

**BRITISH AND AMERICAN CHINESE CHILDREN'S NEGOTIATION OF
POPULAR CULTURAL TEXTS IN BILINGUAL AND BICULTURAL CONTEXTS**

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Abstract

This PhD thesis presents an investigation of how British Chinese and American Chinese children, situated in bilingual and bi-cultural context, negotiate the meaning of a popular culture text, *Yugioh* within their sociocultural practices. The research draws on two theoretical frameworks, reception analysis and New Literacy Studies. Data were collected from surveys, diaries, participant observations and semi-structured interviews with children and parents in the UK and US, over a sixteen-month period from October, 2002 and February, 2004. It is argued that the children's appropriation of popular culture texts in cross-cultural context is subject to the interwoven effects of a variety of and interconnected situational factors and follows the pattern of product life cycle. In each phase of product life cycle, the children draw on textual and symbolic meanings of *Yugioh* texts to represent their understandings and interactions with their social world. The analysis shows the textual meanings are used to facilitate the practice of *Yugioh* activities and literacy learning while the symbolic meanings are to serve different purposes in the children's socialisation, identity formation and childhood development.

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Chapter One

Introduction

1.0 Personal Background

I want to begin my thesis with a chapter which addresses my diasporic background in the United States and Britain, in order to make my personal involvement and my stance as a qualitative researcher explicit. Furthermore, I want to explain the processes that caused me to embark on this cross-cultural study of British and American Chinese children's negotiation of popular culture in bilingual contexts.

1.0.1 Influence of Colonial Literacy

I was born and raised in Taiwan. Taiwan underwent two consecutive colonial rules: Japanese sovereignty from 1895 to 1945 and Chinese Mainland rule from 1949 to the mid-1990s. Japanese was the language that my grandfather was fluent in and that he learned through his primary education. The influence of Japanese culture and language was not only deeply rooted in my grandfather's generation, but was also a common cultural practice for my family. For example, my father always called my grandfather 'Ka San' in Japanese, meaning 'father-in-law'. Similarly, my parents always greeted their Taiwanese friends in Japanese, 'Ni San', a respectful social greeting for a man and 'Ne San', for a female. Even though my parents were not able to read or write in Japanese, they actually absorbed the Japanese language into their own oral convention and adopted Japanese custom in social greetings.

When it came to my parents' generation, they were not as fortunate as my grandparents in terms of being 'literate'¹. After the civil war in China, Chiang Kai-Shek, the commander in chief of Nationalist China and president of the Kuomintang ruling party, led 1.5 million troops and Chinese mainlanders to occupy Taiwan in 1949, making himself president of Taiwan. At the time, Taiwan, not prepared to face yet another colonial power, was in need of resources to rebuild its society after claiming independence from Japanese sovereignty. The arrival of the Chinese Mainlanders deprived the local Taiwanese population of receiving education. Both of my parents were forced to give up education in their middle-childhood to support their families. My father did all the farm work, day and night, while my mother worked as a maid in different cities and sent the money back to support her family. Education was only made accessible to the well-to-do families and the families of Mainland Chinese. Being illiterate, particularly for my mother, was a symbol of disgrace and something that she hid from her peers for years. My mother's feelings towards her illiteracy were a direct consequence of colonialism.

Under the rule of the Mainland China, my mother tongue, Taiwanese, was banned in school and in the society at large by the colonial power, *Kuomintang*. Mandarin was stipulated as the national language and thus affiliated with high social status, civilisation and privilege. In contrast, Taiwanese was labelled a disgraced language. Any family speaking it was labelled as illiterate and uncivilised, and their children would often be humiliated in school. This ideology was supported by the 'common sense' view (Fairclough, 1989) that native Taiwanese families were backward, lower working-class, and unable to speak Mandarin properly. As Blackledge (2005, p. 31-32) argues, 'attitudes to and beliefs about language are not only about language... but also are socially situated and tied to questions of identity and power in societies.' In school, I learned not to appreciate Taiwanese or anything

¹ Given that Taiwanese was not codified and standardised, the early Taiwanese society prior to Japanese and Mainland Chinese colonial rule remained a predominately oral society with limited reading and writing materials.

associated with it, including its language users, the TV dramas with characters speaking Taiwanese, and the fans of these dramas. I never realised I held stereotypical views of my own language and people, stemming from the oppressive colonial culture and dominant ideology, until my diasporic experiences abroad led me to explore how my 'identities' are constructed and defined.

1.0.2 Diasporic Experiences

Pursuing a first degree in America had been a dream for me dating back to my first linguistic exposure to American English. At the age of thirteen, I started tuning in to a radio programme of English teaching, *Studio Classroom*, produced by a group of American Christian missionaries. Their vivid and interesting English language lessons drew my attention to the contrast between learning English in school and on the radio. In middle school, pupils were often required by their English teacher to memorise vocabulary and grammar, with the primary aim of learning English being to prepare for the high school entrance exam. By contrast, on the radio English was a communicative language and served as a microcosm of American culture and pedagogy. Because of that programme, I set my mind to pursue my higher education in America when I grew up.

In 1992, at the age of 20, I went to the United States for higher education at the University of Utah. In Utah, the first state I settled in, I experienced discrimination and cultural differences both in life generally and at university. At school, I was always left out of class discussions because of my foreigner identity and my far-from-native English. I often sat in the class alone and quiet, and learned my English by watching television in my flat. At the time, Utah was a white-dominated, closed society with a significant Mormon religious influence. There were very few foreign students in Business School, and hardly anyone in my class wanted me to join their group, for fear that I might affect their group performance. I often felt embarrassed when I was the only one left with no group. Similarly, my

instructors, with little experience in interacting with foreign students, perceived my silence as passivity. To many American people, the connotations of Asian students' silence are, as Pon et al (2003, p.115) indicate, that they are 'timid, docile, submissive and obedient....' My student life in Salt Lake City, Utah, was overshadowed by this commonly-held negative view. This view showed not only how egocentric my American associates were, but also how my orientalism was defined through the eyes of the people in the Occident (Said, 1978). Underlying my silence was shyness, low English proficiency and a 'foreign' classroom culture that I had never experienced. My American classmates' active participation, I argued, reflected not their more sophisticated cognitive development, but their familiarity with the classroom practices, social exchange and school culture with which they had grown up.

In the Taiwan classroom, pupils did not speak without the permission of the teacher and classroom harmony was sustained by silence. Self-discipline and paying respect to teachers was a cultural norm that students of my generation shared. The school day always started with a classroom routine of, 'stand up, bow, and sit down', when the teacher entered the classroom. From this illustration, it is clear why classroom participation in the U.S. posed a problem for me. This experience, in some ways, was analogous to that of Trackton children whose home linguistic and literacy practices put them at a disadvantage in school learning in Heath's (1983) literacy research.

The experience in Utah had a significant impact on my understanding of how people of colour, of different religions and from different cultures were treated. However, the totality of American culture could not be narrowly defined by my Utah experience, as I learned when I moved to Philadelphia as a graduate student. There the majority of residents in my neighbourhood were black and struggled with poverty. From my diasporic experience of living in the East and West of America, I came to understand that the way an individual perceives the world is often related to the practices and culture in which s/he is situated.

This knowledge laid the foundations for me to grapple with the epistemological issues pertaining to the cross-cultural studies in my PhD research.

1.0.3 Joining a Different Family

In Utah, I had met a Vietnamese American of Chinese descent in 1992 and we got married in 2001. Thus, Chinese, Vietnamese and American contributed to the multilingual background and identity of his family. In this three-generational household, Cantonese, Vietnamese, and English were used synchronically depending on the topic discussed, the interlocutor and the context. Family members frequently switched codes among different languages. Despite the fact that this family was of Chinese descent, they did not speak my languages, Taiwanese and Mandarin. Even so, both were still languages used on the Mandarin TV channel that my father-in-law watched. In this household, Vietnamese was spoken whenever a female was involved in the discourse. This indicated that language was linked to gender and promoted a power structure within language use. Vietnamese was the native tongue of my mother-in-law. She raised her children to speak Vietnamese to their mother and Cantonese to the father. As a result, the family members were accustomed to using Vietnamese whenever there was a female present.

The breadwinner of the household, my father-in-law, was a Vietnamese Chinese. In Chinese families, a hierarchical structure was commonplace (Mak & Chan, 1995), based on seniority and gender. In general, the male had higher social status than the female in Chinese society. My father-in-law's authority was a consequence of his seniority, and this authority was extended to the language he was naturally associated with, Cantonese. According to Pavlenko and Blackledge (2004), values associated with language and identity 'guide ways in which individuals use linguistic resources to index their identities' (p.14). Languages can be divided into high and low varieties according to their separate designated social status and functions in a multilingual society (Wardhaugh, 1998). In the context of

my husband's family, Cantonese can be viewed as a prestigious language, a high variety, which was reflected in the respected position that my father-in-law holds. In the case of my mother-in-law, Vietnamese, though of high variety, was subordinated to Cantonese in the hierarchical structure. English, which was external to the family structure, was of the low variety.

At the regular family gatherings, several languages, including Cantonese, Vietnamese, English, and other varieties of Chinese such as Mandarin, Southern-Min/Taiwanese, Hakka, and Teochew were spoken among family and relatives. To my knowledge, this linguistic variety was commonplace among Vietnamese American families of Chinese ancestry in the local Chinese community. My linguistic repertoire has widened since I joined this multilingual family and participated in the cultural activities that the local community of Vietnamese Americans of Chinese descent had offered. However, this, in turn, affected my linguistic identity and made me wonder who I really was.

