Negotiating, (Re)forming, and Creating Identity: An Observation of Students at a Taiwanese Overseas School in China

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This article describes how Taiwanese children studying in a Taiwanese overseas school in China negotiated, (re)formed, and created their identities. As 1.5- and 2nd-generation migrants, those Taiwanese students accommodated, connected, reconnected, and made sense of their border-crossing living and learning experiences between Taiwan and China. A total of 21 students, 1 parent, and 7 faculty participated in this study. They expressed multiple identities with regard to rational and instrumental purposes. Their inner self-identities were deeply rooted by the affective belongingness of Taiwan and diaspora experience of living in China. Students remixed various elements from their cross-strait and cross-cultural living experiences into their own identity (re)formation process. Their practical wisdoms about identity not only differed from their elder Taiwanese businesspersons, but also shed light on theoretical discussions of identity.

Keywords: Taiwanese businesspersons' children; transmigrants; identity; overseas schools

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Introduction

Cross-strait interaction between Taiwan and the Chinese mainland has undergone a rapid expansion since 1987 (Lan & Wu, 2016; Momesso & Lee, 2019). In 2010, both sides of governments signed a preferential trade agreement — the Economic Cooperation Framework Agreement — to reduce commercial barriers between borders. In 2021, the number of Taiwanese people who lived, worked and studied in China reached a million (BBC News, 2021). Accelerated by the founding of several Taiwanese overseas schools (TOS), more and more Taiwanese business parents have decided to move and reunite with family members in China. As educational researchers and TOS teachers, we witnessed these students experiencing tensions in cross-strait relations during their identity formation. Starting with a literature review on the migration and identity under the context of Taiwanese transmigrants, this study examined the relationship among school choice, learning experience, and the complexity of diaspora of those border-crossing students. The following two questions guided our study:

1. Being children of the transmigrant community (Bauman, 1998) who possess better economical capital, how and why did they live estranged (Fechter, 2007)?
2. What kinds of multi-identity did these 1.5- and 2nd-generation (Levitt & Waters, 2002) migrants construct for themselves and their families?

This study attempted to provide a fullest account and an in-depth understanding of Taiwanese oversea students' identity in the Chinese mainland, particularly in relation to the following issues of this under-researched topic of: (a) students' identity formation at TOS in China; (b) the multiple models students constructed in the process of their identity formation due to their living and learning experiences at different types of schools; and (c) their study and career development affected.

The Theory of Immigration and Taiwanese Transmigrants

According to the *World Migration Report* (United Nations, 2020), the migration population worldwide reached 272 million in 2019, up from 220 million in 2010. Technological advancement, the spread of nationalism, territorial division, and management of migration flows have made migration a more complicated phenomenon (Djelti, 2017). Theories of migration attempt to explain the reasons and consequences when individuals (and later, families) immigrate or emigrate to new places. The classical "push-pull" theory,

argued by Ernst Georg Ravenstein (1834–1913), assumed that people have sufficient information so that they could make rational decisions regarding migration (as cited in Portes & Rumbaut, 2014). In that sense, the population flow represents how economically attractive a country seems to individuals. The following lists some migration determinants: family concerns (e.g., Stark & Taylor, 1991), labor markets (e.g., Doeringer & Piore, 1970), and core vs. peripheral societies in a world system (e.g., Arrighi & Silver, 1984). Those theories provided explanatory frameworks for existing migration flows but failed to predict and generalize new flows in similar countries or regions (Portes & Rumbaut, 2014). Alternative theories further emphasized historic and non-economic factors affecting migration. For example, network theory focuses on self-perpetuation of immigrant communities. The pioneer migrants who survived in the new land not only established their social networks but assisted new immigrants. Moreover, research on border governance explained how considerations about labor forces, national competitiveness, humanitarianism, and so forth shaped the immigration policy and furthered human migration.

Traditional perspectives regard human migration as a one-way process of departing from the original country. Immigrants assimilate themselves to the target society while cutting off their original social and cultural ties (Gordon, 1964; Levitt & Waters, 2002). However, the landscape of human migration became different after the 1990s. Given convenient air transportation and broadband Internet access, migrants accommodate themselves in the new society while staying connected with their homeland. Both immigrants and emigrants are, in fact, transactional "transmigrants" (Fouron & Glick-Schiller, 2002). The increased mobility, both physically and psychologically, provides higher satisfaction for transmigrants. The frequent shifts of the transmigrants create transnational social fields where rapid and continuous exchanges happen in all areas: labor, capital, technology, trade, culture, politics, industry, and education (Levitt & Waters, 2002). Moreover, the historically contentious nature of specialized relations between China and Taiwan after the Chinese Civil War makes this issue different from general transnational and domestic migration. Likewise, the group of Taiwanese businesspersons in the Chinese mainland becomes a "linkage community" that connects both sides of the Taiwan Strait (Davidson, 2015).

Migrants are vigorous and active. In the recipient country, migrants connect with each other and gradually form a chain of migration, forming supportive hometown communities in both their places of origin and destination (Portes & Rumbaut, 2014). In the past 30 years, Taiwan manufacturing firms have moved to China in droves for cheaper operating

costs, eventually creating comprehensive supply chains in major industrial cities such as Dongguan, Suzhou, and Shenzhen. For example, Taiwanese businesspersons own more than 3,000 firms in Dongguan and founded the Taiwan Businessmen Association Dongguan in 1993, which has facilitated subsequent traders in migrating and expanding businesses. In 2013, the TaiXin (literally Taiwan's heart) Hospital began providing medical services to local communities. Taiwan researchers (e.g., Deng, 2005; Tsai, 2001) considered those Taiwanese businesspersons who work and invest in China not simply one-way migrants; they were, instead, somewhere between travelling and permanent migrants, and were a specific group of residents.

Education is one of the key concerns when migration becomes a family agenda. More and more Taiwanese businesspersons who previously were living and working alone in China have chosen to unite with their families and live with them in China. Both the Chinese and Taiwanese governments aspire to win over those businesspersons and their children (Wu & Chen, 2011). Therefore, the first Taiwanese businesspersons' school established in 2000 in Dongguan was followed by two other schools in 2001 and 2005 in the Shanghai metropolitan area. These schools provide an identical Taiwanese school system and educational experience (Chen & Wu, 2006), facilitate family reunion in the destination country, and subsequently grow the immigration community (Chen & Wu, 2010). Lines of research regarding Taiwanese migrants in China were mostly on adults, and the researchers either conducted intensive data collections via short visits in China or recruited participants when these migrants returned to Taiwan (e.g., Davidson, 2015; Keng & Lin, 2017; Lan & Wu, 2016; P. Lin, 2011; R. Lin et al., 2015; Tsai, 2001; Y. F. Tseng, 2005). The studies have enriched our understanding on the variety of individual choices regarding settling down in China. Nevertheless, the past literature overlooked an important growing group: offspring of Taiwanese migrants. Moreover, although few studies have concerns about the identity of migrant adolescents (e.g., P. Lin, 2013; Y. C. Tseng et al., 2012), the studies failed to account for the influences of different school contexts on children's identity formation. This study explored the identity dynamics of TOS students alongside their transferring experiences, which may fill the current research gap. Different environments, school cultures, teachers, curriculum experiences, and diverse family compositions potentially add to the confusion of these young students' identities (Chen & Wu, 2006), and become the critical lesson of identity negotiation during adolescence.

