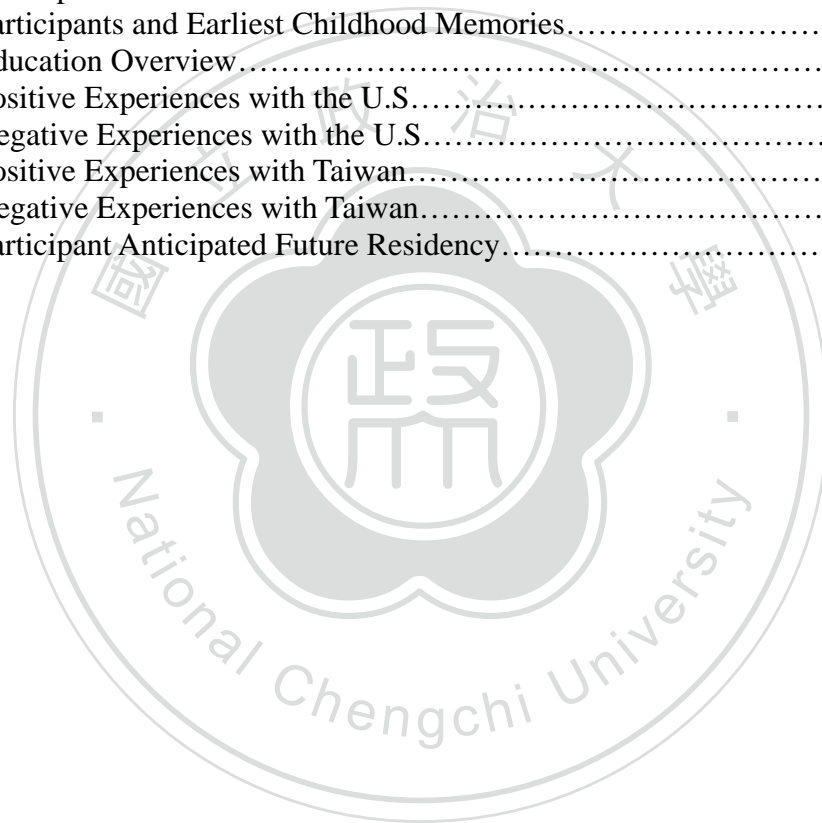
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Chapter 1: Introduction

1.1 Motivation and Significance

In Taiwan there is an immense pressure to start learning English at a very early age. Learning English begins at an elementary school level in most public schools here in Taiwan and where that education is not enough, these same children are then enrolled in privately owned afterschool programs, also known as cram schools, where they do exactly just that: cram information into their delicate little minds. Lien Luyi experienced this kind of mentality when interviewing mothers who planned on giving birth to their children in the United States for her dissertation, “Obtaining Dual Citizenship for Their Babies: The Experience of Taiwanese Women Giving Birth in the United States.” She states that there was a type of xenomania, where Western culture and society is favored (2006:34) over the local culture and society. This would also help explain why so many Taiwanese go abroad after university and pursue higher education in Western countries.

With the emphasis on the importance of English proficiency in Taiwan, as well as the Taiwanese impression that American university education has a *je ne sais quoi* that indubitably makes it better than Taiwanese universities, it is not surprising to see a raise in interest in international education facilities. Furthermore, to be a part of the elite membership of private international educational institutions such as Taipei American School, offers Taiwanese a higher status in society. To have a child already born and automatically have an American citizenship can not only boost the status of the family, but also provide alternate educational benefits and opportunities that being born in Taiwan may not present to said child.

The generation that is being examined in this thesis is a younger generation, those who are in their early thirties or younger. In Taiwan many children have been sent abroad for a different educational experience. There are bilingual schools, such as Kang Chao Bilingual School in New Taipei City, that prepare their students for life abroad after high school. There are the Taiwanese youths who have been sent abroad for a year or two to experience and

usually complete school at an American high school. Then, there are the ones whose identity is in question: the dual citizen who may or may not have a dual identity.

It is through this generation of children who had a part of their fates planned by their parents by a purposeful birth in the U.S.A. and those parents kept the citizenship of a country of a child who has yet to establish his/her identity. In this thesis's participants, this is quite obvious as the majority of these children were born at the very end of their parents' stay in the United States. Although these children have the "anchor" of being American, the families did not have any intentions of immigrating over permanently to the U.S. themselves, nor do many of the children plan on immigrating either.

The motivation behind this qualitative research is that these technical Americans are virtually the non-American Americans. Therefore, the redefinition of "anchor babies" in this thesis refers to the children who were born abroad, but did not necessarily grow up in their country of birth, and are essentially unanchored anchor babies. That is to say, the child is an anchor to the United States, but there are not many cases in which this "anchor" will be used for immigration purposes.

Through different one-on-one interviews, the purpose of this thesis is to reveal the deeper layers, the intricacies of what it means to be a dual citizen as well as Taiwanese, and what different influences may influence and result in different identity factors within a person. Research done on identity for this specific situation is lacking, therefore it would be an honor to conduct research in order to further explain the occurrence of anchor babies growing up and living in Taiwan.

Anchor babies, birth tourism, and other related fields are all prevalent to Taiwanese culture today. However, the significance of this thesis is to add to the lack of academia, research, and overall information deficiency that is relevant to this subject. Anchor babies are not just a part of Taiwanese culture, but also exist throughout different countries Asia. The concept of going one step further and examining the identity of these children is novel in this field. This concept is not new in Taiwan, however the lack of research of about this mix of identities is quite upsetting. Without research, this group of mixed identification has already expanded to several generations; there are different types of unanchored anchor baby whom have dual citizenship but chose one identity over another.

It is important to investigate and research how this generation of children who blend in and can only be distinguished as American by their American passports, what identity they associate with. Through their ties they can establish what differences in growing up and through adolescence has on molding an individual's identity. It will also help to define the conception of Taiwan-U.S. relations and how Taiwanese view the importance of American citizenship in relation to their own.

1.2 Research Questions:

The objectives of this qualitative study is to further investigate what molds an identity and/or national loyalties within a person who has been born in the United States, but raised in Taiwan. These questions, which will be key components in analysis, are:

1. How important is location and/or changes in location throughout one' life in relation to defining an individual's relationship to a country?
2. In contrast, how important is educational and changes in educational institutions in relation to creating loyalties to a particular country?
3. How direct is the influence of the family and family opinion in relation to the individual?
4. Ultimately, by analyzing the response to these questions, to what culture or nation do these individuals feel most closely tied to? What occurrences and/or patterns exist that changes how they perceive their ties with Taiwan versus the United States?

These points will be addressed through noninvasive questions in interviews with selected participants. Through several series of interviews with different participants of various backgrounds, the questions will become more specific as each person has different experiences that could be further investigated by tailoring the research questions.

Chapter 2: Literature Review

2.1 Defining and Redefining “Anchor Baby”

In Taiwan a new unspoken generation of people have arisen, the oldest being in his/her early thirties have prompted a new wave of foreign born “Taiwanese.” I have based the age of this new generation on the change in U.S. foreign policy towards Taiwan in 1979. The idea of being born abroad is quite common in Taiwan, each person has a person they know or is directly related to someone who has been born abroad and kept his or her foreign citizenship. In this thesis, the interest is specific to the children of Taiwanese descent who were born in the United States of America, his/her parents utilizing the American constitution’s 14th amendment granting the child birthright citizenship, in which anyone born within the fifty states of the United States of America qualifies for an automatic American citizenship. The concept of non-citizen parents purposely coming over to give birth to their children in the U.S. exploiting the 14th amendment is usually referred to as have given birth to an “anchor baby.” The concept that a child could be an “anchor” developed because it is often conveyed that these non-citizen parents can pave an easier path in immigrating to the United States. An anchor on a boat is dropped into deep sea to stabilize the boat in a new location. Through this “anchor” that is their child, the path of becoming a U.S. citizen is faster and easier than other methods of naturalization. However, this term especially when used within the U.S. does not have positive connotations and often refers to the loophole of which illegal immigrants take advantage of to change their status.

Although “anchor babies” usually refer to the illegal status of parents within the United States, the Taiwanese situation strays from the typical anchor baby scenario. What is interesting about the differences of a typical “anchor baby” and those that are from Taiwan is that many of these children are not anchored in the United States. Instead, the parents give birth to an American born baby, and within the child’s early years, return back to the motherland, which in this case is Taiwan. These children, who keep the American citizenship along with their Taiwanese citizenship, often do not have memories of their birth country. However, if the child was allowed more time in the United States, or in an international atmosphere, parallel growth of dual identities can be quite possible. However, with the

majority of these cases, they will have different life experiences in regards to where they are living, and the child is more likely choose one ethnicity over the other.

In this thesis, the term of “anchor baby” will be redefined instead refer to the children who were born abroad, but did not necessarily grow up in their country of birth. In Taiwan, this is a common phenomenon, and many people know of or are a part of this specific situation. However, when a person of dual citizenship enters the country, they are free to use whichever passport they would like to use. Therefore, instead of being documented as a dual citizen, they are documented merely by which identity they would like to present at the time. Therefore, if they use alternate documents, they will be listed only as a visitor, or only as a national citizen. The choice of which identity they use is not specified when looking at raw data of percentages of immigrants/visitors into the country.

When applying for a visa to the U.S. there are also no questions pertaining to pregnancy status, therefore when a women enters the U.S. she does not need to specify if her stay would include the birth of her child. Lien Luyi’s dissertation includes interviews with mothers who have traveled over when pregnant and how they try to conceal their pregnancy to past through customs more easily (2006:34). The market directed to those that can afford it is called Birth Tourism. Some are catered especially to Taiwanese women, coaching them on how to enter the U.S. without many difficulties, as well as having traditional Taiwanese style postpartum care that mimics the traditional postpartum care available in Taiwan. However, not all mothers have traveled over to the United States for the sole purpose of giving birth. Some of these anchor babies are the byproduct of students who come to the United States in pursuit of higher education, such as a doctorate. Although there is a market for those who merely come over to give birth to an American child, other anchor babies are not a part of this case. In regards to this thesis, the interviewed participants were later found out to not have been a part of the birth tourism market. Instead the mothers of the participants have had other situation all but with the same outcome: American born babies.

In Asia, academic success can also be measured by how much education you have achieved abroad. To increase one’s desirability and status, one may go abroad to complete higher education. Many professors here in Taiwan have received higher education in the United States and therefore have a competitive edge when coming back to Taiwan’s the job market. It is not an uncommon occurrence that Taiwanese professors have received a

doctorate from a country outside of Taiwan, and that his or her degree usually derive from an English speaking country such as the United States. In order to receive a PhD from the United States, one must put in a lot of time and effort into pursuing their education.

Therefore, a portion of these anchor babies in Taiwan are the result of academics around their early thirties deciding to have children and then bringing these children back with them when the parents have finished their educational journey abroad. These children usually have a dual citizenship due to the international status that their parents have had.

However, many children enter the respective countries using their respective passports, therefore there are no percentages relating to the immigration patterns of dual citizenship children. There are merely percentages that combine all foreign passports, versus combining all national passports. The actual percentage of children that qualify under this new anchor baby phenomenon is still technically a mystery. They are legitimate citizens of both countries, and they have the freedom to select the passport they wish to use upon entry in either country. Finding the patterns, or even finding percentages of anchor babies in Taiwan, is something that does not show in normal immigration records. Therefore this thesis will not conduct or include percentages relating to the amount of anchor babies in from the United States in Taiwan.

