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*Raising Global Families: Parenting, Immigration, and Class
in Taiwan and the US* by Pei-Chia Lan (review)

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ambition to conduct in-depth research on Wedemeyer will find this book indispensable for his/her project.

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- NOTES
1. Keith E. Eiler, ed., *Wedemeyer on War and Peace* (Stanford, CA: Hoover Institution, 1987), p. 85.
 2. “Reflections of November 1944,” Chiang Kai-shek diaries, Hoover Institution (In Chiang’s diaries, there is a Reflection section at the end of each month.)



Pei-Chia Lan. *Raising Global Families: Parenting, Immigration, and Class in Taiwan and the US*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2018. xii, 235 pp. Paperback \$24.95, ISBN 978-1-5036-0590-9.

Pei-Chia Lan has returned with her new book, *Raising Global Families: Parenting, Immigration, and Class in Taiwan and the US*, a decade after she wooed the research field with her previous worldly acclaimed and prize-winning book on migrant female domestic helpers, *Global Cinderellas: Migrant Domestic Workers and Newly Rich Employers in Taiwan* (2006).

Raising Global Families counters the stereotype of Asian parenting, such as the strict Chinese “tiger mom”—often presented in contrast to “Western” style parenting—and reveals the complexities of class inequality and cultural negotiations in the contexts of globalization and immigration. Childrearing in a globalized world is characterized by what Lan names “global security strategies,” the coping strategies to navigate transnational mobility and negotiate cultural boundaries for mitigating insecurities and anxieties conditioned by economic inequality in local and transnational contexts. Lan stretches Marianne Cooper’s “security projects” on a transnational scale to critically investigate different ways of “doing securities”—the ways in which parents react to emotions of ambivalence and insecurity caused by future uncertainties which are now exacerbated by transnationalism—through comparing immigrant families with their counterpart in the home country. Her ideas are supported by the multi-sited comparative study on parenting strategies of four groups of parents: middle-class parents in Taiwan, working-class Taiwanese and immigrant parents in Taiwan, and middle-class Chinese

and Taiwanese immigrant parents in Boston area, as well as their working-class counterparts. Lan observed and conducted interviews with 80 parents from 57 families in Taiwan and the United States between 2010 to 2013. In *Raising Global Families*, Lan applies transnational relational analysis to provide a nuanced discussion on these seemingly isolated groups of parents who are structurally interconnected through their uneven links to globalization and the intersectionality of gender and class. Drawing on Bourdieu's idea that social classes are constructed in relation to each other, her study makes prominent that the parents' class-based uneven capacities result in diverse global security strategies in the processes of fostering global children in the receiving country. Depending on disparate sources of insecurities and resources available, the four researched groups of parents grew distinct strategies while redefining and renegotiating parenting in changing surroundings: cultivating Western cultural capital, natural growth as problem, cultivating ethnic cultural capital, and natural growth as assimilation. These different strategies separate parents by social class. Yet, Lan claims, their global security strategies are not always successful and often unintentionally lead to paradoxical consequences.

The first chapter of the book starts with the historical explanations of the ways in which "modern" ideas and values, including a "modernized" way of parenting, were cultivated in Taiwan through the U.S. aid after World War II. The historical description is continued with the history of immigration from Taiwan to the United States which sets the grounds for later discussions on parenting strategies in the globalized society in Taiwan and how immigrant parents develop coping strategies in the United States where they face culture and class-based struggles. The author then moves to a vivid description on disparate parenting strategies of middle-class parents in Taiwan and working-class parents, including marriage immigrant parents who are predominantly females from Southeast Asia or China.

Chapter 2 shows middle-class parents who utilize their social and economic capital to facilitate their children's global mobility by sending them to international schools, private schools, or to alternative schooling institutions to circumvent the traditional educational system that they themselves experienced and disapproved of. These professional middle-class parents are rather keen on "global pathway consumption," such as flexible citizenship, to facilitate future global mobility. English language skills and the spirit of independence are also considered desirable in enhancing global competitiveness and accumulating transnational cultural capital. Yet, Lan indicates, this nurturing of global mobility is carried out by means of micromanagement that meticulously schedule children's learning processes, which eventually goes against the aimed spirit of independence. Some other parents who are more eager to create a "stress-free" childhood resort to alternative schools that follow holistic education methods in a carefully orchestrated manner, which also turns

children into objects of adults' micromanagement. This decision often creates family separation due to the typically isolated location of the schools.

Public discourse tends to associate loose parenting as well as natural growth of children with irresponsible and incompetent parents. Parental competency is defined and measured in terms of emotional sensitivity, expressive communication, and educational involvement. Chapter 3 explores working-class parents who emphasize discipline and hard work to confront the image of declining parental legitimacy while not being able to conform to the public discourse of responsible parenting. Economic insecurity and the following emotional turmoil in family life push parents away from the now widely-accepted parenting repertoire, sometimes eventually leading to a selective use of corporal punishment. In particular, marriage immigrant parents tend to suffer more from being accused of being unqualified as parents due to their imperfect Chinese language skills, which can be seen as a sign of incapability in educating their children. According to Lan, many of them view outsourcing education to cram school as necessary for children's learning and helpful for reclaiming the legitimacy as "good mothers."