Identify Matters! How Do Taiwanese Overseas Students Identify Themselves?

Identity is a complex and emerging concept throughout one's life. Some researchers speculated that cross-strait economic integration leads to higher Chinese identity and eventual unification (e.g., Keng & Schubert, 2010; Wei, 1997), while other researchers expected otherwise (e.g., Davidson, 2015; Lan & Wu, 2016; P. Lin, 2011; Momesso & Lee, 2019). To play multiple social roles in their daily life successfully, individuals must locate themselves through discerning similarities and/or differences among one another (Jenkins, 1996). In this sense, human beings not only differentiate themselves within groups of people, but also integrate multiple facets of self to achieve self-identification.

Existing theories of identity formation can be organized into three categories (Coakley, 2018; Schraml, 2014; Wimmer, 2013): primordialism, circumstantialism, and constructivism. Primordialism argues that inherent characteristics such as kinship, birthplace, language, and religion are assumed givens from generation to generation; these characteristics can be traced primordially and can connect people (Geertz, 1963). The interpretation of the cultural origin, such as ancestry heroes and legends, creates the belongingness that is shared among members of the ethnic group (Keyes, 1981). However, Tian (1999) argued that primordial givens have become less influential today because migration activities happen more frequently than in the past century. Seeing that cultural heritages are shared but can also be manipulated (Wang, 2001), circumstantialism considers ethnic identity as a tool in order to compete for scarce political and economic resources. As Barth (1969) explained, an ethnic group subjectively may utilize specific cultural, lingual, or blood-tied characteristics to define exclusive ethnic boundaries. With egoistic regard, people must recognize, rationalize, and react to the ever-changing social conditions accordingly to create the most benefit for themselves. Therefore, the border-defining action is never an objective distinction, but instead an imaginary construct (Okamura, 1981). Constructivists further deny any fundamental compositions that differentiate among ethnic groups. For constructivism, ethnic groups are "imagined communities" where members share similar lifestyles and ways of thinking (Anderson, 1983). To create such a community, political authorities operate communicative means to reformulate shared memories and agendas among members (Gellner, 1983).

Social agencies, such as schools, stress incorporating and inscribing practice to socialize students (Connerton, 1989). Many children of Taiwanese businesspersons experience studying in multiple school systems in China, and each type of school system

represents a particular institutional socialization. For example, local schools in China use simplified Chinese as the instructional language, emphasize the prosperity under the leadership of the Communist government, and disseminate the "One China Policy" doctrine to students; international schools educate their overseas students in their mother tongues such as English or French, teach the political values of home countries, and cultivate students with international perspectives; TOS uses traditional Chinese as the instructional language, see Taiwan an de facto sovereign state, and cherish democratic social value. The three identification theories offer analytical lenses. Primordialists focus on the ethnic and provincial backgrounds of individuals; circumstantialists may observe identity strategies of individuals based on instrumental motivations; and constructivists would argue that identity is formed ideologically through political and educational means. In addition, people in the globally mobilized era are more and more unlikely to associate themselves with a few fixed groups or communities. The diaspora and hybrid nature of identity is no longer stable, but relative, descriptive, imaginary, and flexible (Hall, 1996).

Method

Identity is individually subjective and contextual. We argued that children of Taiwanese businesspersons constructed multiple models, and that they applied those models to process their identity formation. Those models affected not only the children's identity, but also their career planning and future lifestyles. Qualitative research captured the complexity of human understanding and interaction (Stake, 1995; Yin, 1994). Moreover, the researchers aimed at understanding and interpreting how students made sense and took actions based on their identities in the field (Rossman & Rallis, 1998). A grounded thick description that represented students' comprehensive learning experiences toward their construction of identity was necessary, for us as researchers, to answer our questions.

Setting and Participants

Mr. Yih, the founder of one of the TOS, stated several times that "*once one more student is admitted to TOS, it means that one more dream of family reunion comes true*" (internal meeting, August 16, 2018). TOS serves Taiwanese children who hold Mainland Travel Permit for Taiwan Residents issued by China. In 2000, the enrollment of the first TOS was 698 students. In 2020, the enrollment from K–12 was more than 2,500 students (TOS internal statistics). To better accommodate various demands from parents, students,

and local governments, TOS has a few distinct practices. For instance, TOS hired Taiwanese teachers for academic subjects and used Taiwanese textbooks; meanwhile, TOS also hired a Vice President of residential superintendents who represented the supervision of the provincial government. Moreover, TOS was also a boarding school; therefore, not only parents enjoyed the childcare flexibility, but also faculty and staff lived in the dormitories.

Transferring from different school systems made TOS students unique in our study. We intended to capture students' border-crossing learning experiences that were as diverse as possible. Purposeful sampling was used to best inform the researchers (Creswell, 2007, p. 118) by recruiting participants who had studied in either Taiwanese, Chinese, or international schools before studying in TOS. We kept interviewing students who met the above criteria until theoretical saturation (Glaser & Strauss, 1967). Twenty-one students, including 6 mainly studying in Taiwanese schools, 8 studying at local Chinese schools before transferring to TOS, 4 studying at international schools before joining TOS, and 3 audit 11th grade students (2 Filipinos and 1 from Hong Kong) were recruited (for students' profile, check this URL: https://bit.ly/2VuW28S). In addition to these 21 principal participants, their 8 influential adults with close relationship (i.e., one parent, and 7 teachers and school staff) were interviewed, thus providing maximum variety of perspectives about TOS students' identity.

Data Collection and Analysis

Semi-structured interviews were conducted, during which participants shared their thoughts and affections. Each interview lasted about 1.5 to 3 hours and each participant was interviewed 2 to 3 times. To keep participants' privacy, most interviews were conducted in pre-booked meeting rooms. The interviews were guided by five sets of open-ended questions. Each set of questions was related to one specific theme: students' background, their family history and life as transmigrants, border-crossing experience in learning, self-identity, and future prospect. However, the questions were just suggestive, and whenever necessary, additional questions would be asked. In the body of the transcription, an additional two columns — conceptual coding and reflections — were used alongside the text to improve researchers' data sensitivity. If clarification or supplementary information was necessary, we contacted participants via social media (e.g., WeChat and Facebook). Finally, participants had the opportunity to read the transcriptions. Member-checking was implemented and participants could indicate that a specific paragraph of the interview was "inappropriate to disclose." All fieldwork was completed in 2012. The first researcher, who

had continuous research in overseas Taiwanese students, offered an outsider's view of the research; the second researcher, a full-time teacher at TOS for more than a decade, provided an insider's perspective. The research collaboration benefited the *etic* and *emic* discussion and interpretation of the study.