2.2 Possible Factors for Foreign-Born Boom

What is the cause for the boom in foreign-born Taiwanese births, to the point where it has become a common occurrence in Taiwanese life and culture? One of the possible factors is the change in U.S. foreign policy during the late 70s, early 80s. “The Taiwan Relations Act of 1979, which redefined U.S. policy towards Taiwan in the wake of normalizations of relations with the PRC, stipulated that the island would receive an independent per country limit of 20,000 per year (Waters & Marrow 2007:360). Although this policy did not go into effect until 1982, it allowed Taiwan a new wave of migrants to the U.S. it “reduced pressure on applications and allowed chain migration of relatives” (Walter & Marrow 2007:360). In addition to this change, “the Taiwanese government liberalized its emigration policy in 1980, which allowed ordinary citizens to travel freely” (Walter & Marrow 2007:360). Not only were there a larger variety of people from different social statuses travelling, but many of them were also U.S. bound. Rather than just having educated professionals enter academia or

the technological workforce, it also permitted students and working class families to enter the United States as well (Walter & Marrow 2007:360).

This further allowed newer generations of immigrant children, as students are young and many decide that after studying that they would like to settle down in the United States rather to return to their homeland. Due to earlier migration patterns of Taiwanese professionals, rather than being limited to coastal areas that welcome working-class families, they created their own ethnic enclaves where the job market lead them:

Like earlier Chinese immigrants, those from Taiwan and Hong Kong have settled predominantly on the two coasts, with nearly half living in California because of the superior transportation links to Asia. [...] Substantial numbers of Taiwanese professionals have also settled in the Midwest and the South, forming sizable communities in Texas and Illinois. (Waters & Marrow 2007:362)

These sizable communities are built around technology systems and their companies. Although the coastal regions remain friendlier and more welcoming for Chinese immigrants due to previously established Chinese communities, many of the Taiwanese students who came to the U.S. were often were science or engineering majors (Waters & Marrow 2007:363). Later, after graduating, these young students would look for jobs in the places that would apply their academic strengths, i.e. technologically advanced areas of Texas, and then settle there. Opportunities flourished in the U.S. and with it the technologically related students who came to study in the U.S. had the opportunity to start their careers and settle down rather than leaving. This new wave of advanced academic professional can also be referred to as a “brain drain” of Taiwan. However, not all students made the decision to settle down in the United States and instead returned to Taiwan.

Another factor is Taiwan’s political stance, in the 1980s, Taiwan had not yet been democratized, and the feelings between Taiwan and Mainland China are not one of close friends. With the ever-existing threat of China looming over the small island, Taiwanese people have felt this political turbulence directly, and this may have influenced the investment of allowing their child to be a dual citizen with another country that has more political stability.

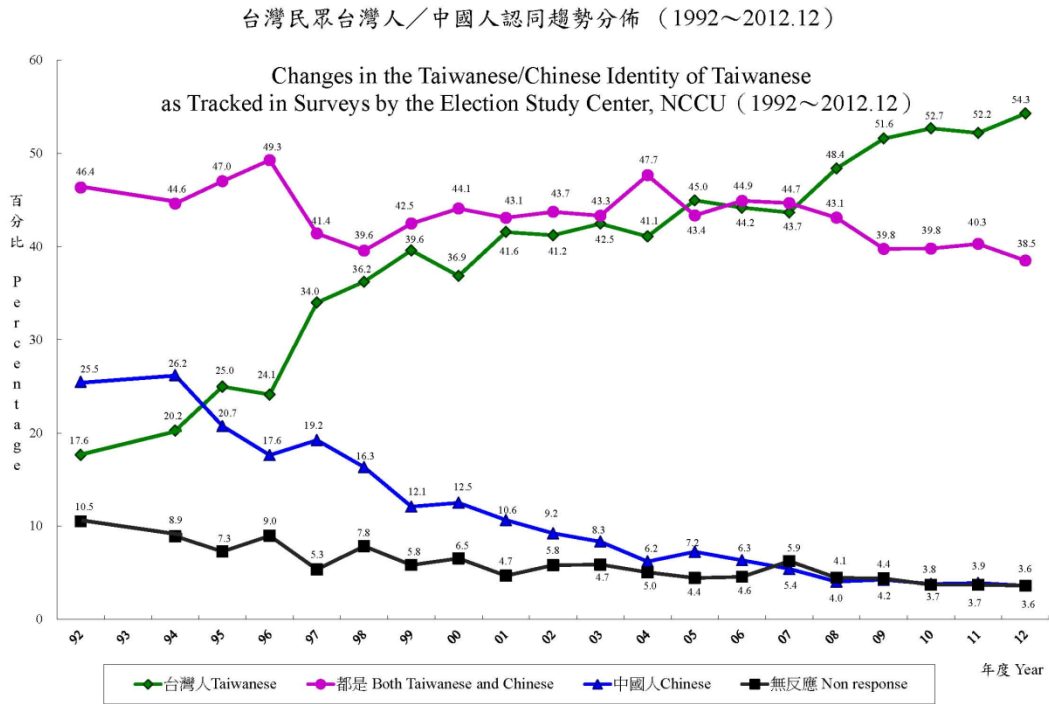
However, what is more important and applicable to this research is not the new generations of ABC/ABT (American Born Chinese or American Born Taiwanese), but the identity of the children whose parents go back while the children are young. There are instances of children who are born in the United States and at a young age, around or before early primary school, the children then taken back into their parents' country. "Taiwanese American families are now engaging in transnational lifestyles" (Waters & Marrow 2007:368). However, can a transnational lifestyle be applied to the situation of children who may be partially educated in two different nations due to their dual citizenship?

Birth tourism, which markets to mothers who come to the United States merely to give birth to their child, what is their motive? Lien Luyi's 2006 dissertation observes and further analyzes the mother's perspective in this phenomenon. Although there has been research done behind the mother's point of view, the identity of the child is who is raised with a foreign passport, while he/she grows up in a completely Taiwanese environment, has yet to be explored. Depending the parents, the child may attend public school with other local Taiwanese children, or they have the option of enrolling in a private international school such as Taipei American School, where one of the requisites is the possession of a foreign passport. Whichever educational track is chosen, if the child continues on to go to school/university in the U.S., the fact that the child would not have to take English as a second language proficiency tests. This will help the transition of getting admitted to an American university a lot smoother, rather than entering college as a complete foreigner with more requisites to fulfill.

What is the result, then, with a citizenship of another country, but growing up in their parents' country? Many boys who have been born in the U.S. in the 1980s end up returning to the U.S. before they are 18, is their planned American birth a way to avoid military consignment? When the children return to the U.S., the country they first belonged to, where exactly does this generation of children fit socially and culturally? In academia there has been research on what it means to be Taiwanese and concept of Taiwanese identity, several papers published through the *Issues & Studies* periodical utilizes survey data that has been collected by the Election Study Center at National Chengchi University about Taiwan's evolving identity changes (See Figure 1) from Chinese to Taiwanese. However, what

research has been conducted to find out the results of the trends in identity in relation to these unanchored anchor babies? Are they only American on paper?

2.3 Figure 1: Identity Changes in Taiwan 1992-2012



國立政治大學選舉研究中心 製

Source: Election Study Center, National Chengchi University
<http://esc.nccu.edu.tw/english/modules/tinyd2/content/TaiwanChineseID.htm>

Chapter 3: Research Method

3.1 Participants and Categorization

There are seven groups of participants in this research. They will be referenced to by an alias and separated by age group. Each person will be contacted and asked a short series of questions (Appendix A), and from these questions different point of interest could be built upon and then new questions will be proposed to further fit the individual experiences. Due to the nature of the participants, some were available for one-on-one interviews, others are not currently located in Taiwan and therefore had either phone interviews or had the questions presented to them through a series of emails.

This is a qualitative study built upon personal interviews. There will be seven different individuals interviewed. Cases A, B, F, and G are all located in Taipei City and therefore were available to meet up for a personal one-on-one interview. Cases C and D are currently living in the U.S. so I had a phone interview Case C and Case D was through a series of emails. Case E was also interviewed through a series of emails due to the fact that she was not quite a free to meet up for an interview.

These cases are then split into three different age categories: postgraduate, collegiate, and pre-adolescent. Although it is common to know someone who was born in the United States, it is not the easiest to find participants who were willing to be interviewed. Some potential participants were contacted, but were not willing to talk about their personal lives with a graduate student. However, through much exposure and friends of friends, there were enough participants who were willing to be interviewed about their lives. Due to the personal nature of these interviews, each participant will keep their anonymity by having their name changed to “Case” and an assigned alphabetical letter. A summary of these interviewees can be seen in Table 1.

The first age category of post-graduate consists of two individuals who have already graduated from university. Case A is a 31 year-old man, currently living in Taipei with his wife. He has been born in the US, completed his college education in Taiwan, went to an American university for a postgraduate degree and currently works in the technology field. Case B is a 25 year-old woman currently living in Taipei. She graduated from Taipei American School and went to university in the United States.

The second category, collegiate, consists of those who are currently in university or have not yet graduated from university. Case C is a 24 year-old man, currently living in California. He was educated in Taiwan, but left to complete high school in Los Angeles. He has been enrolled, but has not yet graduated from community college. Case D is a 22 year-old woman who is currently getting her degree from an American university. She was educated in Taiwan until high school, and is currently working on her four-year degree at University of Washington-Seattle.

The third category, adolescent, is a high school student at a private bilingual school. Although she is only a junior in high school, she is a part of the OP (Overseas Program) class offered at her school that prepares their students for university abroad.

The last category of pre-adolescent refers to Case F, consisting of siblings from the same family, both of which are currently enrolled in a Taiwanese elementary school. They will be interviewed with their parents, together, as the children have not yet reached the stage of solid identification.

As with each experiment there is a controlled factor, a case of which in this case would be comparing the background of a typical immigrant household with children who were born and raised in the United States for a majority of their childhood. The idea of having a control case to compare to the rest of the participants the difference feeling associated with an American identity, even though the control case has split his time between the United States and Taiwan. Case G was born and raised in the United States, but his family move to Taiwan where he completed high school at an international American school and then went back to the U.S. to complete university. He is currently living in Taiwan and has started a musical career here.

As each story is their own, each case will have their own chapter.

3.2 Table 1 - Participant Overview

	Gender	Age	Place of Birth	Current Location	Work Status
Case A	Male	31	NJ, USA	Taipei, Taiwan	Parents' Company
Case B	Female	26	CA, USA	Taipei, Taiwan	Unemployed
Case C	Male	24	WA, USA	Los Angeles, CA	Unemployed/ School Hiatus
Case D	Female	22	NY, USA	Seattle, Washington	College Student
Case E	Female	16	WI, USA	Taipei, Taiwan	High School Student
Case F	Female (Sisters)	8/6	CA, USA	Chiayi, Taiwan	Elementary/ Kindergarten
Case G (Control)	Male	36	WA, USA	Taipei, Taiwan	Music Producer

4.1 Postgraduate Cases

4.1.1 - Case A: 31 year-old male

Current Location: Taipei

Relationship: Met him through an exposition held in Taipei during my internship with American Institute in Taiwan.

Case A, is the eldest subject, an only child, and family has relatives that immigrated over to the United States. Although he currently holds an American passport, and an Alien Resident Card (ARC), he introduces himself as Taiwanese. He admits that he was born in New Jersey, but does not feel any relation to that place other than it being where his aunt is from. Some relatives have immigrated over to the United States, and his mother stayed with them for a short period of time. However, at an age where he has no memories, around six months old, Case A was taken back to his mother's homeland.

