André-Anne Côté
瑞安妮

History of Foreign Relations in Modern China
(17th century-1949)

Chinese Identity and Nationalism through Chinese adoption and immigration in Canada

December 27, 2017
School of International Studies
Peking University
# TABLE OF CONTENTS

1. Abstract

2. Keywords

3. Introduction

4. Literature Review
   4.1. The Chinese Identity
   4.2. Limitations to the «Chinese Identity»
   4.3. Building a Chinese nationalism
   4.4. Context of Chinese immigration to Canada
   4.5. Origins of Chinese adoption in Canada

5. Our Multiple Identities
   5.1. Ethnic Identity
   5.2. Cultural identity
   5.3. Political Identity
   5.4. Civic Identity

6. Preliminary Conclusions
   6.1. Bicultural Acculturation
   6.2. Stages of Identity Crisis

7. Conclusion

References
Chinese Identity and Nationalism through Chinese adoption and immigration in Canada

ABSTRACT
The reforms during Deng Xiaoping’s era created a large Chinese diaspora across the world. In their own way, they developed a sense of belonging to their homeland and raised children in their respective country. Amidst the transition, the One-child policy also produced thousands of orphan given to foreign adoption. After growing up, these two groups of children are facing identity struggles in their new environment. The essay studies how Chinese nationalism influences the identity of Chinese adopted and migrant children in Canada. By providing a developmental psychology and historical frameworks, I assert that the main difference between these two identities remains in the proportion of Chinese nationalism received through education and during their identity crisis. In order to answer the problematic, I will compare the identities of adopted and migrants children in reference to Chinese nationalism with a qualitative analysis from interviews and personal data from my background.

KEYWORDS: adoption, migration, identity, Chinese nationalism, Canadian children

Since the nineteenth century, China has always searched for its modern identity through conflicts and victories (Tsu 2005). From Qing Dynasty until nowadays, the emergence of different types of Chinese nationalism shows the complexity of the nation-building process: anti-manchuism at the end of the nineteenth century, the nationalism of Sun Yat-Sen and his followers, the state-nationalism of the Chinese communists until 1979, and the new discourse on nationalism since the 1980s (Meissner 2006:2). Still today, the nationwide campaign influences the perception of Chinese people to conceive the world but also, the way they forge their own identity. The general concept of identity refers to individual and collective dimensions: «the term identity expresses ... a mutual relation in that it connotes both a persistent sameness within oneself (selfsameness) and a persistent sharing of some kind of essential character with others» (Erikson 1994). Considering this definition and my Chinese origins, I always asked myself while growing up: am I more Canadian or Chinese? As an answer, we must admit that individual and national identities are not static, but are mutually feeding each other. Each individual, group or nation always tries to redefine its identity when it is challenged and dives into an identity crisis until a new equilibrium.
is reached. Having been adopted from China by Canadian parents when I was five months old, I also searched for my «authentic» identity, forged by collective/national and individual/personal dimensions. Throughout this essay, I will attempt to answer this research question: **how does Chinese nationalism influence the identity of Chinese adopted and immigrants children in Canada?** More precisely, this personal struggle led me to study international relations issues such as: what does it means to be Chinese today? What is the new Chinese nation? Who is imagining the nation? Who is included and excluded? By comparing these two cultural groups, I am seeking for the relationships between their individual and collective identities, modulated by the effect of Chinese nationalism on their development. To answer this problematic, I will provide a theoretical framework, a historical background and an analytical comparison of Chinese adoption and immigration.

**LITERATURE REVIEW**

**THE CHINESE IDENTITY**

In order to answer the question, it is necessary to review the pillars of Chinese nationalism, namely the national Chinese identity itself. From the late imperial period until the modern era, Chinese nationalism took many forms: anti-manchuism at the end of the nineteenth century, the nationalism of Sun Yat-Sen and his followers, the state-nationalism of the Chinese communists until 1979 and the new discourse on nationalism since the 1980s (Meissner 2006). According to Tsu (2005), the main reason why China had gone through many types of nationalism is due to the fact that the process of nation-building required humiliations and victories between foreign forces and domestic factors. For the purpose of the present analysis, the Chinese nationalism will encompass four dimensions. He and Guo (2000) provide relevant analytical tools to analyze contemporary Chinese identity.
Sources of National identity

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Source of National Identity</th>
<th>Tradition</th>
<th>Modern</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Weak Han national identity</td>
<td>Socialist national identity</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Strong Confucian cultural national identities</td>
<td>Civic and territorial national identity</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 1. Characters of National Identity Constructs (He and Guo 2000: 7)