To triangulate (Patton, 1990), we actively gather students' multifaceted voice to falsify or verify what we learned from interview. For example, social network sites like the Alumni Association Facebook fans page were retrieved. Moreover, the school's e-newsletter had periodical columns titled "Floating Homes," "Our Stories," "My Parents and I," "My Mainland Friends," and "Different Terms Used in Taiwan and China" that properly represented how students identified themselves. To reach authentic comprehension, researchers' interactions with participants, their self-reflection among theories, past research, experiences, and the collected data were recorded in the field notes (Altheide & Johnson, 1994). The thematic construction of the qualitative data was conducted in the following steps: (a) constructing individual-level schemes by reading and coding data related to each participant; (b) comparing the similarities and differences among individual schemes to generalize key events, patterns, or topics to comprise the analytical framework; and (c) discussing the findings from the previous two steps as they related to the existing literature and migration theories. Finally, the researchers narrated the findings in this study.

Ethical Consideration

Maintaining a mutually beneficial relationship between researchers and research participants, and protecting the welfare of participants, are the core concerns of qualitative researchers. We hope that parents, students, and policymakers — whoever needs insights in our study — would access the participants' opinions while maintaining safety to them. Interview quotations were italicized and cited following the format "pseudonym_source_ date." In addition to principal participants (i.e., students), citations of teachers interviewed were marked with a "T" (i.e., "pseudonym_T-source_date"). Potentially recognizable information was de-identified. In a few sensitive occasions, we narrate participant thoughts without directly quoting their words. Finally, considering that our participants were vulnerable juveniles and the topic could be extremely sensitive under such a specific context, the researchers decided to protect participants' personal safety by postponing publishing the research until 9 years after conducting the fieldwork.

Findings and Discussions

This section described students' livelihood and learning experiences as the broader context of identity, and then discussed students' identity formation as it relates to existing literature.

Living and Livelihood: Canaries in the Golden Cage

Immigrants who are economically advantaged are less interested in local cultures (Fechter, 2007). Like European employees stationed in Southeast Asia, Taiwanese migrants isolated themselves from local communities, despite their shared Chinese heritages. They lived like canaries in the golden cage who physically were present in China but psychologically separated.

Comfort zone: Staying away from the dangerous wilderness!

Pearl River Delta region has assembled millions of blue-collar workers in the "3D" (dangerous, difficult, and dirty) industries, and the crime rate remained high. Taiwanese migrants shared their victim stories of being robbed, plundered, and even handicapped. Families also helped each other by sharing rides to pick up kids (Ming-Ling_ interviewed_03/23), encouraging the notion that students should stay indoors (Hsin-Ni_ interviewed_05/17). Li-Hsiang's mother (interviewed_04/01), a Chinese local, noted: "*Taiwanese parents assume that Mainlanders are dangerous. Thus, kids getting in touch with Mainlanders is strictly prohibited.*" On the contrary, TOS teachers were concerned with "*over-protection ... our kids live here but are unfamiliar with their surroundings*" (Fang-Cheng_T-interviewed_05/28). Moreover, students and parents frequently witness local people littering, urinating in public, and damaging public facilities. Some parents warned their children: "*Don't behave like an A-Liu [Mainlanders]*" (Si-Tsen_ interviewed_05/10), and discouraged them from making friends with locals. Posted slogans in Taiwanese-owned factories such as "no spitting" and "exhibit good behavior" and parents' complaints about their Chinese employees (Meng-Chun_interviewed_05/25) became the students' hidden curriculum about locals. Taiwanese managers typically lived in the family housing inside the industrial parks, where babysitters, maids, cooks, gardeners, and housekeepers often were provided to maintain quality living standards. Nevertheless, TOS teachers commented that the "purified" living environment "*has spoiled the kids. Many of them don't even know how to do housekeeping*" (Fang-Cheng_T-interviewed_05/28;

Yu-Ru_T-interviewed_04/16). Students sensed that where they lived isolated them, especially because they did not "*even know who my neighbors are*" (Lin-Tzu_interviewed_03/22). A few other families chose to live in the downtown areas of Dongguan and Guangzhou, where they enjoyed "*new shopping centers, libraries, and gymnasiums*" (Han-Wei_interviewed_03/14; Sian-Di_interviewed_03/16).

Alienation: Treating the outside world with indifference

Compared to their Taiwanese parents who were 1st-generation immigrants, these children were the 2nd- or 1.5-generation (Levitt & Waters, 2002), spending most of their lives in China. First-generation immigrants shared deep nostalgia, whereas 2nd-generation ones may view inclusion in the destination society better than their parents do. Yu-Ru (T-interviewed_04/16), a senior teacher of TOS, observed that "*our kids seem like locals but are somewhat isolated from this world.*" Their feelings of alienation originated from several reasons. First, students inherited the mobility model of their business parents and witnessed China's industrial transformation. They envisioned that China would not be the endpoint of their lives. For example, Fei-Ching (interviewed_04/25) explained that his parents started a new firm in Vietnam; sometimes his parents might drop a hint such as "*you are not doing anything here.*" Since the manufacturing industries are affected greatly by the business competency, it is difficult for those businesspersons to see any place as their ultimate home. Even China is just a place of "permanent temporality" (Y. F. Tseng, 2005). Some older students sensed that "*both enhanced labor rights and increased wage levels have made the business [of my family] less competitive*" (Hsuan-Hsuan_interview_04/09). Second, students had little interest in local life. Fang-Cheng (T-interviewed_05/28), a TOS teacher, once suggested to us "*what students do during the holidays is the best indicator of social inclusion.*" Most of the time, students spend their weekends surfing the Internet, net-chatting, playing online games, and doing homework. Third, students were expected to focus on coursework rather than any distractors. TOS, international schools, or local schools all favored the boarding system, and students were sent home weekly or even monthly. Tong-Ting (interviewed_03/27) explained her routine: she "*goes home on Friday evening and quickly goes back to school on Monday morning. It's impossible to hang out with locals. Needless to say that we come back to Taiwan during each long break.*"