1.0.4 Confused Identities

I have devoted some space to narrating the multilingual environment I was situated within, and to showing how this contributed to my constructed identity. Such experiences are common for those who shared a similar degree of diasporic background and feel confused about their own identity (Van Hear, 1998). This background forced me to question who I really was in the multicultural society of the United States of America and Britain. Stuart Hall (1996) claims that,

Identities are never unified and, in late modern times, increasingly fragmented and fractured; never singular but multiply constructed across different, often intersecting and antagonistic, discourses, practices and positions. They are subject to a radical historicization, and are constantly in the process of change and transformation (Hall, 1996, p.4).

I had never seriously explored my identities until I came to Britain to study for my PhD degree. When I spoke English, my accent identified me as 'foreigner' to many Americans and to people I met in Britain. In these circumstances, I was eventually narrowed down to the category of Chinese because my physical appearance coincided with the western perception of what Chinese was.

Because the single term 'Chinese' was widely used to cover a range of a stereotypical sense of Chineseness (Wang, 1999), it detracted from the heterogeneous nature of what Chineseness was. To the native British, I was perceived as Chinese rather than American. This interpretation implied that there was a stereotype for American and for Chinese. The holding of this stereotype, presumably, was based on skewed media representation in combination with the historical culture that an individual was situated within. The question of whether the notion of American be defined on the dimension of visual attributes or should it be in the light of 'narrative' (Said, 1978) drew my attention to the ambiguity of identity issues that immigrants have often dealt with in host countries. Hall (1996) states, 'identities...emerge within the play of specific modalities of power, and thus are more the product of the marking of difference and exclusion, than they are the sign of an identical, naturally-constituted unity' (p.4).

As an international student in Britain, I started to consider who I really was and came to lodge my identity somewhere between American and Taiwanese. This psychological dualism in self-identification is not uncommon among those who experience living in a diasporic situation. It is this perspective that has provided the motivation for me to initiate the cross-cultural study reported here. It has influenced how I have conducted my research and led me to explore the immigration history, language and culture of my research participants and how these factors affect their process of identification (see Chapter 3).

1.1 Popular Culture Texts and Contemporary Childhood

With the advancement of new technology and the close collaboration of television programme makers and toy manufacturers, children's reception of popular culture texts has extended from TV narratives and characters to toys, digital games, accessories and online games. The intertextuality of popular culture texts in different modalities and hybrid texts has changed the mode of interaction between the reader and the text. Popular culture texts are often multimodal (Kress, 1997; 2000a; 2003a) and involve sound, moving images, and special effects (Alvermann et al, 2001). Popular culture is closely associated with new media and technology (Easthope, 1991; Marsh, 2003b; 2004; 2005). Thus the advance of information and communication technology (ICT) affects the representation of texts and the interface between the text and readers. With the influence of ICT, the nature of popular culture has become temporary and transitional. This reflects the fast pace of ICT development, which has not only changed the interaction between children and text but also led children to align their cultural practices in relation to the available and newly emerging ICTs. As each modality has its affordance (Gee, 2002; Kress, 2003a), the knowledge of how to use the modality affects the range of text reception, meaning-making and how children creatively re-contextualize the same material through the transformation process and arrive at different interpretations (Kress, 2003a). In this respect, reception of a TV text is not a one-dimensional transmission from TV to the viewing audiences. Instead, it is multi-dimensional and realized in a range of social practices, and the meanings derived from it are, therefore, numerous.

The inter-textual characteristics of popular culture texts offer children a variety of methods to explore meaning, subject to spatial and temporal configuration. Meaning is also realized in sociocultural practice and incorporated in everyday life (Gee, 1996; 1999; 2005). This has led cultural studies researchers to take an ethnographic approach to investigating how

popular culture texts are incorporated into contemporary childhood and what meaning arises from the everyday activities of children. Childhood cultures as characterised by the New London Group (2000) 'are made up of interwoven narratives and commodities that cross television, toys, fast-food packaging, video games, T-shirts, shoes, bed linen, pencil cases and lunch boxes' (p.16). Children today are more 'media savvy' than their parents (Livingstone, 2002), and are surrounded by a diverse range of languages, discourses and registers. They consume a variety of popular culture texts in their play and social activities (Dyson, 1997; 2001; Marsh and Millard, 2000; Marsh, 2003b; 2005).

Globalized economics make many popular children's cultural artefacts available across different regions and countries. Children around the world have responded to a wide spread of cultural artefacts with interest and sometimes passion as, for example, is the case with *Pokemon*. Buckingham and Sefton-Green (2003) indicate that this is because some aspects of shared childhood are addressed universally such as 'the need for nurturing or the competitive search for mastery' (p.383). Popular culture in this sense is not only practised at the individual level but also at a regional level. This raises the question of how children's sociocultural practices with popular culture texts vary from one context to another.

1.2 Popular Culture and Its Implications

There are many definitions to popular culture. It can be defined on the grounds of social class, political dimension (Fiske, 1989a, b), and commercial culture (Easthope, 1991), and is also used in contrast to high/classical culture. According to Corner et al (1997, p.53), 'what is deemed high or low culture is always in part a question of power relations within society...taste is never merely a question of individual preference but is socially located in complex hierarchies and the identification they mobilize.' Popular culture in the post-modern era is becoming fluid, transient and hybrid, as a result of new media infiltrating into everyday life (Sefton-Green, 2003). Popular culture is also massively replicated, divided

and collaged to cater to individual needs and to serve different purposes (Williams, 1985). This view of popular culture places an emphasis on readers/audiences agency and subjectivity, where the use of culture artefacts becomes a mean, and can be used to express an individual's multiple identities (Gee, 2005).

1.3 Initial Plan for This PhD Thesis

I will start by examining how popular culture texts are integrated into children's everyday life in constantly changing socio-cultural contexts. The popular culture of today may not necessarily be the popular culture of tomorrow. In addition, the production and consumption of a given popular culture text varies from one socio-cultural context to another. The popular culture texts favoured by British and American Chinese children may differ from each other and be subject to the timeframe in which this research is carried out. For this reason, I have chosen to research one enduring popular culture texts, *Yugioh*. The criteria I employed for this selection are detailed in the field observation (Section 3.3.3) and a survey of the ten most favourite television programmes (Section 3.3.4.B), which were undertaken with similar groups of children to those studied in the main research.

1.4 Development of the Research Questions

1.4.1 Initial Theoretical Concepts

This cross-cultural study, using reception theory and new literacy studies, aimed to investigate how British Chinese children in Nottinghamshire, UK, and American Chinese children in Salt Lake City, Utah, USA, appropriated the meaning of the popular culture text, *Yugioh*, in their sociocultural contexts. Both reception theory and new literacy studies focus on the scope for 'socio-cultural practice' and 'negotiation' on the part of the audiences/cultural practitioners (Gee, 1996; Street, 1984; 2003). Instead of viewing the meanings of the text as inherent within the text itself, both theories claim that the meaning of the texts is mediated by context and by audiences' socio-cultural background. The socio-

cultural parameters of the audience/cultural practitioners determine how a text is decoded, made sense of and practised in the embedding context. To illustrate this point, both the British and the American Chinese children's social makeup such as home language, ethnicity, parents' social and economic status, culture, and upbringing mediate their social discourse of *Yugioh*. Their appropriation of *Yugioh* texts varies in relation to the context of their socialisation. In this sense, *Yugioh* cultural practices were not homogeneous and universal among the children. Additionally, for a social practice like *Yugioh*, it not only took place in the domestic environment but also in the children's schools and neighbourhoods.

Home, school and neighbourhood were three distinct but integrated contexts, and each contributed to a particular domain of activity in the children's everyday lives. In order to contextualise the children's social activities with *Yugioh* texts, and to draw on the socio-cultural variables pertaining to their cultural practices, I needed an integrated research methodology to explore the children's cultural practices with *Yugioh* in different contexts. By 'integrated', I meant an informative research methodology to connect research planning and data collection. This has led me to draw on the concept of theoretical sampling in grounded theory (Glaser and Strauss, 1967). Charmaz (2006) defined theoretical sampling as 'starting with data, constructing tentative ideas about the data, and then examining these ideas through further empirical inquiry' (p.102). She proposed that theoretical sampling should begin when a researcher had some preliminary categories to develop. Home, school and neighbourhood were the preliminary categories that I had in mind. To investigate how the children's reception of *Yugioh* was mediated by these contextual factors prompted my initial attempts to grasp a preliminary picture of the children's cultural practices of *Yugioh* in the social domain of their everyday activity.

1.4.2 Initial Attempts to Develop Categories

I started my initial research planning by observing children's popular cultural practices in the context of community Chinese school. There were two reasons for this. First, community Chinese school attends to the literacy needs of the Chinese families with children. Second, it also acts a social sphere of life for the children beyond family. As such, it provides a convenient sample for my research. Several months into my field observation of the children's practices of popular culture, I found that the children, particularly the boys, integrated cultural artefacts such as Pokemon cards, and *Yugioh* trading cards and Beyblade tops into their social discourse. With Pokemon, the children 'browsed' through them during the class break time. With Beyblade, the boys each threw their spinning tops on the ground and competed to take down their opponents. With *Yugioh*, the boys endlessly collected numerous cards and engaged in what seemed to them to be an exciting trading card game.

In each of these social activities, there were cultural artefacts involved. From this observation, I inferred that cultural artefacts and the mode of appropriating popular culture texts appeared to have a relationship. Additionally, a wide range of cultural artefacts was not uncommon among the children, particularly with the boys. They frequently changed from one cultural artefact to another within different social and age groups. The change of cultural artefact seemed to suggest cultural artefacts having a given life span and the deployment of a cultural artefact in the children's cultural practices changed in relation to age and context. The deployment of a cultural artefact was also affected by the children's social positioning. The boys took different positions in their social activities of *Yugioh*; some were players and some were on-lookers. Each positioning suggested a different interaction between the boys and the *Yugioh* texts. In this sense, 'different positioning' became another emerging category to be added onto the dimension of the children's *Yugioh* cultural practices. Another emerging category from the initial field observation was gender. The boys and the girls seemed to perform gendered activities during the course of field

observation. The girls were often cluttered in the classroom and engaging in scribbling and chatting whereas the boys often took their social activities outdoors and played digital games and sports. The social boundary between the boys and the girls was not only determined by activity but also by space. This marked difference between the boys and the girls in their choice of social activities during their recess time led to a new emerging concept.