Briefly, in an exclusivist Han view of national identity, the Chinese are defined as the Han (汉,漢) in Mainland China, all Chinese territories (Macao, Taiwan, Hong Kong) and even, overseas. Moreover, China is considered as a Han-dominated state, representing the core of the nation due to their numerical preponderance among the 56 ethnic minorities. Second, the Chinese nation can be identified with the Chinese Party/state, the CCP and socialism. In this perspective, the key element of Chinese nationalism is the loyalty to the communist institutions. However, Meissner (2006) found out that an underdeveloped democratic nationalism exists in Mainland China. Many Chinese scholars such as Zheng Yongnian (1994) are advocating for the introduction of a democratic regime in China, but they are teaching overseas. Furthermore, according to the cultural model, the Chinese are a community of Chinese speakers who share a common culture, tinted by Confucianism, regardless of their ethnic origins and political beliefs. This cultural definition of Chinese identity, which is not based on blood nor on ethnicity, aims to incorporate other people into the Chinese civilization. For example, during Qing Dynasty, Liang Qichao (梁啟超) urged to create a greater nationalism（大民族主义）in order to bring the Manchus, Mongols, Uighurs and Tibetans into the nation (He and Guo 2000:7). Last but not least, in the lenses of civic and territorial identity, all people living in the territories of the PRC are seen as Chinese civilized and modern citizens, regardless of their ethnic background. In this way, the four definitions are overlapping through endless exchanges. Chinese overseas and adopted children cases challenge these definitions and can be located somewhere across this spectrum.
LIMITATIONS TO THE «CHINESE IDENTITY»
After giving these bright and clear conceptions of Chinese identity, we must clarify the notion, because it is a very ambiguous one due to several reasons. How can I identify myself to the Chinese identity if the concept itself is mitigate? Then, are Chinese people faking «to be Chinese»? The difficulty to address these questions shows the complexity and the heterogeneity of Chinese identity, to an extent that pretending the existence of only unique one denies its richness and its history. It is way too simplistic to incorporate a population of 1.4 billion inhabitants in the same entity. Therefore, no collective identity can exist in and of itself. It is always mediated by empirical social actors in specific contexts for specific purposes. Put otherwise, a certain society’s self-image is an ideology proclaimed by those who have power and interests to fulfill.

Linguistic misconceptions
According to the Webster’s New World Dictionary, the first problem is that «Chinese» in English also signifies « a native of China or a descendent of the people of China» and, as an adjective, «of China, its people, language, or culture ». It does not make a distinction between «Han people», which exclude Tibetans, and «peoples of China», which include both Han people and Tibetans. The English term «Chinese» doesn’t represent the immensity and the diversity of Chinese inhabitants. The same problematic happens if you want to describe the languages: 中国话, 普通话, 汉语, 中文, which all three described the standard speech of Han people based on Peking dialect. Another issue about the diversity of the 56 ethnic minorities in China is indeed the existence of modern ethno-nationalisms: Tibetan, Uighur and Taiwanese nationalisms (Meissner 2006:14).

Furthermore, it is primordial to analyze what are the physical and social boundaries of the so-called «Chinese identity». The overseas Chinese are also contributing to the «Chinese culture» (中国文化) and the «Chinese people culture» (华人文化). Those who live abroad strongly identify themselves with the Chinese people culture (华人文化), because they consider that all people of China should belong to the culture of China, especially in Southeast Asia (Wang 1993). This different appellation of Chinese people culture helps the overseas Chinese to differentiate themselves from what is generally called in English «Chinese culture» (Wang 2007:30).
Legacies from the Cultural Revolution

The repercussions of the Cultural Revolution (1966-76) on the Chinese modern identity are also another factor adding to the ambiguity of its status. Did the Cultural Revolution destroy all the traditional Chinese culture, the core of the national identity? Does an authentic and true Chinese culture really exist? Or is the culture a fluid and adaptive concept, always in construction? What part of this genuine culture still remains today? On one hand, some scholars advocate that the CCP is only an organizational emperor among the changing dynasties and, on the other hand, others argue that this major political event created a discontinuity and a rupture with all the cultural heritage (Zheng 2009). Apparently, it would have created a vacuum of beliefs, leading to the political appropriation of Confucianism among CCP officials and the rise of individualism in everyday life (Kleinman 2011). For instance, the gap between generations is obviously visible: all CCP leaders have been to re-education camps urged nationalist sentiments, in opposition to the one child policy-generation who is spoiled and always searching for their personal profits.

New «Chinese Self»

According to Kleinman (2011), the reform launched in the 80s by Deng Xiaoping led to the collapse of the moral economy and the triumph of immoral politics. Indeed, the changing institutions weakened collectivist structures (danwei 单位) and allowed greater emphasis on individual abilities. Thus, the lack of any ethical order created a new moral space: «Only in the post-Mao reform era has the individual found the social conditions that would enable the quest and construction of self-identity outside of the case-like structure of socialist hierarchy» (Kleinman 2011:3). Today, how do Chinese individuals justify and assess their social actions? How does the moral landscape is reshaped? «Emotions and desires are certainly not new to Chinese individuals, but in both traditional and socialist cultures, most of these individual desires were either controlled or stigmatized as improper» (Kleinman 2011:4). In the same logic, Rofel (2007) argues that the new person can be described as the desiring and the enterprising self: avaricious of consumption and sensible to instant individual gratification.

BUILDING A CHINESE NATIONALISM

Due to the ambiguity to define the Chinese identity itself, a Chinese nationalism becomes hard to conceptualize on these pillars. Always based on humiliations and successes through history, the
formation of national identity can be attributed to growth of modern states since the Peace of Westphalia in the 17th century in particular. The modern nation-state became a creator of national identity: «The clan, the tribe, the collection of tribes, even the city state, are political communities in which the composition of society has not yet become mixed so as to produce the administrative principle of rule that goes with the state, and in which this principle has not been imposed by a state from outside» (Hinsley 1973:28).

Following Anderson (1991), nations are simply imagined communities: «Nations have objective characteristics such as language, a religion, or common descent on the one hand, and subjective characteristics, essentially a people’s awareness of its nationality and affection for it on the other» Kellas (1991:2). In the present essay, nationalism, a multi-faceted phenomenon, will be regarded as the nation-state identity (Zheng 1999: x): as an institution and as a loyalty, because it refers to an organization and, at the same time, to a sentiment of belonging. The institutional dimension in Chinese nationalism represents the state, the doctrine and the discourse provided to protect national interests in international relations. The popular aspect comes from below and represents unsystematic national sentiments. In fact, for every person, different individual identities coexist based on ethnicity, culture, language, religion, but national identity is associated with the uniqueness of the nation-state: «nationalism is an ideological formulation of identity» (Zheng 1999). In its extreme form, national identity is the supreme loyalty for people who are prepared to die for their nation (Kellas 1991:3). Briefly, it corresponds to the sense of belonging, of national pride and attachment to the nation.