Back-linking: Decorating a pseudo-home

Hurh and Kim (1984, p. 195) noted that Korean immigrants naturally develop "back-linking with [the] past" to comfort themselves in the destination countries. Likewise, TOS students showed similar back-linking behaviors in four areas. First, typical family gatherings that students participated in were always "*Dad's Taiwanese friends and business partners*" (Ming-Ling_interviewed_03/23). Second, using one's mother tongue is the most significant ways of self-identification (Cattell & Climo, 2002, pp. 18–19). Parents expected students to learn Taiwanese (Si-Tsen_interviewed_05/10; Wei-An_interviewed_05/09). When students were young, they might resist (e.g., Lin-Tzu_interviewed_03/21) using Taiwanese because it was only spoken at home, whereas Cantonese and Mandarin were widely used in Dongguan area. Not until students grew up did they realize speaking Taiwanese is a representation of identity (Cheng & Kuo, 2000). Third, students synchronized among themselves with Taiwanese news reports for gossiping (Si-Yu_interviewed_06/11; Tong-Ting_interviewed_03/27), performing well in examinations (Tzu-Chun_interviewed_ 03/28), and amusing themselves. Fourth, students used Taiwanese merchandise (e.g., food, clothing, and electronics) to signify their Taiwanese identity. A Chinese TOS teacher, Yuan-Ren (T-interviewed_08/14) observed that "*students feel extremely content when having Taiwanese snacks or drinks.*" Another foreign TOS teacher also mentioned that "*the best way to comfort my students is to treat them [to] Taiwanese fried chicken and bubble tea*" (Lin-Lan_T-interviewed_05/18).

Sympathy-seeking: Conducting family visits and extended studies

TOS students usually visit family members and relatives in Taiwan during long vacations. They typically participated in four types of activities: ancestor worship gatherings, health checks, governmental remedial camps, and independent studies. First, ancestor worship has been one of the key Taiwanese family events, especially during spring break and the Lunar New Year. During the time of worship, students "*felt family traditions and learned stories about my great-grandparents*" (Li-Hsiang_interviewed_03/06), "*played with my cousins*" (Sin-Di_interviewed_03/16), and "*reminded us where we are from*" (Ming-Lin_interviewed_03/23). Second, students took advantage of Taiwan's healthcare. Li-Hsiang (interviewed_03/06) recalled his negative experience at local low-quality clinics in China and mentioned that his family "*goes to dentists every time*" they return to Taiwan, and Lin-Dan (interviewed_04/19) joked that his family conducted "*annual body*

maintenance" in Taiwan. Third, students participated in Taiwan summer camps. Given the textbook censorship conducted by the provincial educational authorities, Taiwan-related contents became a null curriculum. The summer camps not only compensated for those missing content areas but also strengthened the students' belongingness. Hsin-Yue (interviewed_06/14) recalled that "*my feelings were so complicated when I first heard the National Anthem. Some of my classmates sang and burst into tears.*" Lin-Tsu (interviewed_03/22) mentioned her "*feeling touched and smiled with National Flag and Anthem.*" The hoist-a-flag, field hiking, and round-island-cycling trip served as hidden curricula for Taiwanese identity. Students in the 9th–12th grades had more chances to conduct independent studies during vacations in Taiwan. They attended open days of colleges to know more about Taiwan's higher education institutions. A few other students also joined cramming classes to boost their academic performances. Unlike the first three activities, the fourth one brought TOS students to the domestic Taiwanese students, and TOS students had a chance to "*understand how Taiwanese students do about studying*" (Si-Tsen_interviewed_05/10).

Peeking out: Making sense and then integrating into the wild

Despite TOS students intending to maintain "Taiwan-ness," assimilating into the destination society was unavoidable (Yinger, 1981). Assimilation made sense to them, and, for the following reasons, they acted like Chinese. First of all, students saw China's market potentials. Fei-Ching (interviewed_04/25) commented that "*China's economic growth is horrifying; there's no way to be ignorant about this strong country.*" Ming-Ling (interviewed_03/24) sensed the change that "*Taiwanese businesspersons become humble and are willing to do business with locals.*" Second, students who had the experience of studying in local Chinese schools were more easily assimilated. Han-Wei, Hsuan-Hsuan, and Lin-Tsu were fluent in Cantonese; Tsu-Chun and Wei-An were somewhat proficient; Lin-Dan was fluent in Sichuanese dialects; and Ming-Nan was fluent in Hunan dialects. Lin-Tsu (interviewed_03/21) mentioned that "*speaking Cantonese shrinks the psychological distance between local students and myself.*" Han-Wei (interviewed_03/15) realized that although he had no Mainland accents, his "*ways of thinking have been changed in the local school.*" In addition, students witnessed the rapid modernization in downtown Dongguan and were more and more used to joining in local culture such as "*shopping and karaoke-singing*" (Yu-Ru_T-interviewed_04/16). However, getting used to local culture did not mean they agreed with what was happening. Parents have warned their children to "*mind

my own business" (Wei-An_interviewed_05/08) because "*it's their territory and has its rules. We are here to make money, not to criticize! People who dislike China could opt out!*" (Chia-Chia_interviewed_06/08).

Learning at the Secondary Hometown

In this section, we compare learning experiences in TOS, local Chinese schools, and international schools respectively.

Colorful world: Learning at international schools

Preserving and cultivating their culture and identity are the greatest driving forces of oversea schools (Chen & Wu, 2010). Given that one of the main functions of overseas schools is to cater to children who are away from their home country, international schools conducted by developed nations like the U.K., France, and the U.S. are essentially "national schools" abroad (Hayden & Thompson, 1995). However, international schools may choose to recruit other nationals to boost enrollments and utilize operational effectiveness. Elite, English-speaking, IBO-accredited, and luxury campuses have led to a general impression of international schools in China. A few TOS students who transferred from international schools were able to compare the two learning experiences. For example, international schools emphasized "*collaborative learning*" (Sian-Di_interviewed_03/19), "*mindfulness about bad grades*" (Fei-Ching_interviewed_05/07), and "*hands-on more than knowledge cramming*" (Yu-Tsu_interviewed_05/22). When these students transferred to TOS, they were "*likely to become student leaders*" (Yuan-Ren_T-interviewed_08/14).

International Baccalaureate (2021) required accredited schools to appreciate, value, and respect cultural diversity. However, the ideal was difficult to realize. Sian-Di was a typical "dissonant acculturated" (Portes & Rumbaut, 2001) 2nd-generation immigrant who wanted to disseminate the mainstream language and culture (English in her case) back to her family. She studied in two international elementary schools and became indifferent toward her parents' culture. She recalled in English that "*sometimes I just felt that I'm an American. I don't want to be a Chinese*" (Sian-Di_interviewed_03/19). Sian-Di's parents struggled and transferred her to TOS.