The second time he would return to the United States, the country of citizenship that he currently holds, was only for a short visit when he was three years old. However, the memories he has of his childhood are firmly nestled into those of the typical Taiwanese youth. He remembers the small shop near school and how he could buy snacks and baseball cards. Although he did enroll in cram school, his elementary years were more relaxed with some television before dinner.

All of his school years were spent in Taipei City, growing up and going to school close to where he lived. Although he has always known that he was born American, he did not flaunt it. In middle school, those who knew he had an American citizen often correlated that with English language skills, and since Case A was raised in Taiwan, his English skills were lacking, just as those of his peers. However, as a child there was that pressure to have better English merely based on the fact that he held citizenship there. Through this experience, Case A, would not openly express his alternative citizenship, although sometimes during high school it would be mentioned since he did not have to complete military service. In Taiwan, for young men approaching the end of high school, the discussion of when to complete military service (whether before or after pursuing higher education) is often a topic of debate.

Although Case A never grew up with an American background, his parents were prime candidates for immigration. Both parents were a part of the wave of scholars that went

to pursue higher education in the United States, staying there for about six to eight years. However, after his birth, the whole family moved back to Taiwan and has only seen the U.S. as a destination for summer vacations. Case A recalls the summers he spent with his aunt, and the obstacles he encountered as a teenager who was in a country where he could not communicate very well. Although his parents have received their higher education in the U.S. they did not pressure their son to go and study in the states. In the end, Case A went through the entire Taiwan education system, and only later did he go on to pursue a Master's degree in the United States.

While in the United States, getting a Master's in Human Resources, he was considered a normal student due to this passport, but he couldn't help but to think that he felt more like an international student. Universities often have special programs and welcoming events to help international students feel more at ease, but because he came as an American, he went unnoticed. It wasn't until he went looking for the international community did he find the comfort of international community who he could relate to more.

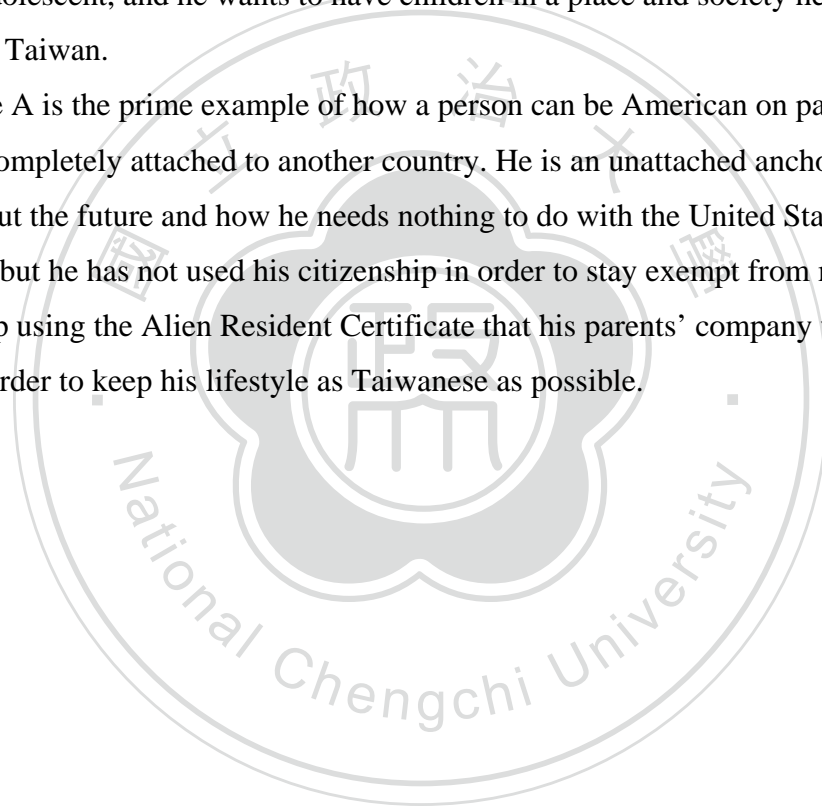
In the American atmosphere of education, he has learned that American education is more about passion, the journey to getting the answer, not necessarily getting the right answer in the end. Taiwanese education has a reputation of getting the right answer, even if the journey is incorrect. Case A pointed to the phrase “填鴨式教學法” the concept of force-feeding, or cramming method of teaching, that has negative connotations. However, since Case A only pursued a higher education in the United States at the age of 23, he realizes the differences, but he also knows himself—he would have never have left behind his life in Taiwan in exchange for the educational opportunities that were in the U.S at the age of 18.

He currently lives in Taipei with an Alien Resident Card provided through his parents' company. Since he is guaranteed this visa through the company there is nothing to lose, nor any reason to go back to the U.S. His lives with his wife in the same neighborhood he grew up in, although not with his parents. His life here is stable, but he does encounter problems when it comes to inheriting real estate from his parents. In Taiwan the importance of real estate is essential as it determines factors as where you live, which district you can vote in, as well as the fact that Taipei City is prime real estate. Due to the fact that he is a “foreigner” on paper, the changing of the household land to his name would encounter many problems, as

well as incur extra taxes. This is one of the larger reasons why Case A has contemplated giving up his American status and reclaiming his Taiwanese identity.

Case A will never introduce himself as anything but Taiwanese. He grew up in Taiwan, and does not see himself any different from any other local Taiwanese except for that fact that on paper he is technically American. His parents used the opportunity, and kept him as an American, however, Case A does not feel there is anything American about him. As the only participant who is married, he feels that there is no other place for him than Taiwan. He would not want his future children to encounter the communication issues that he had as an adolescent, and he wants to have children in a place and society he understands and knows best: Taiwan.

Case A is the prime example of how a person can be American on paper, but their identity is completely attached to another country. He is an unattached anchor baby, having thought about the future and how he needs nothing to do with the United States. He has dual citizenship, but he has not used his citizenship in order to stay exempt from military service. He will keep using the Alien Resident Certificate that his parents' company will always provide in order to keep his lifestyle as Taiwanese as possible.



4.1.2 Case B: 26 year-old female

Current Location: Taipei

Relationship: Met at a mutual friend's birthday party.

Case B is a bubbly, cute girl that is sweet and always has a smile on her face. Running into my group of (foreign) friends at the same restaurant she would introduce herself as being from California. But when exactly was the last time she lived there? She can remember clearly as if it was yesterday— June 20th, 1992, twenty-one years ago. Why did the date stay prevalent? She contributes remembering the day she left the United States for Taiwan because of her childhood friend's birthday. In 1992, she was merely five years old, but it made such an unforgettable impact on her life.

Her childhood memories are quite mixed, she remembers the suburban lifestyle that California had to offer: her neighbors, family friends, birthday parties in the back yard, and watching the fireworks on the Fourth of July. In a way, the way she thought of her past, the hazy, but happy way she reminisced really showed her love and her happiness as a child. Perhaps some of these memories are a bit contrived, as an indirect influence of looking over past photo albums, but the tendency to embellish upon past memories is simply a part of human nature.

However, her currently life is here, in Taiwan, and has been this way for most of her life. Although she is currently using her Taiwanese identity to leave and enter Taiwan, this was not always the case. In her younger years, when she first moved to Taiwan, she went to a normal school like any other locals would. Difference is, her Chinese was not up to level, as she was in an English dominant atmosphere for the first five years of her life. However, as she spent the next five years of her education in local Taiwanese facilities, she also had the same experience as her local peers. She was enrolled in a local kindergarten, put into her neighborhood elementary school, went to a branch of one of Taiwan's largest English after school programs (cram schools), and had an experience similar to what any local Taiwanese child at the time would have had.

The turning moment came was in fifth grade. Perhaps it was that her scores were not as high, or her parents did not care for the atmosphere, but Case B has passed the entrance exam and was to complete middle school and high school in the international school, Taipei American School. Taipei American School, often referred to as TAS, is a private

international school of which you must hold a foreign passport in order to enroll. Her parents decided that her time would be spent in this school, and upon entry, Case B was ironically placed into an “English as a second language” course program. Eventually by the beginning of high school at TAS, she was placed into the normal courses with offered academic support. In order to maintain status and stay in the international school, during this period Case B only used her American identity and did not start using her Taiwanese identity until after college.

As with many international schools, the goal is to have the students study a curriculum similar to that of the country that they plan on attending college. Case B, as with all other TAS students, knew that their end goal of their TAS career leaned towards an acceptance and enrollment at an American university or college. Case B did just that; she enrolled and finished a four-year college program in an accredited California college. College was great for her, and she loved it. Surprisingly enough, as much as she embraces the American side of herself, she feels quite mixed, and home is not California.

Home is with her parents, in a popular night market district of Taipei. For her, the thought of staying in the U.S. after finishing college was not even plausible. College in California was merely a four-year educational vacation from the place she calls home, Taiwan. Being brought up in an English environment in Taiwan, she admits it is easier to read, write, and text message in English. However, she usually only reserves English speaking to other English speakers. Case B loves her hometown of San Matteo, but she is distant enough where it is merely a part of her history, not her future. Currently she is in Taiwan and has no future plans to go to the U.S. outside of vacation purposes.

Case B identifies with both aspects of her identity. She herself admits she feels like she is a mixed identity, akin to that of an American Born Chinese (ABC). However, she has more physical ties to Taiwan. Her parents both pursued higher educational in the United States, and lived there for quite a while, their return was based on the father’s new job. Case B’s mother currently teaches at a well-known university in Taipei. Case B is also happier in Taiwan, not just because her entire family is based here, but because of the medical care that Taiwan provides. Case B suffers from a specific extreme acid-reflux disorder and needs to be under lots of care. In the United States, the medical care she would need would not be provided, and even if she had health insurance back in the States, it would cost more than she could pay for.

Case B is also a part of the “boomerang” generation in youths of today. Commonly referred to as boomerang, these children have left their parents, only to go back to them because they have yet to build a life independent from their own. This can be seen as a part of the poor economic status in the United States. However, this is not a phenomenon in Taiwan, and is seen as part of the culture instead. Taiwanese families are not just the parents and children, but often consist of grandparents as well. The daughter in the household usually lives with the family until she is married, and then she moves into her husband’s household. There are instances where the children of the household move out of the house due to job locations, but this is just a temporary leave. The idea that the family will always live in that house is also why household registration is so important, as in Case A. The household registration is usually passed down through the men in the family.

Although she graduated college several years ago, and has held several different jobs and/or internships in Taiwan, Case B does not see herself going back to the United States anytime soon. Her home is in Taipei, not California. Idealistically, she would love her children to have the same privilege of growing up with a dual identity as she has. She would love her children to have a part of their childhood in the United States, but leave early enough to also set the foundation for their Chinese reading and writing abilities. Case B feels she is equal parts of both cultures, even though she has lived more than half of her life in Taiwan.

The drastic differences between Case A and Case B are two different worlds. Whereas Case A had a negative feeling, an unwanted stress about his English capabilities and the summer of miscommunication in the states, Case B had positive feelings towards her experiences in both worlds, even though she admits to her own struggles with both languages. Having a more positive experience with the United States allows Case B to feel like she can still identify more with the United States and what it means to be an American than Case A will ever feel.

4.2 Collegiate Cases

4.2.1 Case C: 24 year-old male

Current Location: Los Angeles, California, U.S.A.