Today, Chinese nationalism provides legitimation for the Chinese nation-state, and stresses individual loyalty to the state over individual rights. The main goal of this nationalism is not only to protect the national interests of China, but to restore the greatness of its civilization comparable to Tang Dynast and regain national confidence after the century of humiliation (1839-1949). Then comes the super-nationalism, or the borderless nationalism, from overseas Chinese. For example, some Chinese students abroad (Xu 2015) or Chinese 华侨 in Southeast Asia have become more nationalistic than democratic, defending China’s international image (Bhattacharya 2009). It is relevant to our case because their children might constitute a
constructive force for China’s economic development and a bridge leading to political reinforcement.

CONTEXT OF CHINESE IMMIGRATION TO CANADA

After providing a theoretical framework, it is essential to give a brief historical background to answer the research question. The Chinese diaspora (华侨, 华裔, 海外人) is numerous and diversified across the world. Canada’s diaspora is the 6th largest with a number of 1 800 000 people and is made of multiple waves of immigration (Ma 2003). We should not make commonplace their impacts on nationalism, because the notion of «Chineseness» survives the physical separation from China (Ang 1994). Since the Chinese diaspora draw their identity from the civilization and not from the political state of China, it also represents a tool in transnational governance and soft power (Ma 2003). The Chinese have a long history in Canada, starting as coolies during the Gold Rush and the building of the Canadian Pacific Railway (Tsai, Ying and Lee 200). The first great wave of Chinese immigration in 1850 was accused of stealing jobs by a xenophobic anti-Chinese movement among the local population. In 1923, the Chinese Immigration Act banned immigration for 10 years. After the Second World War and the creation of the United Nations Charter of Human Right in 1947, we can assist to a relaxation of regulations but still, some exclusionist immigration policies remained. Due to the end of racist quotas on immigration in 1967, a huge flux of Chinese immediately came to America. Following the Open Door Policy in the 80s, many Chinese students followed training and postgraduate education in Canada. Since then, a transnational diaspora emerged across overseas communities who have now more capital and freedom. Today, the Chinese constitute the largest group of new immigrants to Canada. It is estimated that approximately two thirds of immigrants to Canada each year come from Asia, with the Chinese representing the largest group (Costigan, Su and Hua 2009). Furthermore, there are large and vital Chinese communities in Canada that support the development and maintenance of a strong sense of ethnic identity in this minority group. On top of that, another of social actors emerged in the international sphere: children adopted from China.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>China, People's Republic of China</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>85</td>
<td>126</td>
<td>125</td>
<td>126</td>
<td>128</td>
<td>132</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>India</td>
<td>236</td>
<td>260</td>
<td>233</td>
<td>199</td>
<td>169</td>
<td>169</td>
<td>169</td>
<td>173</td>
<td>179</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Russia</td>
<td>105</td>
<td>120</td>
<td>73</td>
<td>120</td>
<td>194</td>
<td>160</td>
<td>204</td>
<td>147</td>
<td>142</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Haiti</td>
<td>135</td>
<td>131</td>
<td>163</td>
<td>151</td>
<td>119</td>
<td>168</td>
<td>138</td>
<td>124</td>
<td>163</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Philippines</td>
<td>224</td>
<td>206</td>
<td>118</td>
<td>64</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>89</td>
<td>73</td>
<td>81</td>
<td>69</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>United States</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>64</td>
<td>84</td>
<td>94</td>
<td>91</td>
<td>78</td>
<td>102</td>
<td>95</td>
<td>64</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jamaica</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>64</td>
<td>77</td>
<td>88</td>
<td>90</td>
<td>65</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>43</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vietnam, Socialist Republic of</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>64</td>
<td>71</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>79</td>
<td>87</td>
<td>76</td>
<td>131</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Romania</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>95</td>
<td>147</td>
<td>134</td>
<td>91</td>
<td>76</td>
<td>59</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Guatemala</td>
<td>83</td>
<td>66</td>
<td>73</td>
<td>68</td>
<td>70</td>
<td>74</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thailand</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>57</td>
<td>69</td>
<td>32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Korea, Republic of</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other Countries</td>
<td>411</td>
<td>377</td>
<td>377</td>
<td>356</td>
<td>270</td>
<td>289</td>
<td>289</td>
<td>285</td>
<td>385</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
ORIGINS OF CHINESE ADOPTION IN CANADA

Since the mid-1990s, China has become one of the major countries from which children are adopted overseas. The conjuncture of globalization, political and cultural factors contributed to the development of international adoption from China. Indeed, the increasing number of exchanges between different countries, the creation of international organizations and the development of economic disparities led to the extensive relations between China with Canada (Dowling and Brown 2009). For instance, China’s social and economic situation directly affected adoption policies. Here, the connection between population policies and abandonment is clear. It can be seen in the governmental reports that more babies were abandoned in welfare centers, when there was enforcement in birth-planning (Costigan, Su and Hua 2009). However, we have to wait until 1989 to see the PRC informally allowing foreigners to adopt orphaned children and, finally, in 1992 for formal approval (Tessler, Gamache and Liu 1999). It is not officially stipulated why China decided to permit abandoned children to be adopted by foreigners (Riley 1997). Overall, scholars agree that foreign adoption was a humanitarian response to China’s «one child per family policy» (Soled 1995) or a practical solution to the numbers of girls abandoned across the country in numbers that were swelling the orphanages (Riley 1997). Furthermore, based on Confucianism, Chinese society was highly patriarchal and, so therefore, strongly emphasized the role of men. Sterilization, infanticide and abandonment led to a high mortality rate among young girls and, ultimately, to the high sex ratio in China today (Johnson 2004).