To sum up this initial observation of the children's social phenomenon of *Yugioh* culture in the community Chinese school, I started to formulate research questions to test my hunch and explore the properties of the categories: 'cultural artefacts', 'variations of *Yugioh* cultural practice', 'life span of *Yugioh* phenomenon', 'context', 'age', 'social positioning', 'gender', and 'social boundary'. This process of making theoretical conjectures about the proposed categories and verifying them through further investigations reflects the logic of theoretical sampling inherent in grounded theory (Charmaz, 2006).

I thus started to use the initial theoretical concepts derived from reception theory and new literacy studies to look at the socio-cultural parameters of the research participants and meaning making of *Yugioh*. My initial field observations had led me to identify the relationship between cultural artefacts and variation of cultural practice, social participation, cultural practitioner's attributes, and social boundaries. In order to develop an emerging theory pertaining to *Yugioh*, I formulated my research questions about the mediation of cultural artefacts in the children's cultural practices and in their gendered activities (see Section 1.5).

1.4.3 Integrated Research Methods

Although the field observations in the community Chinese schools captured the social phenomenon of *Yugioh*, they did not sufficiently account for the socio-cultural upbringing of

the children. The longer I conducted my field observations, the more I saw gaps in the categories derived from these observations. Some children demonstrated sophisticated skills in playing *Yugioh* monster cards, while others were still novices at playing the card game. The children's experiences with *Yugioh* were presumed to be related to their backgrounds and knowledge about popular cultural texts. This presumption was made in light of Bourdieu's theory of 'cultural capital' (1977). Bourdieu argued that people's socio-cultural upbringing was conditioned by the culture structure existent in people's bodies and minds. Such culture structure affects people's subjectivity and knowledge base about how to lead a life, how to dress, their aesthetic taste, and so forth. Borrowing from Bourdieu's concept of culture capital, I had perceived that the British and the American Chinese children's culture backgrounds affected their subjectivity in the cultural performance of *Yugioh* games. To be specific, in the context of *Yugioh* social phenomenon, their background included a vast number of categories such as their repertoire of interrelated popular cultural texts, knowledge of gaming rules, collection of different *Yugioh* texts, access to *Yugioh* resources, history with the *Yugioh* game, context of their social participation, and parents' mediation of their social play.

Although the emerging category, 'the children's background', became an emerging dimension to explore the children's *Yugioh* cultural practices, on the other hand, it also meant that field observation might not be sufficient to interpret the children's socio-historical background about *Yugioh*. What this meant according to the principles of grounded theory can be translated as a need for an additional or integrated research approach to explore the children's socio-cultural background. Chapter three will detail the use of different research approaches such as surveys of domestic media consumption, media diaries, collections of popular cultural artefacts and qualitative interviews.

1.4.4 'Chineseness' as a Categorical Background

In the context of community Chinese schools, *Yugioh* was identified as a card game. However, in the domestic environment, it was experienced as a popular children's animation, targeted predominately at boys and viewed collectively amongst siblings. Different representations of *Yugioh* were mediated by the different physical contexts in which the children were situated. Both reception theory and new literacy studies argued that an individual's reception of texts was mediated by situational context. The distinction between community Chinese school and the domestic environment of the Chinese families was more than a difference in the physical environment. Each context governed different relationships, socialisation, use of resources and learning of socio-cultural capital. However, despite the inherent differences between Chinese school and the domestic context of the Chinese family, the two can be bridged by the factor 'Chinese'.

'Chinese' was often identified as a descriptive characteristic in the census (Wang, 1999) within the category of ethnicity. From the perspective of sociolinguistics, it was considered as an additional language that the children of Chinese immigrants were expected to master. In a multicultural society like the UK and the USA, the term 'Chinese' was perceived as a social identity marker. 'Chinese' was not necessarily a negative term, but was used to distinguish a certain portion of the social collective from the majority collective. This splitting between 'us' versus 'them' served to label people along a set of identifying attributes, whether physical, cultural, linguistic, behavioural or political (Said, 1978; Hall, 2000). However, 'Chineseness' seemed to suggest that the category 'Chinese' was well-conceived and could be easily identified. Hall (2000) refuted the notion that identity was constructed through sameness. It was complexly composed and always historically composed (p.152). Hall argued that modern society should be looking at identity as a process, a narrative and discourse. Hall's perspective was to probe the heterogeneity underneath a social collective. Similarly, the heterogeneity underneath 'Chineseness' was

often complicated, especially when it involved different Chinese dialects, countries of origin, age, gender, family structure, mode of immigration, cultural practices, way of life and so forth.

For the Chinese children in this study, 'Chineseness' was identified as a practice. It was the home language spoken, culture practised, identity assumed and literacy learned at home and in community school. These 'Chineseness' practices contributed to the social makeup of the children; served as a currency for the children to build up their socio-cultural capital; mediated the 'Discourse' (Gee, 1996; 1999) of the children; and differentiated the children of Chinese ethnicity from the children of monolingual background. In this sense, 'Chineseness' was not only the socio-cultural milieu that the children grow up with but also a categorical background assumed to mediate the children's appropriation of *Yugioh* in their social discourse. In order to minimize the connotation of 'Chineseness' as a political and cultural marker, I will use the term 'bilingual' to explore the nuance embedded in the practice of Chinese culture.

1.4.5 Implications of *Yugioh* Practices

Yugioh was a popular social practice observed among the children in the Chinese school. Although, at first glance, it might appear that the boys seemed to be more actively participate in *Yugioh* activities than the girls, this did not conclude that *Yugioh* practices were exclusively a boy thing. Instead, the gender issue appeared to be a question that needed to be explored.

Yugioh was associated with multiple modalities due to the relationship between the text, television animation and associated toys and games. Thus *Yugioh* texts, in this context, were not only mediated by the modality but also by the production industry. This meant that the modalities of the texts and the production industry compounded the process of the

children's appropriation of the *Yugioh* texts. Each modality had a specific affordance (Kress, 2003a) and was appropriated skilfully by children (Dyson, 2001), depending on the context and the participants. The range of *Yugioh* texts and the intertextuality (interconnectivity) between these texts highlighted the integration of the different *Yugioh* texts with the children's cultural activities. Whether it be involvement with *Yugioh* animation, monster cards, card games, *Yugioh* accessories or online discussions of *Yugioh*, each requires different social interaction and practices. By adapting their cultural practices of *Yugioh* to different modalities, the children can manipulate the functions of the texts in whichever way they desire. Similarly, they consciously drew on their knowledge of popular culture texts and identified the provisions within the context to appropriate *Yugioh* in different ways. These observations challenge the argument that children were passive entities in their reception of popular culture texts as Winn (1985) and Steve (1993) have also argued. Moreover, this raises the hypothesis that the children's extensive practices of *Yugioh* texts might be purpose-driven, contingent upon the social phenomenon of *Yugioh*.

1.5 Research Questions

Within the above framework, the research questions are

1. How does the bilingual context of the children mediate their appropriation of *Yugioh*?
2. How are the children's social practices surrounding *Yugioh* mediated by different cultural artefacts?
3. How do the children's appropriations of *Yugioh* texts vary in relation to context, modality, age, gender and social participation?
4. How is each child's social boundary of *Yugioh* delineated by his/her subjectivity and agency?
5. How is the life span of a cultural artefact such as *Yugioh* determined and how does this vary in relation to age and context?
6. What purposes are achieved by the children's cultural practices of *Yugioh*?

7. How do the children develop their literacy through involving *Yugioh*?
8. What implications can be drawn from the British and American Chinese children's practice of *Yugioh*?

1.6 Thesis Outline

Chapter Two establishes the theoretical framework in much more detail. This chapter argues for the need for a cross-cultural and interdisciplinary approach to investigating the *Yugioh* practices of children of Chinese ancestry living in the multicultural societies of the UK and the USA. Living in the bilingual and bicultural context, the British and American Chinese children in this study are afforded numerous ways to explore their language, culture, identity, and cognitive development. It is argued that through their cultural practices of *Yugioh*, the children are developing new literacies and come to a better understanding that their interpretations of *Yugioh* practices are multifaceted.

Chapter Three justifies the research methodology, which is based on applying an interpretive approach (Schwandt, 2000) and grounded theory (Glaser and Strauss, 1967). It identifies the conceptual framework underlying the methodology and its possible limitations. Also, this chapter details the stepwise implementation of grounded theory by illustrating the use of different research methods at different phases of the research planning. The use of multiple research methods allows the study to comply with the rigor and credibility within qualitative research standards.

Chapters Four and Five establish the foundations of the children's linguistic, social and cultural capital by investigating the bilingual and bicultural contexts within which the British and the American Chinese families were embedded. Chapter Four explores these bilingual and bicultural contexts quantitatively. It uses statistical measures to provide a general profile of the social and cultural demographic of the participating Chinese families and

attempts to identify some of cultural differences between the British Chinese and the American Chinese families. These findings are elaborated by the qualitative research in Chapter Five, which takes into consideration each family's immigration history, pragmatics of language, cultural heritage, consumption of Chinese language media and connection to the Chinese community school. All of these aspects contribute to the idiosyncrasy of the bilingual and bicultural contexts experienced by each child and must be assumed to influence the children's social and cultural practices, as children's social and cultural capital (Bourdieu, 1986) is strongly related to their family.