Competitively wild: Learning at local Chinese schools

Owing to the competitive nature in China of 1.4-billion people, local Chinese schools focused on achieving high examination scores. Students who had experience learning in local schools commented that they memorized, drilled, and practiced day after day. For example, Han-Wei (interviewed_03/14) "*practiced three times on the same exam sheet.*" In addition to drilling, students learned to mimic standardized answers: "*for example, to love and support the [Communist] Party*" (Lin-Tsu_interviewed_03/22). When students experienced high level of indoctrination, they felt that "*I had solid subject foundations*" (Tsu-Chun_interviewed_03/29) and "*deeply learned*" (Min-Nan_interviewed_04/20). Local schools intentionally reinforce the pressure of competition. Tsu-Chun's seat was periodically arranged based on the ranking of her previous examination so that "*I know where I am against my schoolmates.*" Such competitiveness also made Lin-Dan (interviewed_03/22) realize that "*No matter how good I think I am, someone always does better than I do.*" A few students saw the downside of the measurement-driven education. Sian-Di (interviewed_ 03/19) commented that local students "*live in a small world full of cramming, exams, and textbooks. I hated myself being alike.*"

Being a Taiwanese student in local Chinese schools was another distinct experience: to think and behave carefully. Some students pretended ignorance and escaped scrutiny by stating: "*I'm not going to talk about politics*" (Lin-Tsu_interviewed_03/22), or "*we traders are politically neutral*" (Han-Wei_interviewed_03/15). Other students learned to pretend obedience like writing "*Taiwan would eventually be unified*" in homework assignments (Hsuan-Hsuan_interviewed_04/09). Some other Taiwanese students may enjoy being under the spotlight, and "*making more friends*" (Lin-Tsu_interviewed_03/22; Hsin-Yue_ interviewed_06/13). On a few occasions, students experienced language bullying: "*My classmate said that he will shoot me first if Taiwan and China are at war*" (Tsu-Chun_interviewed_03/29), or "*He swore to be a soldier to occupy Taiwan and would kill me in advance*" (Min-Nan_interviewed_04/20). Overall, Taiwanese students learned to silence their opinions and follow the mainstream in local schools. Each time when they were confronted and questioned about identity by teachers and classmates, the feeling of being oppressed reminded them again that they were outsiders.

Authentic Taiwan flavor: Learning at TOS

Collective memory can be recaptured only by the physical existence of time and

space in our surroundings (Halbwachs, 1950). Constant access helps construct common understanding and imagination of both identities and belongings.

TOS students had one shared but unique memory. Although TOS was allowed to use Taiwan textbooks, any "inappropriate" terms and images were removed before students could receive their textbooks. This political declaration clearly told students "*not to mention that my country is a country*" (Tong-Ting_interviewed_03/27); students felt disappointed seeing their books "*blacked-out all over the place*" (Hsuan-Hsuan_interviewed_04/10). Hence, showing deep love of Taiwan became a resistant student-subculture. For example, students may "*wear shawls with national flag*" (Jane-Jane_interviewed_06/05) and "*sing the 'forbidden' Anthem loudly without reasons*" (Meng-Chun_interviewed_05/25). Lin-Tsu (interviewed_03/22) further contrasted students' feelings: "*In Taiwan, doing patriotic things seems shameful. However, it is our desire to be heard.*"

Given students' diverse learning backgrounds, TOS became a place encouraging mutual understanding. For instance, Yu-Lin was a Filipino but re-schooled at TOS for more than 10 years; she told us that she "*feels Taiwan is my second home though I've not visited there*" (interviewed_06/06). Sian-Di, a student transferred from international schools, commented that she was quickly accepted by her classmates (interviewed_03/19). Lin-Lan (T-interviewed_05/18), a foreign language teacher of TOS, observed that TOS students "*adore Western cultures and tend to be friendlier to international school transfer students than local Chinese ones.*" When transfer students from local Chinese schools thought they were bringing authentic information about China to their classmates (Tsu-Chun_ interviewed_03/29), they were laughed at for their assimilated Mainland accents. Min-Nan, another student transferred from local Chinese schools, reasoned that "*students were immature, and dormitory life was boring*" (interviewed_04/19). These negative attitudes caused them to feel excluded from the "Taiwan" community. Despite TOS shares similar characteristics of overseas schools (Baron, 1990) and intentionally offered a "feels-like-home" learning environment, students and teachers sometimes felt exhausted living in a routine and closed boarding school. Students may find TOS teachers annoying because of being too close (Fei-Ching_interviewed_05/07). Yu-Ru, a teacher of TOS, described such experience by analogy with "*imprisonment. We both are imprisoned, regardless of at school or at home*" (T-interviewed_04/16).

Interestingly, transfer students were satisfied studying at TOS, but for different reasons. Students who transferred from international schools felt the education in TOS like the Western one they had received (Hsuan-Hsuan_interviewed_04/10; Sian-Di_interviewed_

03/19); those who transferred from local Chinese schools felt happier because TOS did not use strict discipline (Min-Nan_interviewed_04/20; Fang-Cheng_T-interviewed_05/28). For instance, Lin-Tsu (interviewed_03/22) noticed that TOS teachers cared about not only her studies but also her wellness, which made her feel accepted and welcomed. Tsu-Chun (interviewed_03/29) mentioned that local Chinese schoolteachers were friendly to her only when she earned high grades. On the contrary, TOS teachers cared about her, regardless of what test scores she got. Interestingly, the employed Chinese teachers in TOS gradually acculturated Taiwanese teaching styles so that students "*felt that we are close to each other*" (Tong-ting_interviewed_03/27) and students actively greeted them with "*How's it going, teacher? And I noticed that they are touched*" (Sin-Ni_interviewed_05/18).

Negotiating Diverse Identities

After they described their livelihood and learning experiences, students were asked to revisit their border-crossing experiences, reflect how they formulated identities, and project their future career developments. To better decode, we invited students to reflect on how family, school, and society played roles in their identity formation, then to reflect on how they distinguished self and the other, and finally to imagine who they want to be.

Who are the "key makers" of students' identities?

Children's acceptance of identity is affected by the family status of the parents (Waters, 1989). In our case, the Taiwanese fathers were major financial supporters of the households and subsequently had higher family status. Therefore, a Chinese mother might tell their children: "*You are Taiwanese, and I am married to a Taiwanese, so I am Taiwanese, too*" (Han-Wei_interviewed_03/14). However, school life and peers played a more and more important role as children mature. For example, Sian-Di was a student who studied in international schools, then local Chinese schools, and finally TOS. She reviewed her learning with classmates and said: "*Previously I didn't want to hang out with Chinese people, but I now see everyone as all the same human beings*" (Sian-Di _interviewed_03/16). Interestingly, the local society played hardly any role in students' identity formation. Li-Hsiang (interviewed_03/13) speculated that the society must have impacted him, but he "*had no idea how this might happen when I have no direct contact to locals.*" TOS teachers (Chun-Wei_T-interviewed_08/21; Wu-Hsiung_T-interviewed_06/30; Yuan-Ren_ T-interviewed_08/14) had similar observations.