Illustration 1. Photography of the dormitory at the orphanage in Nanchang (1995)
Illustration 2. Photography of all the Nanchang adopted children by Quebecer parents at the hotel (1995)

OUR MULTIPLE IDENTITIES
There are several reasons why a focus on Chinese youth is valuable. My former name was 陈新华, literally meaning new nation. I was born in 1995 in Nanchang in the province of Jiangxi, so I assume I was part of this generation that was suppose to make China rise again during Deng Xiaoping’s reign. Being a collateral effect of China’s growth, my life started with abandonment beside a bus station or, maybe, in a park and, was followed by a struggle against death until I reached an orphanage. I finally survived, as I am able to write these lines, but I know very few about my initial life. It feels I have an endless blackout or if my life started from an empty hole.


Illustration 5. Photography taken by my parents visiting Shanghai Pudong District under construction (1995)

Thanks to Professor 李扬帆, I can take this essay as a chance to question myself about the influence of Chinese nationalism in the construction of my identity, in comparison with Chinese immigrants children in Canada. For these children, the beginning of their lives is clearer than
mine. Their parents represent the luckiest segment of the Chinese population, because they have the capacities to leave the country and stay in Canada to get higher living conditions. On the other hand, financially, we differ from the precarious Chinese migrants, because our parents have a stable and fortunate background in order to be eligible to adopt children. Both in our own different way, we faced painful adaptations in our development because of our double identity. According to my hypothesis, the main difference between the identities of these two children groups remains in the proportion of Chinese and Canadian nationalism received. In order to answer the problematic, I will compare the identities of adopted and migrants children in reference to Chinese nationalism. As nationalism referred to the nation-state identity in this essay, I will compare the four main components from the Table 1. (He and Guo 2000: 7): the ethnic, political, cultural and civic identities. In other words, the focus of this essay is to analyze how personal biographies intersect with history, namely the connection between international adoption and immigration. Using developmental psychology and historical frameworks, the present essay enriches the actual literature on Chinese nationalism and identity by comparing the Chinese adopted and migrant children. Furthermore, the essay uses qualitative analysis from interviews and personal data from my background.

ETHNIC IDENTITY

Even if we both possess Han physical attributes, we shared different components of ethnic identity: self-labels, ethnic belonging, ethnic identity achievement and collective self-esteem (Costigan, Su and Hua 2009). First, migrant children’s self-labels typically include country of origin: only identifications (Chinese), compound identifications (Chinese Canadian), new country only identifications (Canadian) or pan-ethnic identifications (Asian Canadian). In my case, I always introduce myself as a Quebecker, a French-Canadian and, at last, I mention that I am adopted from China. This paradox feeling can be explained by the banana «syndrome», yellow outside and white inside. Unintentionally, my inside is different from the image I project. Therefore, I learn how to modulate the effect of surprise caused to others. For example, I would prevent the person to the phone, when giving a meeting, that I look Asian or precise that I am adopted when I start a relationship. I also felt some racist remarks from people referring to Chinese food, the color of my skin or my eyes. To help you better understand how I feel, the
illustrations below show the uncomfortable dilemma I have when I hang out with friends. As an Asian-looking person, my Chinese, Korean or Japanese friends expect me to know what are the famous Asian movies or songs. When I can’t achieve these social expectations, I hit a wall and realized that I am not fully part of them, even if I feel more comfortable because we share physical similarities. On the contrary, I act like a fish in the water with my friends in Quebec, except for the fact that my Asian attributes will sometimes influence our interactions: they will call me the «Little Chinese» of the group or we will not be able to share beauty or health advices. In both cases, I feel that something is wrong with the fusion of my culture and my biological body.

Second, ethnic belonging refers to subjective feelings of belonging to an ethnic group («I have a strong sense of belonging to my ethnic group»). In general, Chinese youth reported high ethnic affirmation and feel positively strong about being Chinese (Costigan, Su and Hua 2009). For me, I didn’t recognize myself in the mirror as a Chinese looking person. Thus, I felt indifferent to other Chinese people and I never felt attracted to gather with them. Actually, I only noticed that I look like Chinese people when I came back at 19 years old for the first time in China. When I was walking in the streets, taking the subway or eating at the canteen, I realized then that the people surrounding me resemble me.

Third, ethnic identity achievement means that individuals have consciously achieved a secure sense of what it means to be a member of their ethnic group («I have a clear sense of my ethnic background and what it means for me»). Through their parents’ education, Chinese migrants children do understand partly the legacies of Chinese history and know what does it represent to them in their daily life (Costigan, Su and Hua 2009). For most of adopted children, we don’t even know basic facts about the country where we were born: the languages, the ethnic minorities, the provinces and so on.

Fourth, collective self-esteem refers to the perception of how others evaluate their ethnic group («In general, other Canadians respect the ethnic group that I am a member of»). This construct encompasses how a person and external people perceive their ethnic group («I feel good and I am a worthy member of the ethnic group I belong to»). In terms of racism, Canada is much more a
respectful multiculturalist society than the United States or France. This is why migrant children can develop a sentiment of pride and can benefit from cultural exchanges within the Canadian society. For me, I never associated myself with any specific ethnic group, so I never understood the concept of collective self-esteem. I know some adopted children feel this collective sentiment, because there is a Facebook group called «Quebec in our heart and Chinese eyes» made of 300 people.