Relationship: Met through mutual friends while he was on holiday in Taiwan.

Case C was born in Seattle, Washington, one November evening. Although he has no memories of where he was born, Case C's older brother remembers vividly the great time he had in Seattle, thinking that every single family has their own park (or what we would call, a backyard). Case C was not even a year old when he was taken back to Taiwan. Although Case C's mother did not use birth tourism, she did stay with a relative while in the United States. Outside of this one relative, the family has no other connections to the United States. Case C is the beginning of my interest in this mixed identification studies.

Case C is wildly charismatic and can light up a room in an instant with his presence. He has a million friends here in Taipei, and whenever he is back here, he is busy every single hour of the day seeing friends, and occasionally family. Case C has been away from Taiwan since he was 16 years old. Calculating the years, he has spent at least five years living in the United States. However, this does not mean he relates to anything American at all.

When asked where he's from, he will always say without fail that he's Taiwanese, from Taipei. That is who he is, no matter where he is located. However, since high school, he has not used his Taiwanese passport. This is because he is still in the age range of which military consignment is required. If he were to ever enter Taiwan with his Taiwanese identity, he will be forced to participate in mandatory army enlistment.

Although Case C's family still has that one relative in Seattle, the second time that Case C ever returned to the States was in 2006, and he went to Rowland Heights, Los Angeles. Rowland Heights is known for having a large Asian population, many of which are Taiwanese, to the extent of which it is known as "Little Taipei." Case C's mother found a "host family" who runs the business of operating a house where foreign students can live. This host family is Taiwanese, and they open their homes to other high school and/or college age children who come over alone to the United States.

If Case C has such a wonderful family and life here in Taiwan, why would he ever leave? Case C went to his local elementary and middle school, and tested into an Arts Vocational high school. However, as with all things in Taiwan, the test will mark what

schools and what level you rank. Case C did not perform as well on the tests, and therefore only made it to the night school portion of this arts-oriented high school. After two years of sleeping during the day, and night classes that felt unfulfilling, his family decided to think of taking the American option. Therefore, in 2006, Case C enrolled in a high school in Los Angeles using his American citizenship, which provided him with the luxury of an alternative education.

Unlike Case A and B, who do not have any siblings, Case C is a younger brother, and the only one with American citizenship in the family. His older brother was born and raised in Taiwan, but went traveling with the family due to their father's translation job placement. However, after Case C was born, the traveling stopped, the parents divorced, and the brothers grew up under the wing of their mother in Taipei. Case C, who was conveniently born in the United States, did not feel that there was anything different about him than any other Taiwanese child. The fact that he had an American citizenship was found out in elementary school, possibly because it was marked on his national identification card. He then went on to his neighborhood's zoned middle school, where he had all the same friends. However, by the time he was in high school, his American citizenship was something that was not mentioned, or even a part of who he was.

Oddly enough, he would rather give up his Taiwanese citizenship. Case C is currently located in the U.S. and sees the American citizenship as something more useful than the Taiwanese citizenship. A major choice of why he would not choose the Taiwanese citizenship over the American citizenship is due to his unwillingness to be a part of the mandatory military enlistment. In Taiwan he feels no different than his local peers, however, he would rather not say that he has an American citizenship for fear that other would think he was from a wealthier family. This is to indirectly say that often children who have been born in the United States, but have not immigrated over are often from rich, privileged families. This is not what Case C can identify with, having come from a single-family household in Taiwan.

Another factor to consider about Case C is his language ability. My interviews with Case A and B were held in English. Case A could go back and forth, sometimes in English, sometimes in Chinese. However, he noted that he has a slight accent in both his English and Chinese. Case B's interview was completely held in English, and you could not tell she has

been living here her entire life. Her Chinese is usually complimented for being so good for an “ABC,” but it still is not quite perfect. Case C is the opposite of both of these cases. He is also more Taiwanese because of his resistance to learning English. Although he spent the last five years of living in the United States, he has kept up his Mandarin and Taiwanese, only speaking English when he needs to, such as ordering food. He holds on through his identity through language, and cannot express himself very well through English communication. The fact that he is in a Taiwanese atmosphere in Taiwan enables him to have a lifestyle that can resist fluency in the English language. Case C often experiences the same negative feelings as Case A in being frustrated and insecure in their English abilities.

Case C is also in-between phases of his adolescent life. He has not fully completed high school, and therefore does not have a high school diploma. He has enrolled in other community colleges, upon completion, will guarantee a GED (high school diploma equivalent) in addition to a community college, two-year degree program. However, as he has also indirectly stated, his family is not from money. So for a year or two he has taken a break from community college and held a variety of entry-level jobs. He is currently twenty-four and realizes the need to finish his education, but at the same time he also feels the financial burden he has on his family. As a man, it is a part of his pride to keep finances in check, which he cannot do if he is in school. So, unfortunately, he is not sure what direction life is going in, but he feels the need to have a job over everything else.

Case C is fiercely Taiwanese; he does not feel American at all. However, he does see the United States as a window of opportunity. He would prefer if he could raise his children in the United States, as so they would not have an accent (which he feels impedes his English). However, he would only communicate with his children in Mandarin or Taiwanese. He feels that it is up to the job market, if the jobs are better in the United States, then the children will stay with him there. However, if the job scenario is better in Taiwan, they will move after receiving a basic foundation in American English. Case C is not ABC, and he knows it. If he had done better in the Taiwanese method of testing into high school, he would probably not go to the United States at all. But that moment has already passed, and he does not regret the direction of which his life is currently heading.

4.2.2 Case D: 22 year-old female

Current Location: Seattle, Washington, U.S.A.

Relationship: Through a friend at National Chengchi University.

Case D is the one participant of whom I have not the privilege to physically meet. She was interviewed through a series of emails, of which she wrote long and lengthy responses in English. She was born in New York City, but returned to Taiwan when she was quite young. Her lifestyle is quite different the previous cases, she has been back and forth to the United States many, many times in her childhood. Her parents are both green card holders, and her older sister has stayed in the United States since Case D was a small child. Therefore, due the location of her older sister, the family would make quarterly trips to visit the older sister, and stay for about two weeks.

Looking at the frequency of how often the entire family would visit the older sister in the United States makes Case D a child of an obviously wealthy family. Case D does not have family nor does she know why she was born in New York City, but noted it may have had to do with the fact that her father is an importer and travels around for business. Her sister is eight years her senior and did no fare well in the Taiwanese education system. Just like all these cases, Case D's older sister is also an anchor baby and utilized the citizenship more than these other cases have. The older sister was in Kaoshiung American School, the southern Taiwan equivalent of Case B's TAS. Since both KAS and TAS are private schools, they also have private school tuition. Case D notes that it was not cheap to put her older sister through elementary school and middle school at KAS and instead the family had her enroll in an American public school starting in eighth grade. The elder sister first attended school in Texas, under the care of a family friend, and then in high school Case D's parents bought a house in Seattle and paid a woman to take care of the sister until she entered college.

On the other hand, Case D herself excelled in the normal Taiwanese standard of schooling and stayed in the Taiwanese school system. Her parents already had one daughter quite far away and kept their younger daughter by their side. As time went on, it was harder to visit the older sister every three or four months, and Case D would only go to the United States for winter/summer vacations.

Although Case D has much experience in the United States, her childhood memories focus more on the Taiwanese aspects of her life. She claims to have spent at least three hours

every day watching Japanese cartoons and soap operas. Thus piqued her interest in Japanese and Japanese culture today. This is a very Taiwanese aspect of her life, since Japanese culture has infiltrated Taiwanese culture for many years. In the U.S. Japanese cartoons were all dubbed into English and therefore the actual interest in the language and culture would have been more relevant in Taiwanese where they merely subtitle these types of television shows and would have the latest updates instead of showing cartoons once they finally got dubbed into English.

Case D continued her education in the traditional Taiwanese educational system. She went on to learn English through an afterschool cram school, and even took the test to see if she could get into TAS's high school program. Although she was admitted, and also contemplated the idea of doing high school in the United States, she was also admitted to Taipei First Girls High School, which is the number one public high school in the country (specifically for girls). Therefore, Case D took full advantage of her Taiwanese public education, going even as far as to making marks to get into the National Chengchi University, but it was ultimately decided that an American university would be more lucrative for the future.

Case D, as with Case A, both felt out of place being a part of the regular orientation, rather than being a part of the international orientation at their respective schools. Although on paper they were your average American citizens, in their minds they did not fit with those peers and would take solace in being with the other international students. Case D commented strongly on this, and felt that she did not fit in and the stress of people not understanding her situation was not of an American born Chinese. Her lengthy responses to my survey showed her strong grasp on English, but also her insecurity. She always mentioned how she feels her English is good for a Taiwanese student, but it is not enough to be fluid and partake in a part of a culture she cannot relate to.

Case D feels like language and communication are her weaknesses at her American university. Due to her American citizenship, she looks and is often regarded as any other ABC. However, this is not the case, and studying and participating in class are a lot harder for her than it would be for a native speaker. She does also not get the lack that teacher may have in approaching international students since she is not seen as an international student and therefore is not thought to have English as a second language.

Case D also feels it is harder to develop relations. Not only is she shy and insecure about her language skills, but she also lives on her own off campus. In comparison to Taiwan where an upperclassman will take care of and make sure the underclassmen are adjusting (學長學妹制), there is no such culture to take care of Case D, and she feels like the friends she makes are based on her classes, and they change every quarter, not usually lasting longer than the class. She also has different interests and feels that she cannot connect with the average classmate. She claims that her classmates' English is too fluent for her to follow and often incorporates slang that she cannot understand in relation to television shows she also has not seen. However, she does feel more camaraderie with her Japanese language classmates. They hold an interest in Japan, akin to her own, and through that she can practice more speaking skills as she can discuss topics she likes to talk about.

She regards herself as Taiwanese, even if her citizenship status counts her otherwise. However, she sometimes feels embarrassed because other people are not aware of Taiwan's existence, or misinterprets her as Chinese, which she mentions she hates. This is probably due to the fact that more and more Taiwanese do not consider themselves to be Mainland Chinese (see figure 1). After completion of university (and possibly graduate school) in the U.S., Case D does not see herself there. Even though her family has green cards and/or citizenship, neither her parents nor herself would want to immigrate over. She contradicts herself though, and thinks it would be great for her possible future children to grow up in the United States and grasp a multilingual background. However, since she does not want to have a future there, this is not something that has a high probability of happening. She would rather be living in either Taiwan or Japan because that is where her interests lie. She does not care or even consider herself to be American, regardless of what is written on paper.

4.3 Adolescent Case

4.3.1 Case E: 16 year-old female

Current Location: Taipei, Taiwan.

Relationship: Good friends with my English tutee.

Case E is still in high school, although the high school attends, Kang Chiao Bilingual School, is seen as a private bilingual school alternative to TAS for those who do not have a foreign passport. It is also seen as an alternative to those who cannot afford the yearly \$20,000 USD TAS tuition, although this is not to say that KCBS is not expensive, but less expensive than TAS. As a 16 year-old girl, I interviewed her via email, and got quite muddled and brief answers to the questions, as I suppose a teenage would give normally. Her English is not as solid as Case D, but she is certainly a lot more confident. She often used strange emoticons that portray her feelings after a statement. The most commonly used one is “=w=,” which gives a sense of contentment, yet with a hint of negative satisfaction. Sometimes expressions speak louder than words.