Chapter Six explains the data analysis process, which is supported my reflectivity, as the researcher, and the use of the qualitative computer software (QSR Nvivo). Several primary themes are induced from different sources of data and conceptualised in two theoretical models: one, situational mediations embedded in the children's cultural practices of *Yugioh*, and two, the interactive relationship between popular culture texts, modality and children.

Based on the theoretical models devised in Chapter Six, Chapter Seven discusses qualitative data in depth and aims to validate the credibility of the models. Likewise, Chapter Seven explores the children's appropriation of the *Yugioh* texts in relation to the dimensions of socialisation, identity, literacy and childhood development. This chapter also employs the concept of product life cycle to depict the pattern of how the children's appropriation of *Yugioh* texts develops.

Finally, Chapter Eight summarises my research findings and their implications for future research in new literacy studies and interdisciplinary studies of literacy research to add to the knowledge base of literacy research in different contexts.

Chapter Two

Theoretical Framework

2.0 Introduction

This chapter explores current literature in audience reception research and new literacy studies, and argues that the integration of the two theoretical frameworks is necessary for this research. Both reception research (Hall, 1992; Jensen, 1991; 1993) and new literacy studies (Gee, 1993; 1994; 1996; Street, 1984; 1995; 2003) focus on the significance of context and readers' social, cultural and political positions in appropriating texts. Both theories suggest that meaning does not lie in the text per se. Instead, it is through the reader's active role that the text is accorded with a meaning (Fiske, 1989b). This active role implies readers can appropriate texts to accommodate their active readership in different contexts. Sefton-Green (1998) indicates that the fixed relationship between readers and writers is the hallmark of old literacy studies. With the influence of digital media, people's experience with texts is versatile. Kress (2003) claims that the properties of multimedia, such as enhanced affordance and intertextuality, affect the way people see the world, and change the social interaction between people and texts. Different modes of interaction suggest that the forms and genres of multimedia change the relationship between the texts and the reader. This then implies a changing view of literacy. Because of readers' sociohistorical experiences with texts, they have developed knowledge about different texts and are able to use them in different situational contexts. The concept of new literacies offers a new way to look at literacy in these contexts (Gee, 1993; 1994; 1996; Street, 1995; 2003).

Instead of viewing literacy as an index of an individual's cognitive ability and potential success in the job market (Lankshear and McLaren, 1993; Street, 1984; 1995), new literacies probe the knowledge that people use reading and writing in their social practice in

the conceptions of 'knowledge, identity and being' (Street, 2003, p.2). Nowadays, children in western societies have appropriated a great number of multimedia texts to express their multiple ways of being, for example, Internet expert, monster card fan, experienced PlayStation player and so forth. Viewed from this perspective, multiple readerships and identities are explored through children's appropriation of a wide range of multimedia. New literacy studies claim that meaning-making is contextual and is practised in everyday living culture (Gee, 1993; 1994; 1996; Street, 1995; 2003). Consequently, the examination of the British and American Chinese children's reception of *Yugioh* texts should be in conjunction with the domain of activity in their everyday life. The activity domain is congruent with Bourdieu's (1977) concept of "habitus", and governs an individual's agency and subjectivity. In this sense, the reception of *Yugioh* texts not only occurs in social discourse, for socialisation purposes, but is also an indication of the readers' agency and subjectivity. With this in mind, this chapter will establish the theoretical framework for interpreting how the British and American Chinese children's reception of *Yugioh* texts should be defined in relation to their everyday life practices, subjectivity and purposes.

2.1 Meaning Making as a Discursive Practice

In the past twenty years, audience reception research on the meaning-making (literacy) of media texts has extended from television programmes (Morley, 1980; Ang, 1985; Buckingham, 1998) to the study of multimodal texts such as digital video games, online forum chatting, blogs, text messaging and other popular culture texts (Lankshear, 1997; Lankshear and Knobel, 2003; Livingstone, 2002; Marsh and Millard, 2000; Kress, 2003a; Marsh, 2003b; 2005). With such new media texts, meaning-making cannot just be viewed as reading and writing in the traditional sense. Similarly, knowledge does not form without mediating, negotiating and contesting between an individual and situational contexts (Gee, 2002). The shifting focus of media audience research reflects not only the integration of new information communication technology (ICT) into everyday life but also the changes of

social structure and civic life (Buckingham, 1998; Lankshear and Knobel, 2003; New London Group, 2000; Marsh, 2003b). With the influence of ICT, texts can no longer be narrowly defined as words, given that images, sounds and cultural artefacts are widely used for the transmission of meanings (Gee, 1996; Dyson, 1997; Bearne, 2003; Buckingham and Sefton-Green, 2003; Lankshear and Knobel, 2003; Marsh, 2003b). Furthermore, the concepts of 'hybridity and intertextuality'—that all meanings are connected and cross-referenced to other media and genres, and other meanings in cultural contexts (Luke, 2000, p.72)—implies that the practice of meaning-making is embedded in cultural contexts, and meanings should be viewed from a broader perspective.

Kress (2000a) points out that, "literacy--socially made forms of representing and communicating--is undergoing radical changes in the context of the deeply revolutionary effects of social, political and economic re-alignments, produced in part as effects of the Electronic Age" (p.157). Meaning-making practice is mediated by new forms of information and communication technology, while the appropriation of new media is determined by the user's sociocultural view of the world. Kress (2000b;2003a, b) also argues that the study of meaning-making of texts should take into account the 'use' aspect in the cultural context and how the meaning-making practices vary in relation to the modality (form) of the texts. Thus, meaning-making can not be divorced from agency and context. These relationships are described clearly by Lankshear and McLaren (1993), who argue that meaning is central to human life and to human being, arises in discursive practices, and is a representation of working identities and subjectivities.

Human life is meaningful order: around concepts, purposes, values, ideas and ideals, rules, notions of reality...linguistic meaning and meaning in the wider sense are mutually entangled...It is through the medium of language that biological human life becomes social (cultural, economic, and so on) life: that is, life organised into some form or shape (more or less consciously recognized and understood by participants) and within which human identities emerge. Meaning, and hence being and human subjectivity, are constituted within and through discourse (Lankshear and McLaren, 1993, p.10-11).

To conclude, meaning-making cannot be narrowly defined as the unidimensional encoding and decoding practices of written texts (Street, 1995). Gee (1993) claims that “any literacy must be defined as fluency in a given social practice, and cannot be defined in terms of the ability to read and write” (p.288). Consistent with this perspective, Scribner and Cole (1981) in their cross-cultural research study with the Vai in Liberia, explore different forms of literacy practices and conclude that,

Literacy is not knowing how to read and write a particular script but applying this knowledge for specific purposes in specific contexts of use. The nature of these practices, including, of course, their technological aspects, will determine the kinds of skills (consequences) associated with literacy (p.236).

2.2 Literacies

The previous section has argued that literacy/meaning-making must be considered as a social discursive practice, in contrast to that of conventional literacy as a set of reading and writing skills which take place in school settings (Street, 1984). School literacy is only one of the types of literacies that individuals obtain, and in which they engage and participate in western modern society in modern civic life (Lankshear and McLaren, 1993; Street, 1984; 1995; 2003). However, in addition to school literacy, there are other literacies, which exist and are practised, such as family literacy (Taylor, 1983) and media literacy (Brown, 1998; Buckingham, 2003; Anderson, 1983; Livingstone, 2002). The multiple views of literacies to describe different and multiple textual experiences that people in modern society have encountered suggest that there are different knowledge, skills and practices inherent in different literacies.

Each type of literacy is contingent upon context and texts (Street, 1984; Gee, 1993; 1994; 1996), and requires supporting skills and practices (Kress, 2003a). However, to define literacies simply on the basis of technical aspects of knowledge is to underestimate the nuances existent between different literacies. Street (1984; 1995; 2003) argues that

literacy is a means rather than an end, and all literacies are value-laden and arise from ideological constructs. From this, Street implies that there are purposes to achieve through the use of literacy and, for this reason, no one type of literacy is better than other forms of literacy (Street, 1995; Pellegrini, 2002).

2.2.1 New Literacy Studies

According to Lankshear and Knobel (2003), new literacy studies (NLS)

is sometimes referred to as a sociocultural approach to literacy, or as socioliteracy studies. As such it is distinguished from 'old' approaches to studying literacy typically based in some kind of psychologistic or technicist paradigm...From a second standpoint, however, 'new literacy studies' can refer to studies of new forms of literacy (p.23).

New literacy is also referred to as 'multiliteracies' by the New London Group (2000). The word 'multiliteracies' is used not only to reflect the essence of multicultural society but also to highlight that the textual experience of people living in contemporary western society is altered and mediated by new media (Livingstone 2002; Lankshear and Knobel, 2003).

The concept of multiliteracies focuses on two key developments in contemporary societies: first, cultural hybridity: increasing interaction across cultural and linguistic boundaries within and between societies, and, second, multimodality: the increasing salience of multiple modes of meaning—linguistic, visual, auditory, and so on, and the increasing tendency for texts to be multimodal (Fairclough, 2000, p.171).

NLS takes a sociocultural view of literacy and argues that literacy embedded in sociocultural practices is not only context-bound and value-laden, but also serves different purposes in different contexts (Street, 1984; 1995; 2003; Gee, 1996; 2000; Pahl and Rowsell, 2005). Within this framework, literacy no longer refers to decontextualised texts and individualistic skills, but to patterned social acts of a group (Kucer, 2004, p.198). NLS represents "a new tradition in considering the nature of literacy, focusing not so much on the acquisition of skills, as in dominant approaches, but rather on what it means to think of literacy as a social

practice. This entails the recognition of multiple literacies, varying according to time and space, but also contested in relations of power" (Street, 2003, p.1).