CULTURAL IDENTITY
According to the cultural model, Chinese people represent a community of Chinese speakers who share a certain type of Confucian culture, regardless of their origins. For Chinese migrants children, they received the Chinese culture through their parents and, most of the time, among a limited ethnic community in Canada. Nowadays, the scientific literature presents mitigate results (Costigan, Su and Hua 2009). Chinese culture has been described as emphasizing interpersonal relationships, the collective, obedience to authority, emotional moderation, whereas European American culture represents pure individualism, defiance of authority, and open emotional expression (Costigan, Su and Hua 2009). From these generalizations, greater involvement in Canadian culture, including more frequent contacts with Canadians and less anxiety speaking in English, was associated with a lower Chinese cultural identity. On the other hand, participation in Canadian society and a strong cultural identity can coexist when one has lived in Canada from a young age or lived with a large Chinese community that supports ethnic identity (Costigan, Su and Hua 2009 : 267) In many communities, such as Vancouver and Toronto, there are numerous supports that encourage cultural identity amongst Chinese youth. However, other parts of Canada received few Chinese communities, which will likely makes the integration of Chinese and Canadian identities more challenging.

From my experience, there is no such dichotomy between the Canadian and Chinese culture. I didn’t receive any Confucian education, so I don’t feel any dilemma by choosing between one of them. Canadian-Chinese families are distinct from Chinese-American families by creating a new type of ethnic family (Tessler, Gamache and Liu 1999). Most of them adopted other children and, even sometimes, more from China. Due to a problem of infertility, this was the case of my parents who fostered four children from China, Haiti and an Indigenous Region in Quebec.
Nowadays, Canadian-Chinese families want to build cultural bridges between Canada and the PRC. Their intention can be seen as an invitation to pursue this ideal as a nation of immigrants. As an adopted child from China, I continue this tradition of Chinese immigration to Canada while comprising a new segment of it, under different circumstances.

Illustration 8. Photograph of my family (2013)

The Role of Parental Socialization
Cultural identity develops within a family context: parents are likely to be their children’s main source of knowledge about the Chinese culture (Costigan, Su and Hua 2009). Therefore, the extent to which parents emphasize the Chinese culture in their home will impact on their children’s identification as Chinese. In other words, the more parents emphasize obligations, the more opportunities Canadian youth will learn Chinese culture: assist the family with household tasks, adhere to cultural values such as respect elderly and support their parents in the future (Costigan, Su and Hua 2009). For example, the migrants children generally don’t have a period of teenage rebellion, because they have to take care of their family due to social norms and a lack of English knowledge. In opposition, when the parents are less supportive, children have fewer opportunities to learn what it means to be Chinese and to create a sense of connection to the Chinese group. Comparatively to the fathers, one special fact is that mothers usually perpetuated family’s expectations due to a higher engagement in socialization and childcare tasks. Despite the fact that both migrants’ parents are constantly busy at work, mothers may have more opportunities to interact with their children and transmit cultural knowledge (Costigan, Su and Hua 2009).
For Canadian-Chinese families, opting for a bicultural education allow adopted children to feel comfortable as they represent their dual heritages in their everyday lives (Tessler, Gamache and Liu 1999). It has two functions: educate children to take their places in Canadian society, internalizing the social rules of Canadian life, and make sure they develop positive attitudes toward their origins. Overall, it is a way to empower children to respond confidently and securely to racist remarks. According to Tessler, Gamache and Liu (1999), it is the «family responsibility to develop a cultural plan that will help their child build an identity as a cultural and ethnic person». Normally, parents try different approaches until the children take the lead and make their own choices. As far as I can remember, my parents used to read me the story of Pastel, a polar bear adopted by two crocodile parents, who was struggling to fit into the crocodile society. They also gave me eccentric answers about the conditions of my birth to make me feel valuable. For example, my father always said I was the daughter of the last emperor of China and a princess of China. They didn’t have to lie to me about my adoption, because I obviously look different from my siblings and my parents. Beside that, we watched Asian movies and ate in Chinese restaurant. My favorites were Hidden Dragon and Crouching Tiger (卧虎藏龙) and Memoirs of Geisha (一个艺妓的回忆). These actresses were my only beauty models since I lived in a small city without any Asian influence. They also encouraged me to learn Mandarin when I was 6 years old, but I stopped because I was too hyperactive to learn a language in class.


**POLITICAL IDENTITY**

As mentioned earlier, the Chinese nation can be identified with the CCP and socialism because the key element of Chinese nationalism is loyalty to the communist institutions. The two groups
were raised in a democratic society, the Canadian constitutional monarchy. Migrant children do not fully adhere to the CCP institutions as many parents decided to flee away from the regime. In general, it is hard to find a correlation between the Chinese ethnic identity and nationalism in the literature (Costigan, Su and Hua 2009). According to interviews I made with Chinese American students, they are moderate in their political engagement with the CCP and want to improve the Chinese society from the inside. They all experienced democratic protestations and appreciated their experiences working in NGOs. Thus, it is possible to find a borderless nationalism from the overseas Chinese (Bhattacharya 2009).

Regarding my situation, I entirely identify myself to Canadian nationalism, which is defined by multiculturalism. Indeed, I accept that I am from China, but I can’t feel related to any Chinese political goals. This is not part of my personal quest, neither my struggles. Since I didn’t receive any education from the CCP, I must admit that I think according to Canadian interests. Here is a special situation because anyone who wants, can become Canadian. There is no clear distinction between the «Us» and the «Others», comparatively to former colonial European powers or blood-centered Asian countries. Due to the fact that I am from the province of Quebec within Canada, I developed a strong sense of belonging through my education. Therefore, I am a product of this French-Canadian ethno-nationalism, which fights for more sovereignty inside the Confederation of Canada. This strong Quebec education was definitely significant in building my political identity. Recently, I also discovered that I am very patriotic and I can become very emotional when people attack the Quebec independence. This took me a while to realize that I needed to hold on my new identity and my host society. This is my way to develop my identity and to not feel lost like an orphan or a citizen without homeland. Although I am very attached to the French education, I am open to a plural society and believe in multiculturalism.