Case E was born at the conclusion of her parents’ doctorate studies at a university in Wisconsin. At the age of one month, she was taken back to Taiwan and lived with her grandparents until she was three years old. At three, she was then taken back to live with her parents, who akin to Case D’s sister, had the long discussion of changing out of the Taiwanese school system since Case E was not doing as well as they hoped. Although they discussed going to other international schools in Taipei, it was decided that she would enroll in Kang Chiao Bilingual School, which would be better for her since her English level was not enough to enter a non-ESL class. Taipei European School and Taipei American School both had higher English standards, those of which Case E could not fulfill at the time.

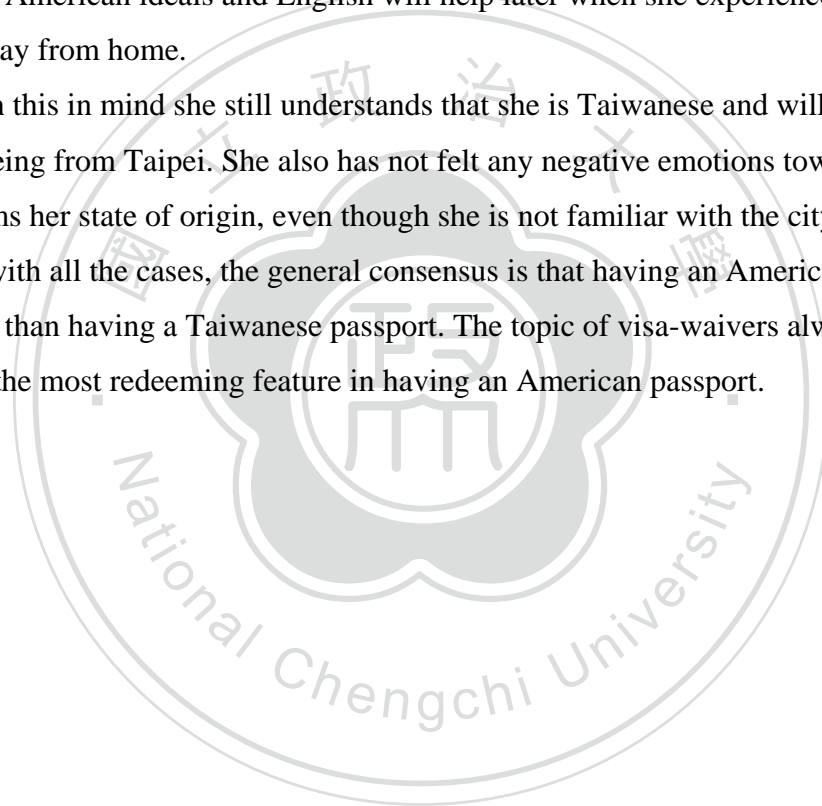
Case E is proud of her background and flaunts the fact that she was born in Madison, Wisconsin by announcing it on Facebook. Under her basic profile information it will say that she is from Madison, Wisconsin. When people ask her about where she is from, she explains her background and people understand that she has an American passport and citizenship. She also does not feel embarrassed and is very confident as a person. Though she was in the Taiwanese educational system until the first year of junior high school, she feels the difference and would not like to return. Kang Chiao has given her confidence in her English abilities and she is thoroughly pleased, as in the previous school system she never felt she

was good enough. Kang Chiao gives Case E a little bit of both worlds, there is still a bit of formal Taiwanese education at her school, but at the same time they use an international curriculum and she gets a western feel of education through a primarily foreign teacher staff body.

Case E also is confident enough to access her usage of language and thinks that she talks half of the time in English and half the time in Chinese. It is refreshing to see someone so young have such confidence, but at the same time, what will happen when she actually goes abroad? She has yet to encounter any hardships, but perhaps the positive feelings she has towards American ideals and English will help later when she experiences the hardships of living away from home.

With this in mind she still understands that she is Taiwanese and will introduce herself as being from Taipei. She also has not felt any negative emotions towards her when she proclaims her state of origin, even though she is not familiar with the city itself.

As with all the cases, the general consensus is that having an American passport is more useful than having a Taiwanese passport. The topic of visa-waivers always comes up, as if that is the most redeeming feature in having an American passport.



4.4 Pre-Adolescent Case

4.4.1 Case F: Sisters, ages 6 and 8.

Current Location: Chiayi, Southern Taiwan.

Relationship: Professor's children.

Case F are actually a pair of sisters, both who have citizenship in Taiwan and the United States. Case F are also the youngest participants of this survey. Their answers are also reflected as a part of their extremely young age. In fact, it was hard to ask them questions, even with their parents around, as they were so shy and sometimes didn't understand the stranger asking them questions. They also had very short attention spans and would race around the room finding other ways to entertaining themselves that would not be answering my questions. As far as experiences go, the younger the participant, the tougher it would to get answers.

Together, with time, patience and the help of their mother, they answered my questions politely. The older sister is eight years old, and left the United States for the first time when she was just over one year old. However, since both of her parents were still working on their doctorates in California, it was only a short visit to the relatives. Then the younger sister was born, and when she was seven months old, and her older sister, a little more than 2 years old, the entire family returned to Taiwan where they have lived ever since. Neither of the children knew their timelines, and the mother had to help fill in the details.

As for the first memory, the eldest daughter could not remember her life before school. The youngest daughter mentions a crib and staring at the mobile hanging above her. However, due to the random specificity of the situation, the parents concluded that this is a contrived memory built from video footage of the past that she has seen. This is relevant, because others have may have believed that they honestly remember that first memory, but it's actually a constructed from a collection of other memories, photographs, and/or videos.

The children had different answers for many of the questions, and some thoughts of whether it was they were at the age were they did not want to agree occurred to me. The younger sister often had her own opinion, usually differing from the older sister, perhaps interviewing them together had actually had a negative and not a natural of a reaction as hoped. The eldest, who spent more time in the States and knew it, also said that in school the teachers knew she was American born (i.e. having an American passport) and therefore the

students knew as well. The sister shyly said that nobody knows, as if she wouldn't tell her classmates or think it is as important as the older sister does.

There is also a difference in which adults they keep company of, as adults directly influence a child's life. Perhaps it derives from the two year age difference, but the elder daughter was more free to live where she was told to live, she would stay with her grandparents without problems and did not think anything of it, although she is more of a daddy's girl. The younger daughter, however, did not like the idea of leaving home, and would only want to stay with her mother. She felt the idea of leaving the nuclear family was not something she was comfortable with and would refuse to go to the grandparents' house, even if her sister would be going.

The sisters did agree on is that the American passport is worth keeping over the Taiwanese passport. In fact, every single participant thus far has agreed on this term. Having such younger girls agree with this concept makes the idea that the lack of confidence in keeping a Taiwanese passport comes with ideas that predate the people, ideas that are a part of Taiwanese society— a type of romanticism in relation to American passports and citizenship.

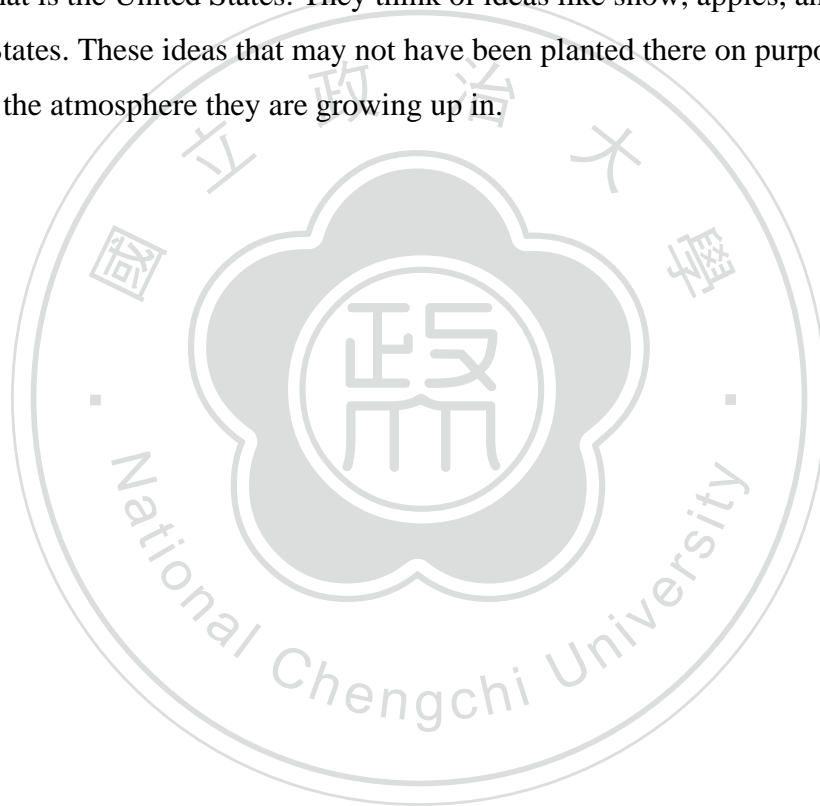
The eldest sister, who would forsake her Taiwanese passport, does not know if she ever wants to return to the U.S. Whereas the younger sister says she misses the U.S. and is more patriotic towards a country of which she has no recollection of. Both of them are too young to remember anything outside of play time at their nursery school, and currently only the older sister is going through cram school to improve her English abilities as well as to help her complete homework. The younger sister is exempt from this extra schooling, partially because she is insecure with her English abilities. The older sister is fine with studying, and liked to learn English even though it is difficult for her. Whereas the younger sister rather be with family and does not want to learn English for fear that she will be ridiculed.

Due to the fact the children are not old enough to answer many of the questions, their mother was asked instead. For example, the mother spent twelve years in various cities throughout the United States, earning a higher education. The hardships that she encountered were with taking care of the children, and during postpartum the Case F's grandma came and helped for several months. The eldest daughter was actually under the care of a Latino nanny,

so the eldest daughter had quite good English abilities as a toddler, which regressed as time went on in Taiwan.

Although the kids may or may not want to return to the United States, there is a possibility that they will do so for a short time. If their parents can get a visiting scholar position, offering them a teaching job at a university in the United States for one year, and perhaps the children, who are young enough to, will come along and accompany them while being enrolled in an American elementary school.

In the end, the children were still torn by the concept of being from and the overall notion of what is the United States. They think of ideas like snow, apples, and clean represent the United States. These ideas that may not have been planted there on purpose, but instead comes from the atmosphere they are growing up in.



4.5 Control Case

4.5.1 Case G: Thirty-six-year-old male

Current Location: Taipei, Taiwan.

Relationship: A friend of a friend

Case G is the “control” participant in this exploratory study. Having spent the most time in the U.S. and moving later in his childhood than any other participant, his identity qualifies him as American rather than Taiwanese, even though he has lived in Taiwan for a while now. He is the only one whose entire family lived together in the U.S. as well as Taiwan.

Case G says that he identifies more with being “American Born Chinese.” He is more comfortable speaking English than Chinese, watching the Office (American), his musical influences in his music are American artists, and the producers/artists he admires are also American.

He was born in Seattle, but grew up in Los Angeles, California until high school. Most of his mother’s side has already immigrated to the United States. Case G has only been to Taiwan on trips during summer vacation, until his father got a job in Taipei and his family made the move to Taiwan during Case G’s high school years. When his family moved to Taiwan, he went to Taipei American School for the remaining three years of high school. Although he went to school in Los Angeles, he still felt more connected to Seattle, where he eventually went to University of Washington-Seattle.