NLS aims to explore the meaning of text integral in the social and cultural context but treats literacy per se as a social practice (Gee, 1996; Street, 1984; 1995; 2003). There are different terms coined to represent such conceptualization, such as situated literacies (Barton, Hamilton & Ivanic, 2000; Marsh and Millard, 2000) and multiple literacies (New London Group, 1996; 2000). Situated literacy highlights the locality of literacy practices. According to Bearne (2003, p.98), it is defined as "a set of culturally developed practices and is practised in cultural spaces." Central to these different terms of literacy is the perspective that literacy is a culturally bounded practice and has ideological and political preconceptions (Barton, 1994). NLS acknowledges the ideological underpinning of social practice, rather than being narrowly focused on the technical aspect of literacy, as in school-based literacy.

Given that Shirley Brice Heath and Brian Street's ethnographic research of literacy are two pioneer research works in the discipline of new literacy studies, I will use these two examples to explain the theoretical and methodological aspects of new literacy studies.

A. Shirley Brice Heath

Heath's (1983) seminal ethnographic research with two small communities, Trackton and Roadville, in North Carolina, USA, approached the concept of literacy from the point of view of socialization of language use. Trackton was a black community and Roadville was a white community. Many residents in both communities worked in the local textile mill and were considered working-class by the middle-class black and white residents in the Main Town. In *Ways with Words*, Heath (1983) portrayed how the black children in Trackton and the white children in Roadville were socialised to use language in different ways and for different

purposes. For example, Trackton children were not familiar with answering 'why' questions because 'Trackton adults do not engage their children in dialogues in which they specifically monitor questions and answers for them' (p.109). Trackton adults did not consider that children were the repositories of information. Instead, Trackton children were expected to find their own way to learn about the social world around them. A Trackton grandmother commented to Heath during her course of ethnographic research on the community, "We don't talk to our chil'rn like you folks do. We don't ask 'em 'bout colors, names, 'n thins." (109). The language practice of Trackton was very different from that of Roadville.

In the cultural practice of story-telling, Roadville story-tellers used formulaic openings whilst Trackton story-tellers used few formulaic openings. The story-telling of Roadville maintained 'strict chronicity, with direct discourse reported, and no explicit exposition of meaning or direct expression of evaluation of the behaviour of the main character allowed' (p.185). This literate experience of Roadville children may suggest that the Roadville community designated a passive readership position for the children and taught that the meaning of a story is decoded in the way as the author is intended. By contrast, the practice of story-telling in the Trackton community followed little chronicity and with numerous and free interspersions of evaluation of story characters. Trackton story-tellers did not end their stories with formulaic closing. Instead, a story often ended with a reiteration of the strengths of the main character in a story because the purpose of story-telling was to entertain and to socialise with peers.

From this illustration, it might appear that Trackton children were given fewer boundaries in their social discourse and for this reason, they could assume more flexibility and social interaction in the creation of a story. With respect to Roadville children, their experience of story-telling succumbed to the sociocultural conventions of the community. Roadville children were socialised to learn how a story should be structured, not in an individual sense,

but in a cultural sense. Culture governed how people think, perceive, dress, behave and act (Geertz, 2000). Although the use of language was different between these two communities, the children in both communities were socialised to learn story-telling in a culturally acceptable way and learn to acknowledge the importance of cultural convention and socialisation in their social discourse.

In terms of social interaction, Trackton children were socialised to tell their story in a competitive nature. Heath described that "Trackton story-tellers, from a young age, must be aggressive in inserting their stories into an on-going stream of discourse" (p.185). The story per se was rooted on a truth but with numerous fictional details. The intention of adding a large number of fictional details and being creative was to "announce boldly the individual strength for being creative, persistent, and undaunted in the face of conflict" (ibid.). Additionally, the quality of a good story was based on how skilfully a story-teller could exaggerate a story, be challenged by the audience and invite diverse additional stories from the audience, with the intention of praising the individual merits of each member within the group. The length of a story depended on how the children were able to incorporate ritualised insults and play songs to hold their audience's interest and entertain their peers. From this illustration, story-telling was used by Trackton children not only to entertain their audiences but also to socialise with their peers. The purposes of story-telling were two-fold and for this reason, we could assume that cultural practices such as story-telling were purposeful. Additionally, through the practice of story-telling, Trackton children had also developed a set of skills such as negotiation and persuasion to hold the floor in their social discourse.

By contrast, Roadville children were subjected to more adult guidance in the context of story-telling. A story was not told by Roadville children unless it was invited. Only a few

adult community members were designated as good story tellers. A story was more than a narrative to Roadville residents because it was viewed as an acknowledgement of community membership and acceptance of behaviour norms. The content of a story was used to unite the community, and the sources of stories in Roadville were often related to personal experience or Biblical parables and church-related stories of Christian life. Any story with fictional content was perceived as a lie. The moral in the story was often highlighted by the story-teller, with detailed expositions, and the purpose of the story was to make a point about the conventions of behaviour. Roadville adults perceived their stories as didactic so that the audience and the story-teller could be drawn together and learn to accept the commonly-held behaviour norms within the community.

Story-telling in both communities was value-laden in that it has single or multiple social purposes to achieve. Additionally, in juxtaposition with the practice of story-telling, Trackton and Roadville children had learned different sets of skills to help them maintain the practice.

The way that Trackton and Roadville children were socialised to use language in the context of story-telling, though different, was considered appropriate and culturally acceptable in the embedding context. Trackton children, particularly, were socialised to learn literate language not in the sense of school language and written texts but through a literate practice of an oral nature, embedded in familial and community contexts such as church service.

Throughout the sermons, prayers, and raised hymns of the church, there appears a familiar pattern which marks many other features of Trackton life: the learning of language, telling of stories, and composing of hand-clap and jump-rope songs. Throughout these habits and the shifts from oral to written language, there is an oral performance pattern of building a text which uses themes and repetitions with variations on these themes. The young children follow this pattern in practicing and playing in their language learning; older siblings use it when they entertain the community with their songs and games; it permeates greetings, and leavings, and parts of stories. Often a formulaic phrase expresses an essential idea, but this phrase is for building from, and as such is continually subject to change as individuals perform and create simultaneously (Heath, 1983; p. 211).

The review of the literacy experiences of Trackton children and Roadville children shows how the children's practice with story-telling and social interaction conforms to respective governing habitus. Instead of using Main Town people's literacy experience as a backdrop to be compared against Trackton and Roadville community, I have deliberately used the example of Trackton and Roadville children to make the point that the literacy practices of children are diverse in terms of the purposes and skills involved. Additionally, literacy practices are subject to the governing sociocultural structure in which the children are situated.

Heath's seminal work is often used by literacy researchers to make the claim that children with minority backgrounds are marginalised in the school setting of literacy learning (Lankshear and McLaren, 1993). The aim of these studies is to restore the learning position of disadvantaged children in school settings by encouraging educational practitioners to capitalise on the language and culture capital that the children have developed at home and in their community. Such a claim is to suggest that the language and culture capital that children have developed out of school context should be valued. Heath (1983) implied that Trackton children were placed in a disadvantageous position in their school learning because their literacy practice emerged from of a different nature than that of a school. Such a situation also occurred with Roadville children when they entered fourth grade in elementary school because their home literacy practices did not support abstract reasoning and complex sentence construction.

Learning in school settings is often endowed with an evaluative nature for the sake of preparing pupils for the future job market and ensuring they have the necessary qualifications to be a competent citizen (Lankshear and McLaren, 1993; The New London Group, 1996). The negative view held against Trackton children's school learning originates from the teacher's lack of understanding of the literacy practices of the Trackton community.

This lack of understanding among the teachers is not intentional. Instead, it originates from an outsider's perspective of how a language should be learned and how a culture should be practised. In the school setting, Trackton children's literate experience is not congruent with what normally takes place in such contexts, such as pencil-held writing, collective story-book reading and telling. Their outsider position in relation to school literacy is defined not by Trackton children themselves but by those in power within the insider community.

To develop a certain level of understanding towards a culture, some level of ethnographic participation is necessary (Geertz, 1973) to grasp the "native's point of view, his relation to life, to realise his vision of his world" (Malinowski, 1992, p.19). An outsider perspective is not necessarily negative but can often result in misinterpretation (Said, 1978). Heath (1983) also highlighted this point when she engaged some teacher-participants to ethnographically explore the gap between home and school literacy practices. Trackton community is predominately characterised as an oral society. According to Street (1984; 1995), an oral society may be misinterpreted as uncivilised and backward by a society which advocates written literacy. Instead of projecting a negative view towards oral literacy, Heath (1983) claimed that oral literacy can be used to complement written literacy.

Words are action, and a creative oral rendering of a message can move an audience to action ... one preacher put it, "the words must live" and performer and audience alike must therefore integrate the words into their personal experience and express their meaning for them" (ibid; p. 233).

The claim here is that different forms of literacy are not only intertextual but are also used to express one's living culture and experience. Street (1984) echoes such a viewpoint in his literacy project in Iran, claiming that different literacy practices involve different ideologies.

B. Brian Street

Street (1984) studied commercial literacy practice in a village in Iran during the course of his promotion of a western literacy campaign in the 1970s. According to Street, Iran has a long tradition of Islamic religious influence and often the only print text made available in households in the village is the Qur'an. He found that the education at the local "Maktab", the Qur'anic school, prepared the village people better than the new State education in managing their village entrepreneurs. Through Maktab literacy, the villagers not only learned to interpret their lives according to the rules and commentaries depicted in the text but also extended literacy practice into new situations such as signing cheques, labelling boxes and listing customers. In contrast, the State education system, with the aim of promoting a western concept of literacy, did not provide the villagers with the necessary skills to conduct local enterprise. From this, Street (1995, p.42) claimed that local uses and perceptions of literacy may differ from those of the dominant culture, and the difference from the dominant in terms of practising literacy should not be perceived as "ignorance or backwardness". Furthermore, literacy campaigns have generally neglected the local literacies and treated the recipients as illiterate (p.19). Street implied that, as a western literacy campaign planner, he had initially adopted an outsider view towards Maktab literacy and the local villagers in Iran. This outsider view classified Maktab literacy as backwardness and its language users as illiterate. From this, Street argued that the division between literate and illiterate is more of political and ideological effects rather than a psycho-cognitive effect.