In terms of my contribution to society, regardless if I am in Canada or China, I always volunteered for a social cause. In China, for the first time after my adoption, I visited an orphanage in the suburbs of Beijing in 2017. At first, I felt extremely touched because the children all suffered from disabilities. During the first minutes, I could not interact with them because I recognized myself into each of these little creatures. I know what they will experience after being adopted by foreign parents and I wanted to tell them that everything will be fine. As a curious anthropologist, I started to ask the Ayi about the institution and the origins of the children.
On one hand, I felt powerless in front of this massive injustice and the huge industry of international adoption. On the other hand, I knew that I could bring them love and happiness during the short time I spent with them.

Illustration 12. Visiting for the first time an orphanage in Beijing, 2017
Illustration 13. Ayi feeding a disabled and adopted child in an orphanage, 2017

CIVIC IDENTITY

Last but not least, in the lenses of civic and territorial identity, all people living in the territories of the PRC are seen as Chinese modern citizens. Since we are both not living in China permanently and can’t keep a dual citizenship, I will analyze the return in our «homeland». For Canadian Born Chinese (CBC), higher levels of ethnic identity were associated with stronger feelings of self-esteem, fewer symptoms of depression, and higher grade point averages (Costigan, Su and Hua 2009). Most of Chinese children are proud of their Chinese heritage and they cherish a positive attachment to their homeland. At some point in their life, the Chinese overseas will come back to grasp the economical opportunities or simply to explore their beautiful country. However, some are not confident and proud about the future of China. According to interviews I did with CBC, many want to create an impact on the society. This is a paradoxical situation: they help migrant workers to decrease social inequalities, when Chinese residents do not care. According to them, no one in China is a real patriot today, you can only find workaholic and ambitious individuals.

However, adopted children are uncertain of their origins and are more at risk to develop anxieties. Since their tender childhood, they knew that they had biological parents in another country and that they could possibly find them one day. Due to the ambiguous image that we have from
ourselves, it is not surprising that we want to find our origins, which involves the return to China. We are in quest of images of the present, which will help us to build the past. Mainly, it comes from a desire to see with my own eyes: the place where I was born, people that resemble me, the type of life I could have had and, if possible, my biological parents. When I wanted to come in China, my expectations were pretty vague: understanding the foreign part inside. It was a way to find the story of my own life from tangible proofs (Ouellette and St-Pierre 2008: 84). After my first time in China in 2014, I had a depression and I consulted a psychologist to understand more my internal struggles. I found some answers to my questions but also, opened new doors: a sentiment to be alien, not at the right place, both in Canada and China. People assumed I could speak and act as a Chinese person, but I couldn’t. I had the privilege to transcend both categories: to interact with Chinese people and with foreigners comfortably. I went unnoticed in the Chinese crowd like a ghost, but I felt inside so empty and like an impostor inside. This was my first time to get the sentiment of being one among the mass. This is why I was so hungry to come back in China and learn more about myself. I made so many efforts to learn Chinese after my first experience in China, mainly because I wanted to fit into the social expectations and I didn’t want to be treated as a tourist or an 老外 anymore. Overall, the return in Canada was more brutal and accompanied by a cultural shock in my own country. There was a painful discrepancy between the phantasm and reality I had from China: I quickly realized that Chinese people were strangers to me and I was not one of them. What has been the most relevant in this journey is to be able to rewrite my own story with my own voice and to control my destiny.

Illustration 14. Me in a crowd at Shibuya Square in Tokyo (2015). This photo express how I feel in China: «the banana syndrome».

The quest of my identity is still in progress and unachieved because I didn’t return to Nanchang
in Jiangxi province. I am currently waiting for my parents to visit my place of birth. Even if I have been in China 4 times to study and I had the possibility to do so, I don’t see the point of going in this anonymous city alone. I prefer to make my visit a symbolic moment with my parents. Furthermore, I also tried to find my biological parents in the archives with the help of my Chinese friends, in vain. That is why I consider that my «radical» quest of identity is over, but I know I will continuously be in a quest throughout my life in a healthy way at least, like every human. In my case, I gave up to find my biological parents because of a mix of reasons: fear of the unknown, missing of the papers, laziness and lack of motivations. I can easily make the analogy with the Pandora box: once you open, it you can never go back. I know other Quebecker adopted children from Taiwan and Macao who found their parents, but it is due to the fact that these territories left more transparency in the procedures comparing to Mainland China. They told me it’s an adventure full of misadventure and, indeed, happiness. A group of girls in Quebec also made a video on Chinese social media in order to find their biological parents, but I didn’t participate. There is still something that holds back but I can find out exactly what: is it really necessary and worth it at the end? I feel so much better since I learn the language and spent more time in China because now, I know a little bit what it feels to «act Chinese». I prefer to imagine my biological parents when I walk in the streets or read Chinese novels. In fact, I like mystery because it allows me to be who I was in the past and who I want to be in the future. Of course, I would be curious to meet them to see how similar we look alike, but not to the extent to start a proactive research across China. With time, my position in relation to China moved from the little girl in search of its origins, to the mature woman who wants to study China’s contemporary issues. Nowadays, I see myself as a scholar who wants to improve the knowledge of Canadian people on Chinese society and the advancement of social sciences.