Who Am I? Who Am I Not? A Hyper-dimensional Coordinate of Identity

What "-ese" am I? See? My grandma is Taiwanese and my grandpa came from Tianjin, China. Now my father works in Hunan Province, and I study in Dongguan. Who am I? (Min-Nan_interviewed_04/19)

Identity is a complex process about defining, recognizing (both self and others), developing, maintaining, and reflecting about oneself (Oxfeld, 1996). When we prompted students to label themselves against other groups of people, five themes stood out: (a) mobility, (b) economic advantage, (c) elegant cultural taste, (d) institutional lifestyle, and (e) remixed identity.

First, students argued about their being more open-minded (Lin-Tsu_interviewed_ 03/21), being more adaptable (Lin-Dan_interviewed_04/18; Min-Lin_interviewed_03/23; Si-Tsen_interviewed_05/10), and more competitive (Fei-Ching_interviewed_05/07) than domestic Taiwanese students. These were viewed as essential characteristics if businesspersons were to overcome the lifelong tendency toward uncertainty and temporariness (Meng-Chun, TOS e-newsletter, 05/16).

Second, students formed identities through the imagined self from other people (Cooley, 1983). Knowing that they were the offspring of businesspersons, students were exposed to the general impressions such as "*billionaires*" (Hsuan-Hsuan_interviewed_ 04/10), "*investors*" (Li-Hsiang_interviewed_03/13), and some negative images like "*being unfaithful to spouses*" (Tong-Ting_interviewed_03/27). However, they knew those images were biased and saw themselves as persons who are willing to take on global challenges. Yu-Tsu (interviewed_05/22) explained: "*People in Taiwan want a life with a little happiness. [On the contrary], we inherited the sole entrepreneurship like our parents.*"

Third, border-defining activity distinguishes the subjects and otherness through continuous interactions (Barth, 1969). When we talked about impressions of local Chinese people, students tended to responded "*cultureless*" (Si-Tsen_interviewed_05/15), "*low quality*" (Meng-Chun_interviewed_05/22), "*ethicless*" (Lin-Dan_interviewed_04/18), "*overambitious and discourteous*" (Sin-Ni_interviewed_05/17), and "*selfish*" (Li-Hsiang_ interviewed_03/13). Students then identified themselves as the group of people who enjoyed elegant taste. Hsuan-Hsuan (interviewed_04/11) further elaborated that "*if I had any sense of superiority, which is because I am well-educated, not because I am rich.*"

Fourth, students sensed the institutional differences between China and Taiwan. Their impression was that China was "*effective*" (Min-Lin_interviewed_03/23), "*fast-paced and*

changing" (Tong-Ting_interviewed_03/27), but "*corruptive*" (Min-Nan_interviewed_ 04/02), "*bureaucratic*" (Han-Wei_interviewed_03/14), and "*surveillant*" (Li-Hsiang_ interviewed_03/06). When it came to Taiwan, their impressions were "*shortsighted*" (Hsin-Ni_interviewed_05/08), "*politicized*" (Ming-Lin_interviewed_03/24), and "*stagnant*" (Han-Wei_interviewed_03/15).

Fifth, the self-concept of an individual can be externally influenced (Mead, 1934). When people cannot fully capture others' impressions about them, they can only imagine what they think (Rosenberg, 1973). For example, Taiwanese have been embellished as compatriots in China's textbooks. This intentional notion made Taiwanese students special among schoolmates in local Chinese schools. Ironically, TOS students expected domestic Taiwanese students to view "*us as overseas Taiwanese*" (Lin-Dan_interviewed_04/18). However, domestic Taiwanese students tended to see TOS students somewhat as Chinese mainlanders because domestic Taiwanese students did not have much chance to know overseas Taiwanese students.

Who Do I Say I Am? The Triggers of Self-disclosure

During our interviews, students tended to identify themselves as Taiwanese simply because "*the world recognizes Chinese as people who hold P.R.C. nationality*" (Meng-Chun_interviewed_05/25). We then asked how, when, and to whom they would like to disclose their identities. When students met Taiwanese friends, they clearly responded "*Taiwanese, and from Hsinchu, if he or she asks the details*" (Hsuan-Hsuan_interviewed_ 04/11). Moreover, many of them would demonstrate "*speaking Taiwanese so that they know we are the same*" (Wei-An_interviewed_05/08). However, they needed to handle their identity disclosure in front of Chinese people carefully. For instance, showing they were Taiwanese sometimes "*gained preferable and fast-track service*" (Lin-Dan_interviewed_ 04/18) when students and their parents handled business with governments due to their "special originality" (Goldring, 1999). In other occasions, students hid their identity and pretended to be locals to feel safe. Students may say: "*I'm from Dongguan*" (Hsuan-Hsian_interviewed_04/11). Lin-Dan (interviewed_04/18) explained that "*I won't reveal because I will be asked tons of questions. That's annoying!*" Instead, they may respond "'*I'm local, so that I'm not ripped off*'" (Tong-Ting_interviewed_03/27). Another older student, Fei-Ching (interviewed_05/07), noted another political reason for pretending as "*not to be targeted by Fenqing [radical Chinese patriots].*"

As TOS students confronted the challenge of disclosing their Taiwanese identities, they also confronted acting Chinese in their daily lives. If necessary, they would agree to have "Chinese-ness" to some extent. Ethnic origin and shared cultural heritage were the major arguments mentioned by the students. Lin-Dan (interviewed_04/18) elaborated that "*I'm a Chinese from Taiwan … at least we share the same cultural background and ethnicity.*" Fei-Ching (interviewed_04/25) explained his pragmatic view: "*Survival matters the most! So we are all the same [Chinese].*" His perspective echoed Barth (1969) that immigrants actively seek coherence with mainstream groups in the destination country.

A few TOS students looked to transcend identities. Yu-Tzu (interviewed_05/22) hoped that friends saw her as a "global citizen" because she held triple citizenships from America, Taiwan, and Hong Kong. Some others were exhausted by too much "boundary work" and wanted to be seen as a unique individual rather than nobodies inside a collective group. Tong-Ting (interviewed_03/27) argued clearly: "*If we were true friends, I don't care where you were born! We are humans.*" To survive in China, some TOS students expressed identity strategically to win the most advantageous social standing, whereas others, like Yu-Tzu and Tong-Ting, disliked labeling by ethnic origins. Who they were as individuals was more important than where they belonged to.

Taking Actions with Integrated Identities

How would TOS students migrate once they reached adulthood? Discourse about self and action about the future are equally important when considering one's identity formation (Paasi, 2003). Therefore, we discussed future flows of migration with TOS students by asking about their future prospects, future hometowns, and thoughts about Taiwan.

Where will I go?