According to Street (1984), literacy is embedded in social and cultural contexts rather than as a set of discrete skills of reading and writing acquired autonomously.

what the particular practices and concepts of reading and writing are for a given society depends upon the context; that they are already embedded in an ideology and cannot be isolated (1984, p.1).

Street (1984) claims that reading and writing are not only embedded in cultural and social contexts, but are also subjected to power distribution within a contextual setting. Context, by Street's concept, is culturally governed and mediates how an individual acts, believes and performs. Also, it is based on a certain power structure maintained by people within the context, but which cannot be easily identified by the outsiders. This culturally sensitive view of literacy practices is the foundation of Street's ideological model of literacy. This model starts from different premises than the autonomous model.

Literacy is a social practice, not simply a technical and neutral skill; it is always embedded in socially constructed epistemological principles. It is about knowledge: the ways in which people address reading and writing are themselves rooted in conceptions of knowledge, identity, and being (Street, 2003, p.1).

Similarly, Shirley Brice Heath characterized a literacy event as "any occasion in which a piece of writing is integral to the nature of the participants' interactions and their interpretative processes" (1982, p. 93).

C. Implications from Heath's and Street's Literacy Research

Both Street and Heath place an emphasis on the social context of learning and argue that learning is not an index of psycho-cognitive competence. This view is in accordance with Vygotsky's theory of social cognitive development which views social interaction as central to the development of cognition (1978).

Every function in the child's cultural development appears twice: first, on the social level, and later, on the individual level; first, between people (interpsychological) and then inside the child (intrapsychological). This applies equally to voluntary attention, to logical memory, and to the formation of concepts. All the higher functions originate as actual relationships between individuals (p57).

Furthermore, learning, as Lave and Wenger (1991) argue, normally occurs as a function of the activity, context and culture in which it occurs.

In contrast with learning as internalisation, learning as increasing participation in communities of practice concerns the whole person acting in the world. Conceiving of learning in terms of participation focuses attention on ways in which it is an evolving, continuously renewed set of relations; this is, of course, consistent with a relational view, of persons, their actions, and the world, typical of a theory of social practice (p.49-50).

Lave's situated learning and Vygotsky's sociocultural learning are two important elements incorporated in NLS when researchers explore how literacy is embedded in social discourse, negotiated and mediated between people and content, and how agency is defined in terms of identity and practices. Accordingly, this could explain why NLS is often viewed as an interdisciplinary study combining anthropology, psychology, ethnography and sociology to examine the nature of multiple literacies (Street, 2003) that is at the crossroads of language, culture, society, politics and ideology contexts (Kelder, 1996). Therefore, NLS researchers do not only characterise the ideological underpinning embedded in the literacy activities of a local culture, but they also examine the meaning that the people attribute to their local sense of literacy. In this regard, different contexts and cultures produce different literacies, and no literacy is superior to another (Street, 1984; 1995).

The paradigmatic perspective of literacy in western society works on the assumption that literacy per se will advance the cognitive ability of a person and determine his or her future achievement. School-based literacy is perceived as mainstream and the English language is the norm. This perspective of literacy is often decontextualised and puts other language users at a disadvantage (Kenner and Kress, 2003). Dyson (2001) argues that literacy learning is "a process of text appropriation and recontextualisation, rather than one of pure invention or diligent apprenticeship, recasting the usual developmental story" (p.35). Text appropriation and re-contextualisation operate on the grounds that children's active

meaning-making ability is integral to different aspects of literacy practices in their childhood. In addition, the cultural resources children use in their school projects, in their playful social discourse, in their consumption of media text,

reveal children's powers of adaptation and improvisation—their symbolic and discourse flexibility; and it is children's exploitation of these cross-cultural childhood strengths and their ways of stretching, reconfiguring, and re-articulating their resources, that are key to literacy learning in contemporary times (Dyson, 2001, p.11).

The cultural resources are the cultural capital with which children are familiar and which equip them with a certain level of literate knowledge prior to their formal schooling. Cultural capital (Bourdieu, 1977; 1986) is analogous to capital in the economic sense. However, children's cultural capital obtained out of the school context is rarely acknowledged in mainstream education (New London Group, 1996; 2000; Marsh, 2003b). In addition to the neglected cultural capital, minority children's bi-literate language capital is often perceived to interfere with their learning of English (Kenner, 2003). Kenner and Kress (2003), in their 'Sign of Differences' project, argue that mainstream educators should be called on to acknowledge the cognitive gains of minority-language children who are becoming bi-literate and to offer support for this important area of learning. This has made minority children's out-of-school literacy practices an area worthy of study (Marsh, 2003b) and a foundation for this PhD thesis.

2.3 Contemporary Society and Subjective Identity

Contemporary society not only is linguistically and culturally diversified but also consists of people, who are "simultaneous members of multiple life worlds, so their identities have multiple layers that are in complex relation to each other" (New London Group, 2000, p.17). The multiple identities arise as a consequence of modern information and communication technology, globalization and the post-modern notion of hyper-reality and fragmentation.

As local diversity and social boundaries are blurred by virtual reality on the Internet, access to advanced ICT is eased, and globalization of commercial culture is localised. The primordial identity of people—such as their gender, ethnicity, language, and geography—is constantly contested by and infiltrated with multiple but overlapping identifications (Lankshear and McLaren, 1993; New London Group, 1996; 2000; Luke, 2000; Lankshear and Knobel, 2003). Furthermore, multiple identities are constantly changed and formulated in relation to the changing participation of community (Lave, 1991; Rogoff, 2003). In this sense, identity is “dynamic and context bound” and is constructed by different borders that crisscross the various social groups with which an individual is associated (Kucer, 2004, p.206).

Such a perspective is in tandem with Hall’s (2000) argument that identity is not essentialist but strategic and positional.

Identities are never unified and, in late modern times, increasingly fragmented and fractured; never singular but multiply constructed across different, often intersecting and antagonistic, discourses, practices and positions. They are subject to a radical historicization, and are constantly in the process of change and transformation (p.17).

To follow Hall’s argument, identity is not defined straightforwardly in the light of gender, ethnicity, race and social class, but by the subjectivity within discursive practices and by one’s positioning in relation to historical-cultural contexts. In this sense, subjectivity is contextualised, inter-related, acted upon and subjected to historical factors. Furthermore, subjectivity is not inscribed in language, texts and in the grand-narrative², as structuralism has defined it and cannot be objectively identified.

² According to Stephens (1998), it is a totalizing cultural narrative schema which stipulate knowledge and experience.

As Judith Butler explains,

The subject is not determined by the rules through which it is generated because signification is not a founding act, but rather a regulated process of repetition that both conceals itself and enforces its rules precisely through the production of substantialising effects... There is no self that is prior to the convergence or who maintains 'integrity' prior to its entrance into this conflicted cultural field (Butler, 1990, p.145).

Instead, subjectivity is relational, purposive, context-bound and inter-subjective. As popular media texts are closely integrated into modern life, for one to receive information, to communicate, to entertain, to consume and to conduct his/her everyday business, an individual's subjectivity, in some degree, rests on these performances. For this reason, the subjectivity of an individual is interpreted, mediated not only by the texts but also by his/her sociocultural context. Because sociocultural context is a signifying process, the way that a member of a social group is socialized to identify the meaning and obtain their subjectivity is significant in decoding the meaning inherent. With this in mind, audience reception research emerges as a new paradigm within cultural studies to investigate the effect of 'audience cum texts' (Jensen, 1991; 1993). The 'effect' is taking on the meaning that audiences are active in the process of appropriating media texts. This view is to reflect the current practice of media and cultural researchers whose focus of research remains on the level of how audiences interact with texts and appropriate them in different situational contexts.

2.4 Reception Research and the Changing Media Texts

Media reception researchers, inspired by Morley's pioneer work in *The Nationwide Audience* (1980) and *Family Television* (1986), focus on unravelling the social use of media integral to the audience's daily life (Morley and Silverstone, 1991; Ang, 1996; Schroder et al, 2003) and exploring audiences' responses to tele-visual fictional texts (Ang, 1985, Katz and Liebes, 1984, Radway, 1987). Reception research can be defined as "a comparative textual analysis of media discourses and audience discourses, whose results are interpreted with emphatic

reference to context, both the historical as well as cultural setting and the context of other media contexts" (Jensen, 1991, p.139). By contextualising text and readers, readers are no longer treated as a separate entity from the text; and the subjectivity prescribed in the text, instead, is replaced with readers' historical, sociocultural and political experience. Jensen (1993, p.21) notes that reception analysis is "recovered through interviewing, observation and textual analysis, in order to interpret and explain the process of audiences' interpretation in specific social contexts at a particular historical juncture." However, the advances in new media, the intertextuality of media texts, and the multiple readerships that audiences are associated with compound the context of media reception. For this reason, it becomes unfeasible to examine the audience's reception of media texts through a single modality. In addition, Reimer (1998) argues that the flaw of current media reception research is to ignore contextualisation. He claims that

Within reception analysis, and specifically media ethnography, the context definitely matters. But the problem is that each context is treated as if that context does not belong within a context in itself. What the traditions do not take into account strongly enough is that each specific context is positioned within a larger structure, and that it is shaped by its position in that structure. That is, each context is treated like it is autonomous, without relation to other contexts (p.138).