In brief, paradoxically, second generation children are idealizing their homeland before visiting it and end up, sometimes, being more nationalist than residents of Mainland China. For adopted children, Chinese nationalism doesn’t affect us directly. We are mainly attracted to China for sentimental and personal reasons, mainly due to the fact that we received a full Canadian education. The main difference between the two groups is that we have a different approach toward the Chinese nation: they have a positive and prosperous image of China, when we have been abandoned by the nation. Most of adopted children feel resentment, a mix of anger and desperation, when they think about China. I was able to get over this wave of negative feelings, because I got the support of my parents and I wanted to challenge myself emotionally. I feel very lucky and spoiled by life now because I had been adopted by a wonderful family in one of the wealthiest country. Now that I am free and mature, I should make something great of my life and try to understand China as much as I can. At the end, I discovered that each person has multiple identities and that I don’t need to choose: I can embrace all of them in one entity by being at the same time Chinese, Quebecer or Canadian.

**PRELIMINARY CONCLUSIONS**

**Bicultural acculturation**

In order to answer the research question, I proposed two concepts from anthropology and psychology: bicultural acculturation and the identity crisis. How does Chinese nationalism influence the identity of Chinese adopted and immigrants children in Canada? First, I suggest the notion of bicultural acculturation to enlighten our analysis of Chinese second generation and adopted children in Canada. The acculturation process refers to changes that take place in someone’s identity as the result of continual contact between two cultures. Contemporary acculturation theory conceptualizes the process as bidimensional (Tessler, Gamache and Liu 1999). It has been demonstrated that changes occur in the *ethnic dimension* (Chinese identity) and in the *new culture dimension* (Canadian identity). These two components are interdependent and mutually feed each other. This suggests that Chinese youth from immigrant families may be able to develop bicultural identities, in which they feel a sense of belonging as both Chinese and Canadian. In everyday situations, they will identify with one or the other identity, rather than being assimilated to one of them. Costigan, Su and Hua (2009) found out that individuals select an identity that maximizes their self-esteem in any specific situation: depending on the context,
individuals may feel more Chinese at home and Canadian at the university or at work. The evidence suggests that a stronger ethnic identity is associated with greater behavioral involvement in Chinese culture: cultural traditions, watching Chinese movies, the use of language and so on (Costigan, Su and Hua 2009). Even after their development, ABC will look for marrying a partner that understand, respect and share Chinese values. To summarize, they are Americanized or more liberal in public dimensions of their life: university, elections, protestation, volunteering for NGO’s, social medias, etc. At the same time, they also remain strongly Confucian in private spheres of their life: education, marriage, social relationships, networks and so on. During the bicultural acculturation, this kind of amalgam encompasses the *ethnic dimension* (Chinese identity) and the *new culture dimension* (Canadian identity).

In my case, I didn’t live any bicultural acculturation process because I have never been in touch with Chinese culture, to the extent that I could receive influence from it. However, diverse researches have found that adolescence is a time during which youth evaluate their ethnic background and explore their identity (Costigan, Su and Hua 2009). Indeed, my identity crisis intensified during this period of my development. As a normal teenager, I literally asked myself what I am doing on earth. In addition, I considered myself as a warrior since the first second I was born, because I could have become a farmer, a worker or a prostitute in China. From the moment I realized I had this chance and freedom, I decided I should make something worth it during my life. Since my childhood, my body imposed to my conscience the subtle dilemma to be from a foreign country. Every morning, while looking at me in the mirror, I knew I was somehow slightly different from the others, but I couldn’t tell exactly how. Am I more Canadian or Chinese? I realized I didn’t need stick to any of these categories: identity is a plural concept and will be constantly in mutation in my life. My entity also differs from second-generation children, because they adopt a more dual and egalitarian Chinese-Canadian identity according to the environment. In my opinion, I assuredly defined myself as Canadian.

**Stages of identity crisis**
Second, the research question can be solved by understanding the contribution of developmental psychology. According to Erikson (1970), each individual will forge its identity through different stages of personality. During these stages of psychosocial development, nationalism represents
only one of the factors that can influence the identity of Chinese adopted and immigrants’ children in Canada. In order to understand this answer, I provided a theoretical framework of Chinese nationalism, defined as the nation-state identity and divided by four components: ethnic, political, cultural and civic identities. Then, I applied each dimension to Chinese adopted and migrants children to analyze which one received the most influence from Chinese nationalism. As a whole, Chinese nationalism will challenge the identity crisis of each individual. We must know that the most important period for identity is situated during the emerging adulthood, after the adolescence but just before the adulthood, because it corresponds to the stage where development is mainly focused on maintaining relationships. Examples include frequent social interactions (Arnett 2000): creating bond of intimacy, sustaining friendships, and ultimately making a family. During the period of experimentation and self-discovery, an identity crisis should occurred: «The crisis is sometimes hardly noticeable and sometimes very much so: in some young people, in some classes, at some periods in history, the identity crisis will be noiseless; in other people, classes, and periods, the crisis will be clearly marked off as a critical period, a kind of "second birth," institutionalized by ceremonia» (Erikson 1970 :732).

In the same logic, James Marcia's research (1980) on identity statuses of adolescents refined Erikson's framework of identity crisis. Marcian theory focuses on four status during the identity crisis. Throughout the lifecycle identity status, a transition from moratorium (Stage 3) to identity achievement (Stage 4) will occur. Marcia insisted on the degree to which one has explored and committed to an identity in a variety of life domains from vocation, religion, relational choices, gender roles, and indeed ethnicity.