Case G has spent most of his time growing up in California, and has quite a negative view of the area. During his educational career in Los Angeles, he felt that the area was quite rough, and there was always someone getting into a fight. Even though he lived in Los Angeles longer than he lived in Seattle, he would still root for Seattle’s basketball team, and was turned off by the LA Lakers fans. He would rather root for anything from Seattle rather than from Los Angeles.

As a teen, Case G and the rest of his family moved to Taiwan, as his father got an architectural contract in Taiwan. During those years, Case G was enrolled at TAS, where he said people could be cliquey and therefore he made friends with the other new enrollments. At TAS he created stronger relationships with his peers than with anyone he had befriended at previous schools. After graduating from Taipei American School, Case G went on to

university in Seattle, and his parents eventually bought a house there for the family. When Case G finished college, he got involved in the arts and left Seattle for Paris, France. However, when he moved out, his parents moved back to Seattle and are located there to this day. In Paris, Case G realized he actually wanted to be more involved in the music scene. So he left and went directly to Taiwan where his friend was a singer and wanted to introduce him to people in the music scene in Taiwan. That return to Taiwan helped start his music career, and he even got to produce and had a hit single that can be found in Taiwanese KTV charts.

That was about eight or nine years ago, when his job is not supporting his ARC, in contrast to as Case A, whose parents' company hosts his ARC. Case G has a Taiwanese passport, but it is not the same as being a citizen. He cannot vote, nor is he obligated to have national health insurance. Case G is exempt, but his Alien Resident Certificate has a special note of “無戶籍國民” which translates as a national without a household. Earlier it has been noted that the concept of a household is rather important in creating ties and permanency in Taiwan. Because his parents are both Taiwanese, he can apply for citizenship. However, since his parents do not live and are not rooted in Taiwan, Case G is a national that does not have a household. Without this household is merely granted residency, but he does not have the complete rights a regular citizen with household would be granted. The National Immigration Agency of Taiwan also had more details on people who can qualify as a national without household and what steps they must complete in order to get their visa.

Although it may seem backwards to give a visa to those who are nationals without households, the Immigration Agency of Taiwan deems it necessary in order to keep control over the flow of foreign-born Chinese. The Apple Daily covered this dilemma in 2011, with the remarks of a mother who had her child born in France and the difficulty of getting her residency in Taiwan. Case G's parents are living in the United States, and it does not seem like they will be returning to live in Taiwan.

Case G has his career in Taiwan, but does not quite fit in. During his years in the United States, and as well as being in an American environment for college, Case G still considers Taiwan as his home, but he identifies with being an American. From Case G we learn that the longer that one spends their childhood in a certain area there is a direct correlation to what country they identify and feel more comfortable in. However, due to his

positive experience in Taiwan, he stayed here rather than returning to the United States, where he feels more culturally comfortable. His choice to stay in Taiwan is based on his good relations with other people living here. Although he feels American, the experience he had was not the most positive experience, and like Case A, who had negative experiences and therefore could not relate, Case G's negative experiences caused him to consider another country more comfortable than his own.



Chapter 5: Analysis

In this thesis, I would like to break up the analysis into three parts. The first part will analyze the importance of residence in identity, conclusions based on where a person has lived. In the second part I would like to explore the educational background in forming an identity. In the third part I would like to introduce the role of positive versus negative life experiences. These three parts in sum will help conclude that the idea that an increased time in a certain environment, with life different experiences, will create and foster an identity aside from the dual citizenship that these participants have.

5.1 Part One: Residency

Table 2: Participants and Earliest Childhood Memories

	Age Left USA	First Childhood Memory
Case A	6 months old	Getting candy and baseball cards at the “票亭” near his elementary school
Case B	5 years old	Birthday parties in the backyard with a piñata Fourth of July fireworks
Case C	Less than a year old	Getting bullied by his older brother in the park near their home in Banqiao
Case D	Very young, so young she is unsure of when	Spending three hours a day watching Japanese television at home in Taiwan
Case E	One month old	Looking up into the sky as a child
Case F	Two years old/ 7 months old	Elder sister did not know, younger sister recalled a memory based off a home video
Case G (Control)	15 years old	Getting the videogames from Japan and not understanding them, GI Joe, and Transformers

In all the participants, with exception of the control case G, felt more Taiwanese than they would ever feel American. The closest that a participant felt towards having mixed cultures was Case B, who comparatively had the most time in the United States. Case B had around 6 years, the start of her childhood to create an idea of what it meant to be an American, and to have memories to support this fact. However, her life and future is currently in Taiwan. Other participants, Case A, C, D, E, all felt Taiwanese, as if being an American was something they could not relate to, even when they were in the United States.

It is also important to compare the early childhood memories in relation to where they lived. The earliest memories reveal the nature of which a person first starts to develop a sense of identity. In this way we can compare the early childhood memories of the participants in this survey.

Case A, who left the US when he was 6 months old, does not have any childhood memories of the United States. In fact, his earliest memories derive from his Taiwanese elementary school years and going to the small shop near school and purchasing baseball cards. Case B, in contrast, has memories of the United States of going to birthday parties in her peer's backyards, with the classic birthday party piñata full of candy. She also fondly recalls the wonder and delight of watching the fireworks on the Fourth of July, (the United States' Independence Day). The fact that her memories stem from a fond recollection of her time in the United States helps her identity harbor both an American and Taiwanese mix.

Case C, similar to Case A, does not recall American memories. Instead he recalls being bullied by his older brother in the park behind his childhood home. Case D recalls watching hours of Japanese television at home in Taiwan. These concepts of being at home and recalling Taiwanese located early childhood memories are direct indicators of their fierce bond towards Taiwan.

Case E and F are younger cases, and Case E recalls a vague "looking up at the sky" memory, which does not help prove anything besides the fact that she is a teenager and may be looking for alternative methods of replying to the survey. Case F are pre-adolescents and therefore do not remember much, unless contrived off of photographic or video evidence that they have recently been reminded of. Contrived memories and answers are not the most reliable when looking for indicators in developing an identity.

Case G, the control, who can be considered as American Born Chinese since he spent more time growing up and living in the United States, stabilizes the concept that childhood memories are usually linked to the individuals' preference in identity. As expected, Case G recalls early childhood memories of videogames, and action figures, which are found to be a part of the American culture of his generation. Case G had a fully American experience in growing up, whereas the rest of the participants (with exception to Case B) had a distinct Taiwanese flavor to their childhood memories.

This is reminiscent of the concept that Stanley Reshon had introduced in his book *The 50% American*. Reshon commented, "American national identity is primarily a psychological attachment to one's national community, its institutions and practices, the people who constitute it, the psychology of its way of life, and the ideals for which it stands" (2005:59). In which this statement can be applied retrospectively towards Taiwan, it is conclusive to say that these individuals are not American, albeit they hold American citizenship. Since these individuals feel more psychologically attached to another community and another culture, although they view their American citizenship as invaluable, they are not Americans. His book deals extensively with dual citizenship. He has also referenced a multitude of charts; Table 1.2 (Reshon 2005: 18) that reveals a total of 93,079 immigrants admitted into the United States from Taiwan between 1991-2000. These immigrants were admitted, however note that the children of these immigrants are not taken into concern. The mere quantity of immigrants entering, there are more visitors, some of which will take advantage of the birthright citizenship in the United States.

This is important to note because this is the route that most of the participant's parents found their way over to the United States. With exception of Case C, the parents came to the United States by way of studying, and most of them have obtained a long-term visa. Case D's parents have even obtained their green card.

Reshon also notes and debates the fact that the American census does not ask who identifies as "American." According to his research, "the government is uninterested in the question, or perhaps afraid of the answer. Since the 1980 census, it has not asked an ancestry question that might allow people to answer 'American'" (2005:57). The United States has dealt with racial ties, allowing communities to embrace and practice their cultural differences; in that sense the US has weakened the patriotic sense of community of what it means to be an

American. A weakened sense of loyalty is also argued by Audrey Macklin who states, “among those citizens likely to arouse state’s suspicion, two citizenships provide less security than one” (*Dual Citizenship in Global Perspective* 2007:62). Meaning the idea behind a dual citizenship is a bias towards one over another, leading to an irregularity in patriotic and national duty.

Most of the participants would be at fault with American loyalty, with feelings towards Taiwan as an underdog and therefore needing support. Even in competitive sports, the participants agreed that they would rather cheer on Taiwan for even getting to the point of competing against the United States. Granted, as Case C noted, American basketball is well-regarded and more interesting to watch than Taiwanese basketball. However, he also agreed, even if it is less interesting to watch, he would want Taiwan to defeat the United States because the United States wins often enough as it is.

The participants, who do not feel American, still agree that the U.S. passport is more valuable than keeping a Taiwanese passport. The concept that there are fewer visas to apply for when traveling abroad is always mentioned. It is seen as a convenience to have an American passport, whereas having a Taiwanese passport has few advantages. Aside from Case A, who would trade in his American status in order to maintain his family’s property without issues, no one has even thought about choosing the Taiwanese citizenship over the American. However, if you were to ask any of these “American” participants where they are from, it will always be Taiwan.

Residency is important to forming an individual’s identity in that the amount of time spent in certain environments has a direct influence over the development of identity. Regardless of technical identity, the longer the person stays within a country the stronger the tie there is to that specific country. Early memories can be an indicator of the direction of an individual’s preferred identity, as they usually reflect the development thereof. Based on the concept of how long the participant has stayed in a country as a child, and the memories that they recall of their childhood, we can foresee the inclination towards a certain identity.

5.2 Part Two: Education

Education is a prevalent aspect in development a person's individual identity. After pre-adolescent, an individual's time is primarily spent in an education institution, a variety of school influences and outside influences from their respective peers will have a direct correlation with a person's identity. School creates an atmosphere that rivals the direct influence of an individual's home life. Educational institutions create a strong bond with the respective country's atmosphere and his/her personal feelings towards identity. School does not dictate how a person conducts themselves, but instead is full of outside influences that comes from society and culture of the country of which it is located.

Another educational factor that is relevant towards the development of identity is the educational background of the individual's parents. With exception to Case C, all the participants happen to have at least one parent that was educated and pursued higher education within the United States, see Figure 2. The last aspect in which education is an important factor is the pragmatic use of their American citizenship and the concept that these individuals have or plan to utilize the educational system in the United States.

5.2.2 Figure 2: Parents' Education

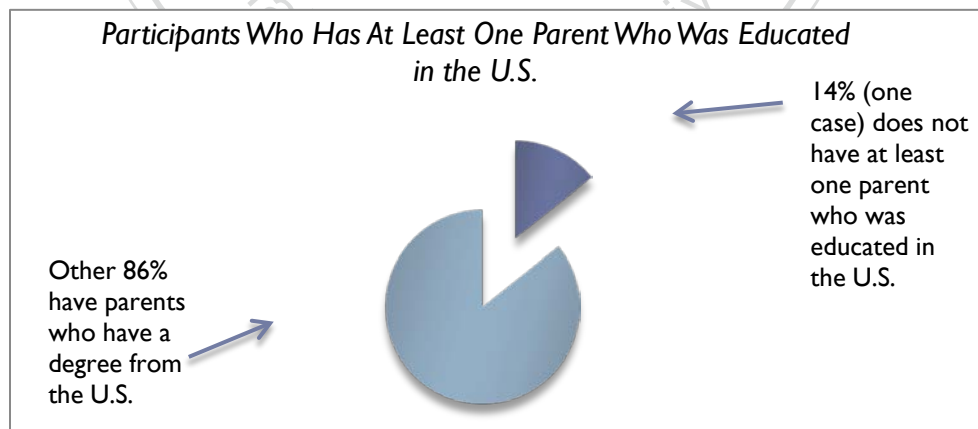


Table 3: Education Overview

	Current Location	Elementary School	Middle School	High School	College	Grad. School
Case A	Taiwan	Taiwan - Public School	Taiwan - Public School	Taiwan - Public School	Taiwan	U.S.
Case B	Taiwan	Taiwan - Public School	Taiwan - Public School	Taiwan/ Private International	U.S.	
Case C	U.S.	Taiwan - Public School	Taiwan - Public School	Taiwan/ U.S.	U.S.	
Case D	U.S.	Taiwan - Public School	Taiwan - Public School	Taiwan - Public School	Taiwan/ U.S.	
Case E	Taiwan	Taiwan - Public School	Taiwan – Private Bilingual	Taiwan- Private Bilingual	Anticipates U.S.	
Case F	Taiwan	Taiwan - Public School				
Case G (Control)	Taiwan	U.S. – Public School	U.S. – Public School	Taiwan – Private International	U.S.	