This suggests that audiences' reception of media texts is embedded in a wider context and structure. Within each context, there are numerous interwoven sub-contexts that give rise to polysemic readings of media texts by the interpretive community (Radway, 1987). Since the late 1990s, the range of new media to be explored has extended. This is attributable to the changing compositions of audiences and their ways of conceptualising the world. As children's experiences with different media texts are growing, Buckingham (1993) argues reception analysis with children should extend to incorporate intertextuality, to reflect the rich textual environment in which children are immersed, and should examine how the meaning-making of text varies in different domains of their everyday life. In their research project on *Pokemon*, a Japanese animated cartoon broadcasted universally in the late 1990s,

Buckingham and Sefton-Green (2003) addressed the multiplicity of *Pokemon* as follows,

What is Pok´emon ‘in itself’? It is clearly not just a ‘text’, or even a collection of texts—a TV serial, a card game, toys, magazines or a computer game. It is not merely a set of objects that can be isolated for critical analysis, in the characteristic mode of academic Media Studies. It might more appropriately be described, in anthropological terms, as a ‘cultural practice’. Pok´emon is something you do, not just something you read or watch or ‘consume’ (Buckingham and Sefton-Green, 2003, p.379).

Following this line of argument, children’s interpretations of media texts are actualized by participating, reading, watching and doing. ‘Doing’ is one of the characteristics of popular culture texts. Nevertheless, children’s popular culture texts are significantly ignored in previous reception research as popular culture texts remain subordinate in the mainstream of academic research (Bearne, 2003; Kenner and Kress, 2003; Marsh 2003c; 2005). This may be attributable to the narrow sense of pedagogy held by both parents and teachers in which learning is internalized (Lankshear and McLaren, 1993; Street, 2003), and which views school literacy as aimed to improve the psycho-cognitive development of children. However, as the global force of popular culture narratives infiltrates everyday life, “parents find the commodity narrative inexorable and teachers find their cultural and linguistic messages losing power and relevance” (New London Group, 2000, p.16). This implies that parents and teachers are fighting for the attention of children, who are socialized to internalize the symbolic meaning of popular culture texts in their social discourse. For children, the symbolic meaning of popular culture texts is central to their childhood development (Buckingham and Sefton-Green, 2003) and is integrated into their everyday life (Marsh and Millard, 2000; Marsh, 2005).

2.5 Limitations in the Literature of Audience Reception Research

The relevance of ethnicity and media consumption is well-established in the literature of audience research such as Georgiou’s study of British Greek Cypriots in London (2003), Gillespie’s study of Punjabi youth’s use of ethnic media in Southall, London (1995), Ang’s

reception research of the American soap series, *Dallas*, with Dutch viewers (1985) and finally, Katz and Liebes' *Dallas* reception research with five different ethnic groups (1984). Georgiou's (2003) and Gillespie's (1995) studies illuminate how an ethnic minority's everyday life is interwoven with ethnic media, whereas Ang's and Katz and Liebes' studies demonstrate how ethnicity can be a criterion to categorise audiences' interpretations to media texts. However, little audience reception research in the literature probes children's meaning-making in relation to popular culture texts and new media. This may be because cultural researchers are still trying to identifying features of new media and multimodal texts and their impact on children (Livingstone, 2002), rather than justifying how children use popular culture media in their emerging social practice.

Although audience reception studies with children advocate the integration of media ethnography, popular culture texts and meaning-making (Buckingham, 1993), the aim of such research usually emphasizes children's critical media literacy and the social implications of their media consumption rather than examining children's meaning-making of popular media texts. Children's meaning-making in relation to popular media texts takes place in many domains of their life and is contextualised. Furthermore, children's appropriation of the texts is mostly actualized in their social discourse, mediated by context and supported by their sociocultural capital (Buckingham, 1993; Buckingham and Sefton-Green, 2003; Dyson, 2001). This has made agency, context and literacy important elements in children's construction of the meaning of popular culture texts. Because the meaning-making of popular culture texts is embedded in the sociocultural practices of the research participants under study, it is necessary to explore these practices in their naturally occurring contexts such as the home, the school and the community.

2.6 Out of School Literacy Practices

Because of the particular characteristics of popular culture texts such as intertextuality and multimodality (Kress, 2000b; 2003a), NLS researchers begin by exploring the property of the popular culture texts (Luke, 2000; Kress, 2003a) and how the texts have been integrated and transformed in children's everyday cultural practice (Kenner and Gregory, 2003; Marsh, 2003b; 2004). Popular culture texts afford children more spaces to explore language socialization and identities (Gee, 2000; Pahl and Roswell, 2005), and imagination (Dyson, 1997; Ito, 2003), to recontextualize the texts between school and out of school contexts (Paley, 1984; Dyson, 1997; Marsh, 2003b), to pursue 'fandom' culture (Ito, 2003), to create hybrid texts (Dyson, 1997; Kenner and Gregory, 2003; Kress, 2003b), and to represent their cultural identity (Kenner, 2003).

Children nowadays engage in a range of reading and writing activities in and out of school contexts, combined with the use of technology such as television, computers, Internet, video games, and other cultural artefacts. Marsh (2004) draws out the role of new media in young children's lives and examines the digital literacy skills that her young research participants have developed prior to formal schooling. She argues that print literacy, normally associated with formal education, can not reflect the totality of literacy experiences that children have explored in their home, community and other out-of-school contexts. Dyson (1997; 2001) has explored how young school children draw on their creativity and imagination to relate to popular cultural texts and transform the meaning of these texts by re-contextualisation. Apart from context, Kress (2000b) argues that modality will affect the interaction between the text and the children and affect the meaning that children attribute to the text they are encountering. For example, for an action figure and a drawing for the action figure, each requires different interactions from children. Children may draw an action figure which they adore on a piece of paper and write a short story next to the action figure. They may also treat the action figure as a toy and play with it. Here, the drawing,

presumably, means the representation of the children's imagination whereas the play is a social discourse in which the children participate.

Out-of-school literacy has become a new field for literacy researchers to explore a variety of textual materials that children are experiencing and how they account for the meaning of the texts in their social discourse (Lankshear and Knobel, 2003). As multimodal text remains central to out-of-school literacy learning, Bearne (2003) argues that there should be a firm place for multimodal text in the curriculum.

Shifts from the possibilities for literacy practices offered by the page (literal and visual) to the several dimensions of the televisual multimedia world, mean that children are being introduced to different ways of structuring thought. Not only are there now many more kinds of text to refer to than in the past, but also as children make meaning of new experiences, events and practices, they also think differently from adults' developed frames of reference (p.98).

This view implies a deficiency in the current school literacy curriculum in the UK, and presumably in the USA as well, insofar as it declines to draw on the textual materials that children have experienced and learned in many out-of-school contexts. The property of popular culture texts is often multi-modal, inter-textual and digital (Livingstone, 2002; Lankshear and Knobel, 2003; Kress, 2003a, b). However, the current practice of literacy pedagogy in school has failed to incorporate such features into teaching and has failed to connect to the children's social and cultural capital that children have developed in an out-of-school context (Lankshear and McLaren, 1993; Marsh, 2003b; 2004; 2005). In this sense, school literacy does not fully prepare children for their language development and socialisation in their out-of-school context. As Arthur (2001) states,

Home and community literacy experiences and texts are increasingly digital and connected to popular media culture, yet experiences and texts in educational settings are predominantly paper-based and generally exclude popular media culture (p.295).

In his *Early Literacy and Social Justice Project*, in New South Wales Australia, Arthur (2001) examined literacy practices in 79 early childhood settings (day care centres and pre-schools), combined with the methodology of longitudinal observation, semi-structured interview, diary and videotaping of children's literacy practices in the settings. He found that technology plays an important role in children's literacy learning and popular culture practice, but that the educational practitioners in the settings remain fairly prejudiced against popular media texts, and exclude them from their choice of literacy learning materials. In his study, Arthur showed how children benefit from their consumption of popular culture texts by developing criticality and establishing their identity. He advocates not dismissing popular culture as commercially driven and ideologically unsound because it can provide opportunities for critical analysis.

2.7 Limitations in the Literature of New literacy Studies

To date, literacy research in out-of-school contexts has emphasized the range of digital and media texts that children have explored in their social discourse and how an educational setting fails to acknowledge the literacy experience and learning that children have developed (Arthur, 2001; Marsh, 2003c). The interface between young children's literacy learning and play is widely acknowledged in the literature (Dyson, 1997; Kress, 1997; Roskos and Christie, 2001). The emphasis in most new literacy research with children is on demonstrating children's literacy learning through play, and thus acknowledging the interface between literacy development and play around popular culture texts. Because of the age of the young participants, research about early literacy development often relies on researchers' observations, combined with the observation of parents and caregivers to interpret children's meaning-making of popular culture texts. The outsider's perspective on children's meaning-making is limited as the young research participants' play and social discourse is often supervised and mediated by their parents and carers. In addition, their age means that the space of their social activities, their abilities to use multimodal text and

their social discourse are very different from that of children of elementary school age or older.

Children often consume popular culture texts not for the sake of reading and writing. Instead, they use popular culture texts in the domain of their everyday life to define their gender, identity and to make meanings (Marsh and Millard, 2000; Millard, 2003; Kress, 2003a, b). Clearly, a focus on children's literacy learning remains the main interest of researchers rather than of children. NLS researchers tend to highlight literacy practices that children develop at home, in their community and in other domains of their life to bridge the gap between out-of-school literacy and school literacy (Pahl, 2002; Marsh, 2003b, 2005; Pahl and Roswell, 2005), and then deduce the implications for literacy pedagogy. However, a gap exists in the research because new literacy studies barely explore out-of-school literacy arising in bilingual and bicultural contexts, which is an emerging character of contemporary multicultural society (Kenner, 2003).

2.8 Direction for This Research

If anything outside schooling is contributing to and shaping the development of young children's knowledge about literacy, it is popular culture (Marsh, 2003c, p.221).