<p>| | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Diffuse</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Foreclosed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Moratorium</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Achieved</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 3. Stages of ethnic identity development (Phinney 1989:38)
He also points out that identity is always evolving: when disequilibrium occurs a period of re-construction begins. These periods of re-construction are called the moratorium-achievement-moratorium-achievement (MAMA) cycles. In the re-construction process there is still continuity with the previous identity, however the newer construction is broadened to include new life experiences and commitments.

Finally, Phinney (1989) achieved to link the ethnic component and the four stages during the crisis identity among members of a minority group. In brief, this essay shows that ethnic identity can be at different stages for Chinese adopted and migrant children. Chinese nationalism represents only a factor in the development of these children and is present to a certain extent. The degree of influence of Chinese nationalism into their identity differs: adopted children developed a weaker, or inexistente, Chinese nationalism and migrant children possess a stronger one. The main difference between the two groups relies in the fact that most of Chinese migrants have reached the «achieved identity» status. They are stable since they were raised in a Chinese family and they received Chinese culture. Immigrants children may not even faced an identity crisis because of restrictive education: they simply know who they are. It can happen that individuals face obstacles that may prevent the development of a strong identity (Erikson 1970).

On the contrary, as being adopted, this status of minority among the Canadian society can lead to a negative image of self and, someday, can erupt spontaneously: «Identity formation normatively has its negative side which throughout life can remain an unruly part of the total identity. The negative identity is the sum of all those identifications and identity fragments which the individual had to submerge in himself as undesirable or irreconcilable or by which atypical individuals and marked minorities are made to feel different» (Erikson 1970: 733). This sort of unresolved crisis leaves individuals struggling to "find themselves". As I experienced personally, they often seem to have no idea who or what they are, where they belong or where they want to go in the future. Due to an absence of contacts with Chinese culture during the socialization and the bicultural acculturation processes, most of adopted children are still in the diffuse, foreclosed or moratorium identities (Stages 1, 2, 3). This is why adopted children express weaker Chinese identity, nationalism or even curiosity. They have not yet explore their ethnicity and questioned themselves.
As a matter of fact, I must admit that I am particular case because the majority of Chinese adopted children in Canada only come back once to visit their hometown. They do not feel the need to learn Chinese and deepen their understanding of China as a scholar. Indeed, adopted children are facing identity crisis (Costigan, Su and Hua 2009), but most of them don’t go as deep as I did into the quest of their roots. For example, I only know one other Chinese adopted child in my network who is in Beijing to learn Chinese. Personally, I would situate myself between the moratorium and the achieved states (Stages 3,4), probably in a re-construction process. I was able to switch from the diffuse identity (Stage 1) to explore my ethnic identity because of my intellectual curiosity, sensitivity and my multicultural family, which all combined allow me pursue studies in China.

CONCLUSION
In conclusion, this essay aims to understand my identity in comparison to Chinese second-generation children. This had an influence on my life because it created me inner contradictions and pressure. By referring to definitions and previous study cases, I analyzed how the Chinese nationalism influenced the identity of Chinese second generation and adopted children in Canada. Based on the definition of nationalism, which corresponds the nation-state identity, I transposed the four components of Chinese nationalism, given by He and Guo (2000), on the two cultural groups : ethnic, cultural, political and civic identities. By exploring the field of anthropology and developmental psychology, I was able to understand the underlying cause of the discrepancy between the two cultural groups in my research results: the occurrence of bicultural acculturation and the identity crisis during the emerging adulthood. Finally, I arrived to the conclusion that Chinese nationalism has a greater impact on the life of Chinese overseas children than on adopted children because the latter didn’t reach their achieved identity.

In short, I assert that the main difference between these two identities remains in the proportion of Chinese nationalism received through education and during their identity crisis. I found two arguments to answer the research question: how does Chinese nationalism influence the identity of Chinese adopted and immigrants children in Canada? On one hand, the degree of influence exerted by Chinese nationalism on their identity can be explained by the processes of bicultural acculturation. Comparing to adopted children, migrant children received from their education and
the ethnic community considerably more Chinese culture. On the other hand, members of these two groups are not situated at the same status in their identity crisis. I found out that the majority of Chinese migrants have reached the achieved ethnic identity (Stage 4), when adopted children are still in the diffuse, foreclosed or moratorium ethnic identities (Stage 1,2,3). The reason why adopted children express weaker Chinese nationalism is because they have not explored yet the Chinese facet of their identity: they are in denial, ignorance or indifference.

In order to conduct future studies, it would be interesting to determine if the process of bicultural acculturation proposed here is applicable only to Chinese Canadians or other cultural groups in Canada such as Latin American and African communities. Host cultures differ in their acceptance of minority groups and in their multicultural ideologies. Whereas some cultures may be tolerant of cultural diversity, others may not. This was for me a significant factor that helps me to grow up in Canada. Its policy of multiculturalism, which encourages ethnic cultural maintenance along with full participation in Canadian society, gives the opportunity to adopted children and immigrants to benefit from social programs and constructive integration. At the same time, do adopted children from Latin American or African countries feel a strong nationalism to their homeland? Or is the Chinese nationalism a unique case because of massive campaign from the CCP for the rejuvenation of the Chinese nation?

REFERENCES
CITIZENSHIP AND IMMIGRATION CANADA, 2003, International Adoptions, The Monitor, Consulted online: 
http://web.archive.org/web/20070420210142/www.cic.gc.ca/english/monitor/issue03/06- 
feature.html
MEISSNER, W., 2006, «China’s Search for Cultural and National Identity from the Nineteenth Century to the Present», China Perspectives, 68:41-54.
ROFEL, L., 2007, Desiring China : Experiments in Neoliberalism, Sexuality and Public Culture,