One of the questions TOS students cared about the most was where to go to college and then secure a job. International mobility of students impacts on career and life planning of the students themselves (Li & Bray, 2007). TOS graduates who were admitted to colleges in Taiwan increased from 26.5% in 2004 to more than 85% in 2012. Students decided to study and work in Taiwan for several reasons. Again, family reunion stood out as another key reason for students to work and study in Taiwan. Mr. Feng (T-interviewed_07/01), the Vice President of a TOS, observed that "*They have been away from Taiwan for six, or even ten years. Everyone wants to go home.*" Students valued "*learning in an open society*"

(Chi-Ting, e-newsletter, 05/08), "*continuing Taiwan's education*" (Ming-Lin_interviewed_ 03/23), and "*still obtain quality education since I'm not [among] the top students who could win the best colleges in China*" (Lin-Dan_interviewed_04/16).

Students who decided to stay in China for work and study usually acknowledged China to be an enormous market. In 2020, more than half of the TOS graduates have chosen to go to universities in China. Students considered "*preferential treatment for college admission*" (Hsuan-Hsuan_interviewed_04/11), "*higher world rankings*" (Chia-Chia_interviewed_ 06/08), "*modeling myself to hard-working Chinese students*" (Fei-Chin_interviewed_05/07), "*challenging myself in the highly competitive environment*" (Chuan-Chin, e-newsletter, 05/09), and "*having an early access to the largest market*" (Chun-Yu, e-newsletter, 03/24). Studying and working in Western societies are obviously more difficult. Li-Hsiang (interviewed_03/13) and Sian-Di (interviewed_03/19) were the only two participants who eventually studied in America. In the interviews, they mentioned improving English proficiency, receiving advanced education, and expanding opportunities as reasons to study abroad.

Where will my hometown be?

Immigrants may develop multiple hometowns (Al-Ali & Koser, 2002), and we anticipated TOS students developing multiple identities over time. During our interviews, TOS students negotiated their own homeland by their origins, their places to live, and the future residencies. The majority of students still considered Taiwan to be their homeland regardless of where they will eventually settle. For example, Meng-Chun (interviewed_ 05/25) shared that "*No matter if I fail or succeed, I can always go back to Taiwan.*" Sin-Ni (interviewed_05/18) noted that "*despite China will enjoy huge prosperity in the future, I love Taiwan.*" This sentiment came from their having been imprinted by warm and cheerful memories of Taiwan at a very young age. A few students considered Pearl River Delta homeland because they have built social connections with friends and classmates. Lin-Tsu (interviewed_05/16) explained that "*I will come back to Dongguan often if my friends are still here.*" Hsin-Yue (interviewed_06/14) concluded she had "*four pictures of hometowns: Taiwan, my dad's home; Shanxi, my mon's home; Beijing and Guangdong, where I grew up. These are my hometowns.*" Li-Hsiang echoed (interviewed_03/13): "*We're unlikely to have just one home. For me, Shanghai and Tainan are my homes.*"

However, continuing to participate in activities between the recipient country and the country of origin may cause identity conflicts (Light, 2001). Some students felt isolated

between countries. Fang-Cheng (T-interviewed_05/28), a teacher in TOS, observed of those students sojourning among cultures that "*sometimes they may wonder if they would be accepted by all these homelands.*" For example, Han-Wei (interviewed_03/15) did not miss either Taiwan or Sichuan (his mother's hometown), stating "*I can get [along] well in any places.*" Another teacher, Yu-Ru (T-interviewed_04/16), elaborated that the determinant of developing multiple homelands versus sojourning was "*strong mutual connections with hometowns.*" Developing cohesive homeland identities is difficult if students had no strong ties to either China or Taiwan.

Concluding Remarks

Learning Experiences Across Different Types of Schools

This study revealed that students' border-crossing and border-defining behaviors were influenced by what they have experienced and constructed. The colorful transferring experiences that our TOS students possessed resulted in different identity formations, as summarized in Table 1.

The characterization of students' identity was achieved in multiple layers: core values were primordially attached with family members (Geertz, 1963); community awareness was envisioned by schools; and students' identity was remixed and redefined to fit the destination country. In this study, we found that schools became conduits in disseminating social values and lifestyles. Border-crossing and/or border-defining were promoted differently based on various types of schooling. Local Chinese schools advocated Chinese nationalism and collective identity, and international schools recommended an ideology of global citizenship. Meanwhile, TOSs brought diasporic identity. Emotionally, TOS students maintained their affection toward Taiwan, but they were aware of being realistic when living in China. Nevertheless, schools were just one of the key influencers. Parents, especially fathers, mediated students' identity formation whenever conflicts of identity existed, particularly with children who studied in local Chinese schools instead of international schools. Parents took seriously the characteristic cultivation and trans-border mobility of their children. School choice, character education, English learning, and future advancement to prestigious universities were critically considered. Overall, parents favored Westernized cultural affiliation and tended to negotiate children's identity if they studied in local Chinese schools. The two intertwined identity forces affected social embeddedness of those TOS students, as well as in which societies they will decide to emerge themselves. Most students

Table 1:   **Border-crossing, Border-defining, and the Formation of Taiwanese Identity**
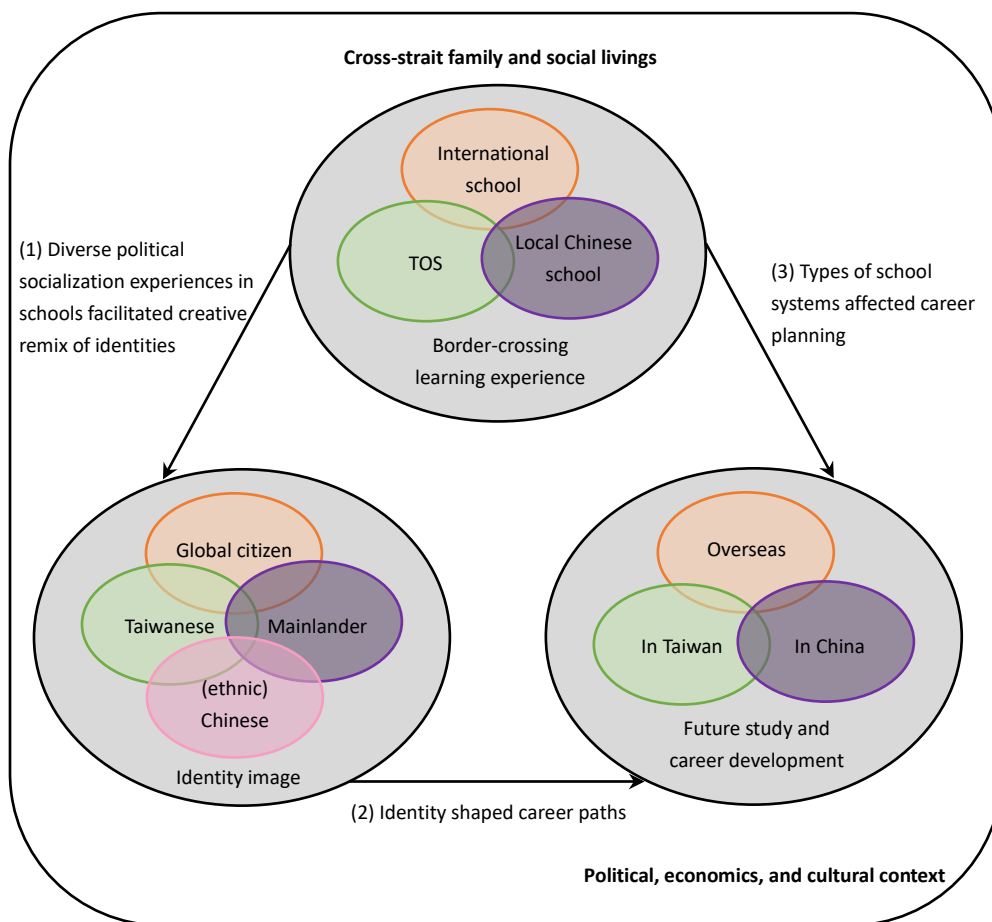**in Different Schools**