Participants who had been through the public school system in Taiwan deeply felt connected to being Taiwanese. Case A and Case D are the ones that have completed the Taiwanese educational system to the extent of university in Taiwan. If the participant attended a school of international status they would feel less connected to the Taiwanese identity. Case B is an example of being in an international school and keeping the feelings of both Taiwanese and American, whereas Case G kept his American identity the entire time. There are patterns in the older participants that college does not reflect an individual's

identity— the concept is usually developed and established by junior and/or high school. Case B is the only one that had both the Taiwanese middle school education and International School high school education, and therefore it is not surprising to see that she is mixed and between the two identities. All participants also have had or will use their citizenship in a part of their future educational opportunities. They have carried over the pragmatic use of their citizenship as a way to enter the American system of education.

In *The Birthright Lottery* by Ayelet Shachar, the concept, inequality, and problems of birthright citizenship are closely examined. She notes the concept of birth tourism, even without naming the concept: “when a child is born to visitors or short-term visa holders who have no intention whatsoever of establishing permanent residence in their child’s country birth” (116). Explicating the exact concept of what has happened to these individuals under investigation to see why and what influence being an “American” has in these participants’ lives.

Through these interviews, what is the direct influence of being an American, but not identifying with that culture? Case A and Case C are both men, and therefore one reason that they do not utilize their Taiwanese passport is due to the mandatory military enlistment. When the Chinese Nationalist Party fled China and first came to Taiwan, they needed an army to defend the island from Mainland China. However, in the past years China and Taiwan have grown economically closer. Taiwan is also lacking the resources to keep up an army against China. Defense is important, but a war against China would be futile. Therefore, the current generation of young men who are in the army feel as if the army is a waste of time and money. These young men feel that it is more important to serve and bring dignity to their families through financial and career success. Being in the military does not serve to teach anything that would be useful after being discharged.

Besides the lack of visa complications and being exempt from military service, there are other benefits to having an American passport that the participants may have no expressed as loudly. In *The Birthright Lottery*, Shachar also explains the strengths of birthright citizenship, “this randomly acquired citizenship is hardly ever limited, let alone revoked, even if its bearer has never revisited the country and/or has not established any substantive ties to it at any point during her life” (116). She researches and points out the loopholes that birthright citizenship is often taken advantaged for.

Case D brushed upon it slightly; she mentioning the fact that if she was not a U.S. citizen that she would have to pay international student tuition, which is more expensive. College and/or university, whether it is private or federally funded, is guaranteed to be more expensive in the United States than any colleges or universities in Taiwan, no matter what price Taiwan will charge foreigners. However, the United States also provides free education for children until high school. The free admittance into public schools in the United States is the chance that Case C and Case D's older sister took full advantage of. Case C did not do so well in high school exams, and had to go to night school instead. However, since he was also an American citizen, he could take advantage of a better educational opportunity than the one offered in Taiwan. He could also apply and enter community college, which due to his Californian residency, would be at a lower cost than going to a community college outside of California. In this way, Case C used the education pivot to create better and possibly more successful opportunities than just staying in Taiwan.

Case D's older sister is also of this case, since she did not do well in the Taiwanese way of standard education. Case D's sister took the international school route, however, that posed a financial burden, one that could be levitated by moving to her country of citizenship. Although I did not have the chance to interview Case D's sister, the concept that the sister would be more comfortable in the United States than Case D currently is, has a high probability rate.

All participants have used, or are going to use American educational opportunities that come with being born American. Case A did not feel like it was needed to go earlier, but after completing a master's degree, he understands the difference and how an American education is a positive experience. During his post-graduate years, he realized the idea of exploring what an individual would want, rather than to be boxed into a subject that they were merely better at testing. Case B went to Taipei American School, where the ultimate goal is to go to college in the United States. Many of the students there may have parents who are not of Taiwanese background, but are in Taiwan for job purposes. Case C has used American educational opportunities to make a change for the better in his life. Case D is currently in the United States, although aside from college, it does not seem like she would have chose to go there otherwise. Case E is currently excited, her positivity towards the United States is also shown through her excitement and confidence that she will go to college

in the United States. Case F, the children are too young to decide, however, the parents may utilize the children's dual citizenship if they were to be in the United States for job purposes in the future.

It is almost important to note that out of the six cases (controlled case G is yet again exempt), two thirds of them have parents who have received higher education in the United States. With the except of Case C and Case D, the other participants' parents came over to the United States and spent a reasonable amount of time studying and earning a doctorate degree. Case D's parents have green cards, but are not necessarily related to receiving an education in the United States.

Although a market exists, it seems that none of the participants are direct products of "birth tourism." The phenomena of visiting tourists who give birth on short-term visas is not only hard to track, but in this case, has not been applicable. In fact, none of the parents have utilized facilities in the birth tourism market. Lien Luyi's dissertation recalls and notes of advertisements selling this sort of image, without having to have direct ties or relations with the United States. But what is the gravity that brings Taiwanese citizens to the United States, and give the image that dual citizenship for their child is better than just being Taiwanese?

One concept that Lien Luyi ties in with the concept of dual citizenship in the United States is the concept of branding. Taiwan sees the United States as a form of security and success:

...that kind of admiration is a result of media that publicize the image of the most powerful nation in the world. The fantasies and pleasures of protection from a powerful nation is a dominant product, and the U.S. passport embodies manufactured goods (p. 121)

The concept that having a child that has an American citizenship is not about having an American identity, but the success and prestige that having an American passport can offer. Case A refers to the fact that his parents finished their degrees and returned back to Taiwan, but he was born in the U.S. to secure a place incase Taiwan's political turmoil was beyond control. Therefore, a mix of concepts fuels the pragmatic sense resulting in the planned births of these participants. Socially and culturally they have options and opportunities for their future of which derive from practical thinking.

5.3 Part Three: Life Experiences

M. Jennings and Richard Neimi's book "The Political Character of Adolescence: The Influence of Families and School" does not relate to these participants, but emphasized the context of which children grow up in is a direct influence. "A person's behavior may be continuous or discontinuous with previous patterns of behaviors whether his own or those of an earlier generation" (1974:5), which is one premise why interviewing the participants was more important than interviewing why that parents made this decision for their child. It is important to see what influence the family has and whether the child has mimicked and based their identity on the parents, but it is just as important to focus on other external factors. The children may live with their relatives, but it is their peers that construct and influence the positive and negative experiences the child may have. Children spend the majority of their time in school and therefore the culture in school directly influences the child when shaping his or her identity. Therefore it is important to analyze the concepts of positive and negative life experiences towards both Taiwan and the United States.

Using life experiences as indicators towards the bias in identity, we can assume that positive factors perpetuate a stronger tie to that country, whereas negative feelings exacerbate and alienate an individual's away from that respective country. In Tables 4 and 5, life experiences dealing with the United States usually show stronger feelings of negativity rather than positively. Therefore, in contrast to Tables 6 and 7, the life experiences relating to Taiwan, there are stronger positive experiences.

5.3.1 Life Experiences with the United States

Table 4: Positive Experiences with the U.S.

	Identifies as	Experience
Case A	Taiwanese	While at graduate school saw differences in Taiwan versus American education
Case B	Both Taiwanese and American	Family friends always supportive and provide many good memories,
Case C	Taiwanese	Freedom of being on one's own.
Case D	Taiwanese	Being able to pay a lower tuition at her university since she does not have to pay the more expensive international student tuition.
Case E	Taiwanese	n/a
Case F	Unsure	Thinks the U.S. is cleaner, likes "Western" food like ice cream
Case G (Control)	American	Watching his favorite basketball team, the music producers and artists that he admires, his family

Table 5: Negative Experiences with the U.S.

	Identifies as	Experience
Case A	Taiwanese	Could not express himself during summer vacations in the U.S., alienated at graduate school
Case B	Both Taiwanese and American	Enjoyed college in the U.S. but felt it was just an educational vacation
Case C	Taiwanese	Insecurities with not being about to communicate, school is very challenging, hard to find a job with a low English ability.
Case D	Taiwanese	In university, she cannot relate at all to her peers, does not feel connected to anyone, nervous about not understanding her peers' English, going through American customs
Case E	Taiwanese	n/a
Case F	Unsure	Younger sister discouraged from learning English because she is afraid of being laughed at
Case G (Control)	American	Dislike for his peers and school while in middle school/high school

Negative life experiences are relevant in Case A's situation: he had negative feelings towards having an American citizenship. Case A felt different from the other children, but it

was based on how there were other expectations that came with having an American citizenship. Students felt that Case A should have better English abilities than their own, however, Case A did not feel like he lived up to that expectation and therefore came away with feeling alienated. He feels like any other Taiwanese child, but did not like the fact that if others knew he was not technically a Taiwanese national that the rules would be different for him.

Case A and Case D have similar negative feelings towards their American citizenships. Both have felt alienated when arriving to school in the U.S. Case A went for graduate school, and Case D is currently getting an undergraduate degree. These two participants felt that they did not belong to the people who surround them at school orientation. Unrelated, and unknowingly, they both admitted to feeling out of place and wishing that they could have been a part of the international orientation at the start of their American education. Case A did not know how to find them, his statistics were of a local American student on paper, so the international group did not know he existed. However, over time Case A eventually entered the international student crowd, where it was realized by the other students that he was more like an international student than a local American student.

Case D has yet to find her niche. She is separated from school since she lives off campus. Her nature is shy and reserved, and therefore the friends she has made feels more temporary and fleeting. She knows she is not like the other students, and has a hard time getting along when she does not speak English as her native tongue. Her feelings of isolation are apparent in her interview; she mentions how it is hard for her to have friendships with people she does not understand very well. Her interests also lie beyond American culture, as she is fascinated with Japanese culture. It is no surprise that her Japanese class brings her the most joy and is the place she feels most comfortable.

In regards to the U.S. Case B feels as if she has equally strong reactions with both countries. Case C is unlike these cases as he also felt the extreme alienation that Case A and D have problems with. Case C has therefore found comfort in the immigrant crowd of peers who are similar to his, even if they do not have the American citizenship. Due to their lack of involvement with the U.S. and their young age, Case E and F have feelings, but not actual experiences that will eventually have a stronger impact on their identity development.

Although Case G is the control, he too has had a more negative approach to his peers back in the United States. He identifies with being an American, however he has enough negative experiences that keeps him from returning to the United States therefore prolonging his stay in Taiwan.