Juxtaposing middle-class and working-class parents in Taiwan with those who have achieved transnational mobility and raised children abroad, in this case in the Boston area in the United States, *Raising Global Families* continues to showcase the second focus of cultural negotiations. In chapter 4 and five, Lan explores the parenting strategies of ethnic Chinese immigrants across the class spectrum and how they manage insecurities when they encounter cultural differences and unfamiliar educational systems in the United States. The middle-class parents who study or arrive with work visas are distinguished from working-class parents who predominantly entered the country through family reunion routes. Although they both encounter "emotional transnationalism," feelings of confusion and anxiety caused by straddling two cultural repertoires, they enact class-specific parenting strategies.

When immigrant parents encounter depreciation of their cultural capital and racial inequality in the United States, such as the invisible "Bamboo ceiling" of promotion at work or the unspoken "Asian quota" of university entrance qualification for Asian students, highly educated immigrants counter them by putting extra effort into making sure their children are "twice as good" as non-Asians. Some also seek to foster competitive assimilation through actively encouraging extracurricular "Americanizing" activities to address the insecurity of being the victim of racial inequality. While the stereotype of the hard-working Asian stands still, high performing ethnic Chinese children are compromised as "natural" and their efforts are easily unrecognized. A counter-effect of reinforcing racial otherization in the receiving society is thus perceived in Lan's fieldwork. Concurrently, due to the stagnant economy in the United States and the rise of Asia's economic influence, a reverse mobility of

the second generation's "return" migration is observed. Some immigrant parents have maintained the transnational networks and are capable of mobilizing transnational educational resources to cultivate ethnic cultural capital, which now have added value to being ethnically Chinese.

Chapter 5 examines working-class immigrant parents from China and Taiwan. Most of them experience the decline of their parental authority due to cultural differences, such as the disapproval of corporal punishment as a disciplinary tool. While natural growth and permissive parenting are seen negatively in both China and Taiwan, some working-class immigrant parents interpret the weakened parenting authority as part of the assimilation process in the United States: the less "Chinese" and authoritarian child-parent relations could be a way of "Americanized" assimilation. Nevertheless, most of the working-class parents seek educational resources from the local immigrant communities or transnational kin networks for transnational discipline to reclaim their weakened parenting authority. In Lan's rich discussion, what seems to be missing is the transnational relational analysis of Chinese and Taiwanese immigrant parents in the United States and non-Taiwanese marriage immigrant parents in Taiwan. They share the similar scenario of raising children in a foreign country where their inherited cultural capital is not perceived positively yet is starting to be appreciated due to its increasing importance to the receiving society.

Raising Global Families carefully carries out cross-Atlantic comparisons and demonstrates that the parenting strategies of researched groups are class-specific and content-sensitive despite sharing a similar ethnic cultural background. By comparing working-class and middle-class parents in Taiwan and the United States, Lan reveals that cultural capital cultivation and cultural negotiation reinforce or even fix the class boundary and the subjective class position of these parents in a global era. *Raising Global Families* successfully eschews the over-focus on the educational attainment of the second generation in recent transnational migration studies and fills in the gap of parenting strategies in a global context. It is a major contribution to the relevant research area, which includes transnational families and cross-cultural negotiations. Nonetheless, the idea of class, as well as the specific categories of middle-class and working-class, are not defined clearly in the book. As Lan herself acknowledges, the middle-class is a fragmented group, as is the working-class. A small family business owner or a street eatery owner (two very common business practices in Taiwan) with a high income could afford to cultivate their children's local and global competitiveness in ways that would fit in the "middle-class" parenting strategies as described in *Raising Global Families*.

Raising Global Families is engaging, and Lan's analysis is detailed and nuanced. The readability and rigorosity of this book make it attractive not only to students and scholars with interests in Migration, Globalization,

Pedagogy, Class and Culture, as well as Chinese studies, but also to non-academic readership, such as policy makers and others who are interested in fostering their children's global competitiveness.

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Gina Marchetti. *Citing China: Politics, Postmodernism, and World Cinema*. Critical Interventions Series. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2018. ix, 235 pp. Hardcover \$68.00, ISBN 978-0-8248-6657-0.

Gina Marchetti's new book, *Citing China: Politics, Postmodernism, and World Cinema*, takes a refreshing, illuminating look at citing or citation as a longstanding, productive practice in transnational filmmaking through the history of world cinema. First, the book is refreshing because, as far as Chinese cinema and films about China are concerned, cinematic citations have not been examined in such widths and depths as Marchetti has done here. Second, the book is illuminating because it exposes the cultural logic of neoliberalism on a global scale on the one hand, and on the other the geopolitics of desire that cut through the textual, intertextual, and contextual levels. The most fascinating part of Marchetti's book resides in her persistent tracking of images and tropes of "China" to a select number of significant moments of world cinema and key figures in Asia as well as in Europe and Hollywood.

In chapter 1, "Introduction: Hot Air and High Hopes in Word Cinema," Marchetti plays with a cluster of related key words (e.g., site, sight, and citation) and sets postmodern culture as her guiding theoretical framework. She starts with Fredric Jameson's theory of postmodernism and its citing/siting of "China," for instance through detours of Bob Perelman's poem, "China," Andy Warhol's images of Chairman Mao, and Edward Yang's film *Terrorizer* (1986). As illustrated in Jameson's case, the citation and circulation of "China" have occurred long before Jameson, so before postmodernism and "nostalgia films" in China and in the West, modernism and modernity have come to bear on cross-cultural citations in world cinema, including its long "Orientalist tradition" (p. 9). Rather than seeing cultural influence as one-way street from