	TOS	Chinese Schools	International Schools
Border-crossing	• Made a move to Dongguan and changed environment • Interacted with people in different backgrounds • Accommodated themselves to boarding school culture • Experienced political dominance over education	• Learned simplified Chinese characters and terminologies • Suffered from examination-driven education • Expressed political correctness • Had first-hand tastes about Chinese people	• Developed both Western and Eastern minds • Knew classmates from various countries
Border-defining	• Differentiated ingroup-outgroup based on prior school experiences (transferring or non-transferring students) • Considered themselves more open-minded than local Taiwanese students	• Was governmentally labeled as "Taiwan compatriot" by students and teachers • Ignored the compatriot labeling, accepted China's expectation, but secretly disagreed it	• Saw themselves global citizens • Cultivated both Westernized and modernized selves • Respected individual choice about identity
Taiwanese identity	• Enhanced Taiwanese identity • Developed open-minded Taiwanese identities	• Integrated into mainstream society • Increased Chinese identity at face level • Hid Taiwanese identity in public	• Returned and relearned their Taiwanese identity under the scope of multi-ethnicity

took circumstantialist views about staying in China for its thriving markets and growing opportunities.

Theoretical Contribution and Future Research

To conclude, we conceptualized a framework and three theoretical propositions in Figure 1. Given parents' choices, Taiwanese students in China may be sent to local Chinese

Figure 1: Identity Formation Framework of TOS Students

schools, international schools, or TOS. Different schooling plays an important role in political socialization. We first argued that these diverse learning experiences facilitated the formation of students' identities, and that students may choose from a given identity from their schools or creatively remix among Taiwanese, ethnic Chinese, Mainlanders, and global citizens. Second, students' identities shaped their career paths: either going back to Taiwan (homeland), staying in China (a new home), or working or studying overseas, Third, different types of schools directly affected students' career planning. For example, IBO-certified schools provided additional opportunities for students applying for Western universities.

The social inclusion of immigrants may occur in three ways (Portes & Zhou, 1993): (a) assimilating into the mainstream society; (b) edging out into the lower class; or

(c) cohesively preserving the value and lifestyle of the immigrants. The immigrant children who have cultural and economic advantages are assimilation-resistant and tend to identify themselves with the migrants' home country (Portes & MacLeod, 1996). Similar to what Portes and Zhou (1993) observed, the majority of TOS students in this study were growing up in a close and cohesive Taiwanese immigrant community. TOS students who had prior experiences studying in other schools expressed two typical acculturations. First, TOS provided a greenhouse for students, and they and their parents gradually integrated into the destination society at about the same speed. Second, students who had experiences studying at local Chinese schools chose to learn Chinese ways of thinking and living more quickly than their Taiwanese parents. This separation echoes Portes and Rumbaut's (2001) "consonant acculturation" and "dissonant acculturation," where children choose how to integrate themselves.

In general, the identity of students was affective rather than practical. All of them idolized Taiwan, from foods to political systems. However, the Taiwan identity that students had built was "greenhoused" from their learning experiences in TOS. Once they return to Taiwan for further studies, students may experience alienation as outsiders (P. Lin, 2013). Finally, places where TOS students seek future development may not correspond to their identity choices. A previous study considered the identity of Taiwanese businesspersons' children being unlikely involved with practical interests (Y. C. Tseng et al., 2012, p. 162). However, the practical strategy TOS students developed was deeply inherited from their trader parents. Identity is never a single or subjective impression about self, but merely a piecing together of a negotiated and relative image about self.

The students in this study were the 1.5- and 2nd- generation immigrants named by Levitt and Waters (2002). These students were born in around 1993 to 1997, many of whom had lived in Taiwan for a number of years. Foreseeably, China will continue its economic growth in the coming decades and shape the globe in many ways. Future research may consider new generations who hold Taiwanese citizens, but are born and living in China. A cross-generation study for Taiwanese overseas students in China may yield unique patterns of change in identity formation under the broader research context of shadow education (Bray, 2010), especially the iterative interactions among TOS, the Taiwanese overseas students, the immigration community, and the destination countries.

Educational Implication

Border-crossing Taiwanese overseas students showed that identity formation is not

given, but continuing negotiation and reformation based on life and learning experiences in China. Schoolteachers in the hosting community are suggested to develop empathetic and transmigrants understanding among local and overseas students. The culture-responsive curriculum would ease challenges in overseas students and facilitate their integration process in the host society.

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認同的協商、形構、重組與創生：
觀察中國大陸一所海外台灣學校的學生

陳鏗任、吳建華

摘　要

　　本文描述一所在中國大陸的海外台灣學校學子，在學習和成長經驗中協商、形構、重組、與創生自己的身分認同。這些移民的第二代（或 1.5 代）移居學子適應理解海峽兩側的跨界生活學習，令自己與變動的環境取得連結、創塑意義。研究者邀請了 21 位具轉學經驗的學生為主要報導人，並邀請 7 位教師和 1 位家長為次要報導人進行深度訪談。雖然學生內心的自我認同深植於對台灣的情感歸屬和僑居中國大陸的經歷，但他們向外展演的身分透露出多元且變動不定的認同，其形塑過程不僅來自情感依歸，亦有理性考慮和策略思維。雖然海外台灣學校子女傳承父輩跨界移動的血液，但發展出認同的實踐智慧已與其父母有所不同。他們的核心認同來自家庭，在殊異的學校生活與跨界經驗中培養社群意識，並發展出能適應移居情境的認同混搭。

關鍵詞：台商子女；移民；身分認同；海外學校

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