Therefore it is not surprising to see that life experiences relating to Taiwan are more welcoming and positive rather than negative. Many participants note and talk of Taiwan's shortcomings, but it still remains apparent in their recalling of life experiences that their experiences with Taiwan is more positive rather than negative.



5.3.2 Life Experiences with Taiwan

Table 6: Positive Experiences with Taiwan

	Identifies as	Experience
Case A	Taiwanese	Loves his life here, safe, met and married his college sweetheart in Taiwan, has a job here
Case B	Both Taiwanese and American	Healthcare is optimal for her in Taiwan, likes the option of speaking both Mandarin and English in Taiwan
Case C	Taiwanese	Very strong connections and bonds with his peers here, even after he left more than five years ago
Case D	Taiwanese	Excelled in the Taiwanese public school institutions, heavy influence and welcoming attitude towards Japan
Case E	Taiwanese	Loves her friends, the mix between a Taiwanese education and foreign education her school provides
Case F	Unsure	Being so young, they are extremely attached to their family
Case G (Control)	American	Strong bonds with his peers from high school in Taiwan, started musical career here, has his own music video and song, people do not pick up that he is not Taiwanese at first, has lived here since graduating college

Table 7 – Negative Experiences with Taiwan

	Identifies as	Experience
Case A	Taiwanese	Frustration at not being able to take over household registration from his parents due to his foreigner status
Case B	Both Taiwanese and American	Encounters difficulty in Taiwan's job market since her Chinese is not as strong as her English.
Case C	Taiwanese	The importance of testing in order to get ahead in life while in school, did not test well and therefore could only attend night school during high school.
Case D	Taiwanese	The untidiness of Taiwan, the lack of recognition it has as a country by both China and other countries
Case E	Taiwanese	The over importance of testing in a Taiwanese's person life
Case F	Unsure	Dirty, lots of people smoking
Case G (Control)	American	Having to have relations in order to climb up the career ladder in the media industry, communication issues

As demonstrated, the positives are more substantial and sustaining than the negatives in participants' life experiences. Case A has created a life centered around Taiwan and therefore his positive life experiences in Taiwan represent his life as a whole. Case B finds peace within her family and therefore what she did not have in the United States she will still be able to feel more settled in Taiwan. Case C has made such strong bonds in Taiwan and even though his current life is in the United States, he cannot break free from his Taiwanese social life. Case D feels as if there is only Asia that is suited for her, she not only excelled at the educational system, but overall feels her personality does not suit the United States. Case E is young enough where all she currently knows and understands is about Taiwan. Case F is both too young and underdeveloped to really have a sense of self and therefore mimic the elders and family influences in their lives. Control Case G has filled what negativity he holds towards the U.S. with the positivity he has found here.

5.4 Success: Being An "American"?

Does an American citizenship pave the way to success? Is success found in an American education? Peter Spiro's book *Beyond Citizenship* notes that birthright citizenship is not necessarily a bad thing; however, there are many more who become Americans notwithstanding a lack of future attachment to America. "One can no longer assume birth in the United States to result in a subsequent bond" (24-25). Spiro also ties in the notion of globalization in today's work and the differences that it may have in different communities. He even notes immigrant Diasporas, and other different communities based on ethnic heritage. These communities perpetuate an identity that is not geographically tied to the United States.

This relates the most to Case C, as he was sent to an area of Los Angeles due to Taiwanese connections. His friends there are also of a similar status. Granted, Case C did encounter the same communication and relationship building problems that Case D is currently encountering. But since Case D is shy whereas Case C is quite charismatic, a people person, Case C did not feel the isolation for very long. He found friends who were of the same or similar background. Many of his friends are also working; they do not speak fluent English, and converse amongst themselves in Chinese with bits of Taiwanese here and

there. Some of his friends are with family, and many are the only one in their family to be in the United States. Case C does also not have anything in Taiwan but family, and the notion of his return implicates a sort of failure of the success that is assumed with an American citizenship. If he were to return home, he has no high school or college degree of use to find a job in Taiwan. His language skills are better than average, but not up to par. On paper he may appear to be an average American Born Chinese, but in person he is just an average Taiwanese guy without qualifications who would need to fulfill military service.

Of the appropriate age level (collegiate and higher), participants have solidified and confirmed their concept of self. They have endured hardships and know the difference of one identity over the other, and know that they are American on paper, but Taiwanese in heart and mind. Case E, who is in high school and has a romanticized concept of being American, has yet to experience it on her own. Her ideas that Western education is more relaxed and better than Taiwanese education is fueled on the imitation international school system at her private school. Her private school also caters to those who want to go abroad, usually an ideal that society and possibly their parents have subconsciously influenced.

Case F sisters are also too young to understand themselves, and have yet to create an identity for themselves. They adapt with their surroundings, unaware of how they have already been shaped by them.

Case G, the control case, spent most of his life in the United States. Even with his negative experiences in Los Angeles he cannot deny his American identity. His current influences are all based on his identity, with the exception of where his career and currently job ties have found him. He has been too uprooted from the United States to develop a career that is based on personal ties. His ties in Taiwan are stronger and more recent, even if his music is not directly influenced by anyone of Taiwanese descent.

The only participant that seems to have fully embraced the concept of a mixed-identity of that of Case B. Case B seems to have a love for a nation, which she is only slightly familiar with, as well as a love for the nation she has called home for the majority of her life. Although she does embrace her American spirit, she still does not view or conceptualize the United States as home. She feels comfortable enough in two societies, to the point where she also is a bit lost and does not know which one she belongs to. Her memories of being an American are all very positive, but when she went to university in

California, she did not feel like she was home, and was merely on an extended educational vacation. However, she is also lost; she does not know what direction her life is taking her. She is not quite American, but then she is also not Taiwanese. Falling between into this limbo can be dangerous in trying to settle down with a career. She would have to work much harder to enter the workforce as a Taiwanese person. However, the most common job that native English speakers here hold is an English teacher job. An English teaching job is a very narrow career, it makes money, but there is no form of promotion, and a lot less chances to be stratified with a career that does not have room to grow.



Chapter 6: Conclusion

Table 8 – Participants Anticipated Future Residency

	Current Location	Identifies as	Anticipated Future Residency
Case A	Taipei, Taiwan	Taiwanese	Taiwan
Case B	Taipei, Taiwan	Both Taiwanese and American	Taiwan
Case C	Los Angeles, CA	Taiwanese	U.S.
Case D	Seattle, Washington	Taiwanese	Taiwan or Japan
Case E	Taipei, Taiwan	Taiwanese	U.S.
Case F	Chiayi, Taiwan	Unsure	n/a
Case G (Control)	Taipei, Taiwan	American	Taiwan unless there is a career opportunity in the U.S.

As a means for predicting the future, it is important to take in the concept of where these participants see themselves in the future. The identity they have developed so far still has time to change, although anticipated future residency is another indicator of which identity the individual is more in favor. Case A, B, and D has kept the future residency consistent with their Taiwanese identity. Those participants whose anticipated residency is not the same as their identity is usually based off of different logic. Case C is staying in the U.S. due to better financial and job opportunities. Case E is still in high school and has yet to have build up direct life experiences with the United States and therefore may be a bit naïve. Case G, who is ultimately the American of this study, does not see himself in the U.S. unless a solid career track is offered. Otherwise, most participants chose to live in agreement with their preferred identity.

In conducting qualitative research, interviewing seven different situations, the concept that dual citizenship creates a mixed identity in Taiwanese anchor babies is false. People who do not create a positive or lasting image of a country will not have loyalty or an identity with that country. The concept of self is solidified before graduating college. Lien Luyi has written her dissertation on why mothers would chose an American citizenship for their child, even if the child is not to be raised in that country, and the core to that thought is to give the child more opportunity to succeed. In the child's success, the parents can also benefit and be proud. However, it is not always the case that the child will necessary take the steps that is to "anchor" and settle in the American realm. The concept of an American dream is not something that parents can force on their child. The child will create their own sense of identity, and even if there is admiration for a life abroad, it does not mean going abroad the child will embrace this other identity they have but do not relate to.

The longer a child has in a certain country and society, the more loyalty and dominance it will have on their personal identity. In leaving the United States, the participants' parents have abandoned the concept of creating a partially American identity. Case B spent the first five years of her life in the United States, and can only remember positive occurrences. Case A spent his middle school summers in the United States and can only remember the frustration in not being able to communicate. Case C left Taiwan for a better life, but currently it has yet to pave the way to success. Case D is in the United States and rejecting her surroundings, studying and doing school like an obedient child. Case E has romanticized the United States. Case F is too young to establish a point of view. Case G spent his life until high school in the United States, and even in Taiwan he spent it in an international atmosphere, make it permanent that he identifies with being an American.

These studies have shown that there are dual citizens who do cannot and do no relate to one of their countries. They are merely citizens as an investment in the future of multiple possibilities towards success. Utilizing birthright citizenship, these children identity less with being an American than some immigrants currently living in the United States today.

In Taiwan, American citizenship is a common phenomenon. However, there is no way to track these people as they use one identity over the other and do not declare themselves as dual citizens. If there were a project dedicated to researching and understanding the singular identity of dual citizens in Taiwan, it will confirm the idea that

these children are born to have a citizenship out of convenience and opportunity. These children have the “anchor” in the United States; however they are not attached to the United States, therefore are “unanchored” anchor babies. Their attachment to the United States is an identity found more on paper than it is within the participants.



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Appendix A: Participant Questionnaire

Background:

1. Place of birth/dual citizen? What nationality do you consider yourself?
2. When did you first leave the US? First return to the US?
3. Memories of where you were born?
4. When and where did you first enroll in school? How long?
5. As a child, did any of your friends know that you had an American citizenship? Family/friends know? Do you recall their reactions towards you?
6. Do people know you have an American passport? How did they find out? How do you feel about this?
7. Did your parents or your grandparents raise you?
8. If you were to choose one of the other, which one would you choose/would you change the SINGLE passport you have currently?
9. What are the pros? Cons? Of your situation/choice.

Education/Language:

1. Schools: When/where/what type of institution. Cram school (where/what/why?)
2. Do you feel the same as the majority of your friends?
3. What language do you speak the most often? Second? Friends? Family? Classmates?
4. Do you know why your parents planned it this way? Bigger plans for you? Shoes you needed to fill?
5. How do you think education is perceived in Taiwan vs. in the U.S.?
6. Do you like the education that you have received personally? Or could there be tweaks to make your life better?
7. If you were to have children, where would you want them to grow up? Why?
8. What are the determining factors for wanting your children to grow up in X country?
9. What language would you use to communicate with your children?

Third round of questions (identity):

1. Duration of times lived in different countries. Country of biggest influence?
2. What hardships did you go through in either country? Which country felt easier to accept/adapt?
3. Where the hardships something expected? Or were they hard to resolve?
4. Do you believe in “*zuo yue zi*”? Would you/your wife do it as a part of postpartum care?
5. Has it ever been a thought to immigrate or retire in the United States?
6. Do you follow any sports or bands closely? What are they? Juxtapose TW vs US team/artist.
7. What are you proud of in relation to TW/USA?
8. Which country has a better government?
9. Are you ashamed of the TW? US? What country is your ideal?
10. In international competition, which team would you root for?
11. In talking about yourself, where do you say you're from? City? Country? Continent?
12. What are three laws necessary to become U.S. President? Three laws of becoming TW president?
13. How does your general knowledge of TW vs. US compare?