Jackie Marsh, in an editorial for the *Journal of Early Childhood Literacy*, calls for new approaches to examine children's literacy learning from different disciplines and to consider "literacy practices in their own right, as evidence of how young children are exploring ways of representing meanings for themselves as social actors, not as educational subjects" (Marsh, 2003c, p.221). This perspective reflects a paradigm shift in literacy research and emphasises the role of children in their literacy learning from a 'studied subject' to an 'active agent'.

Because the children in the mainstream research of popular culture and literacy learning are predominately white and monolingual, the popular culture practices of bilingual children remain relatively unknown. Kenner (2003) points out, "bilingual children's experiences are no more static and predictable than those of their monolingual peers...media forms such as video, cable and satellite TV, and Internet are used by linguistic communities to produce new texts or to re-contextualise older ones" (p.74). What Kenner implies is that bilingual children's literacy and cultural experience is mediated by their bilingual environment and, for this reason, their literacy learning experience may be different from monolingual children's. Vygotsky (1978) indicates that all thinking and learning are social and historical in origin, and such view reinforces the possible sociocultural influences that bilingual children would have experienced in their bilingual living environment. In this sense, bilingual children's bicultural and bilingual experiences are presumed to have an impact on their popular culture practices and interpretations.

The concept of 'bilingual' generally refers to a description of a language learner's linguistic competence. It is rarely perceived as a sociocultural context that bilingual children are associated with. In addition, the notion of bilingualism rarely gains an educational prominence in multicultural societies such as the UK and USA given that 'bilingualism' normally carries historical and political implications: minority groups, immigrants, colonised groups and politically disadvantaged groups.

Also, the term 'popular culture' has been misused in many studies as a generic term to cover a wide range of commercial artefacts that children consume, such as Tamagochi, He-man, Transformer, Hello-Kitty, and Pokemon. Furthermore, this term is often used to describe children's irrational craze for pursuing new cultural artefacts. Clearly, there is a negative connotation against such social phenomena and children's popular culture has, thus, been presumed to be universal. Such views fail to detect the nuances in children's

appropriation of popular cultural texts in terms of age, gender, ethnicity, language, social participation, ways of interacting with the texts, skills learned and purposes. Also, they underestimate the literacy gain that children have acquired through their practices with popular culture texts. By contrast, Marsh and Millard (2000) claim that children draw on their cultural resources to improve their imaginative play and narrative production.

Popular culture is a key feature of the leisure interests of many children, interests that are somewhat manipulated by the media and toy manufacturing industry. Children are attracted to the latest television series, video game or Disney video and are tempted by the commercial lure of related toys, books and comics... [popular culture] provides a rich source of imaginative play and narrative satisfaction for children...(Marsh and Millard, 2000, p.210).

Instead of viewing popular culture practices as homogenous social behaviour of children, from an outsider's perspective, there should be an insider view to probe how children deal with popular culture in their own right and how they interpret popular culture texts in relation to their subjectivity and agency.

A popular culture text which exemplifies these practices is *Yugioh*. It is a fairly popular TV animation in many countries and offers a chance for many children around the world to explore their textual experience from a TV animation to a strategic card game and a card duelling tournament. The different textual representations of *Yugioh* offer different modes of interaction between children and the texts. For example, *Yugioh* textual experience can be 'worn' because a *Yugioh* fan may wear different accessories featured in the animation to symbolically transform his/her identity into the fictional character, card game player, fan and so forth. At a *Yugioh* card game tournament, a *Yugioh* fan may wear a wig featuring Yugi's spiky hairdo to show his/her identity as Yugi. In this sense, through the interaction with cultural artefacts, children not only have assumed different fandom positions but also have interpreted their subjectivities. Thus, popular culture texts offer a variety of textual experience and interpretations that semiotic and textual analysis can not sufficiently justify.

As mentioned in the previous section, children's reading against the grain should not be considered as a challenge to the authority or the dominating ideology. An alternative understanding would be that their differed readings are mediated by the social and cultural context in which they are situated and are incorporated into their everyday life. Thus, the meaning-making practice of popular media texts should be explored from the aspects of socialization, identity, childhood development, and fan culture, given that meaning derived from sociocultural practices is not only context-bound but also symbolic. In this sense, cultural discursive practice is a signifying process and the linguistic (literate) meanings embedded in the popular culture texts are transformed and made comprehensible to the cultural practitioners.

It is the purpose of this research to fill a research gap in the current research literature of NLS and reception analysis. Furthermore, this research aims to explore the social, cultural and political implications of popular culture practices from a comparative perspective to shed light on the character of literacy development in bilingual contexts, not at a regional level but at a cross-national level. To be more specific, both British and American Chinese children's appropriation of popular culture texts in bilingual contexts will be identified and explored.

To investigate children's negotiation of popular culture texts in a bilingual context, the researcher has to clarify a few ambiguities. First, the term 'negotiation' implies that children's appropriation of popular culture texts is subject to power and structure. I do not believe that children's agency is controlled by institutional and situational structures. Instead, power and structure are mediating the way that children interact with texts and their sociocultural peers (Lave and Wenger, 1991; Rogoff, 2003). Meanings in this sense are not embedded in the semiotic level but formulated at the discourse level (Gee, 1996; 1999).

Additionally, the sociocultural capital, cognitive ability, age, and gender that children bring with them to appropriate the meaning of popular culture are auxiliary tools in their own right. Second, in the post-modern era, popular culture texts are extensively replicated, packaged, marketed and distributed to all ages of children. Therefore, children have more choices about which text to consume, to negotiate the meaning, either by themselves or with their peers, to fulfil their goals in whichever ways they desire. As Cope and Kalantzis (2000) point out,

Individuals have at their disposal a complex range of representational resources, never simply of one culture but of the many cultures in their lived experience; the many layers of their identity and the many dimensions of their being. The breadth, complexity and richness of the available meaning-making resources is such that representation is never simply a matter of reproduction. Rather, it is a matter of transformation; of reconstructing meaning in a way which always adds something to the range of available representational resources (p.204).

Bilingual children, unlike their mono-lingual counterparts, are situated in a bilingual and bicultural environment. This particular context is likely to impose an impact on their meaning-making of popular culture texts. Therefore, what I intend to do in this study is to investigate bilingual children's meaning-making with popular culture texts and how different situational contexts mediate their sociocultural practice. This perspective acknowledges that meaning is never prescribed and fixed but is negotiated by the reader/audience in relation to the sociocultural-historical context.

Chapter Three

Research Design and Methodology

3.0 Introduction

Chapter One laid the foundation for grounded theory in terms of formulating a hypothesis about the social phenomenon of *Yugioh* with the British Chinese children. In this chapter I will detail how the qualitative research design and methodology follow grounded theory, and explore the emerging themes about both the British and American Chinese children's cultural practices of *Yugioh* throughout the entire process of research implementation. I have also employed an 'interpretive framework' (Denzin and Lincoln, 2005) to investigate the social phenomenon of the British and American Chinese children's negotiation of popular cultural texts in their naturally occurring contexts. Because this PhD thesis aims to explore the 'thickness of data' (Geertz, 1973), the research focus is to qualitatively explore different dimensions of *Yugioh* cultural practices in depth rather than to seek statistical representation.

A researcher is considered as a research and interpretive tool in the process of qualitative research (Denzin and Lincoln, 2005). For this reason, in order to investigate the cultural practices of *Yugioh* with the British and American Chinese children in their naturally occurring contexts, a certain level of ethnographic participation in the life of the research participants is necessary. The term 'naturally occurring context' is unclear to a researcher who has little or no knowledge about the social historical background of Chinese immigrant families in multicultural societies like the UK and the USA. The distinction between 'native' and 'foreign' begs the question to what extent the researcher would participate in the life of the research participants. According to Patton (2002), to align an outsider view towards the insider is not to replicate the viewpoint of the research participants. Instead, the changing

of position means not only a change of identity, subjectivity, presumption, attitude and engagement in the research process, but also a participatory position to negotiate the meanings accorded to cultural practice of *Yugioh* with the children in this study. In this sense, the researcher's social, cultural and political background is mediating the process of interpretation (Said, 1978) and the way that this research is implemented.

Because of the cross-cultural nature of this study, the coordination of research resources reflects not only the distinctive research contexts relating to the British and American Chinese children but also the epistemological stance of the researcher. I started a preliminary study with the British Chinese children in Nottingham, UK to investigate how they interpreted the concept of popular culture in their sociocultural practice. This arrangement reflected not only my initial research position as a PhD student with the University of Nottingham but also a limited understanding towards the children's reception of *Yugioh*. Given that the aim of this study was to characterise the children's reception of popular cultural texts, I needed a research approach which would develop an understanding of how the bilingual children of Chinese ancestry integrate *Yugioh* texts in their everyday life. This stance called upon grounded theory and, for this reason, this study is aimed at developing a theory about these children's sociocultural practices with *Yugioh* texts.

A stepwise plan to implement grounded theory in this study was developed. This stepwise plan not only details how the concept of theoretical sampling is used to structure data collection and analysis, but also takes into account available resources, time constraints, situational contexts, research participants, cross-cultural issues and ethical considerations. Because grounded theory is a constant process of comparing data against an emerging theory (Glaser and Strauss, 1967), a preliminary set of research data needed to be established and refined. For convenience, the research implementation was initiated with British Chinese participants first and with grounded theory as a guiding principle. The

preliminary research findings for the British Chinese participants were then used as a backdrop against which their American Chinese counterparts would be compared.

3.1 Research Questions

The research questions established in Chapter One were:

1. How does the bilingual context of the children mediate their appropriation of *Yugioh*?
2. How are the children's social practices surrounding *Yugioh* mediated by different cultural artefacts?
3. How do the children's appropriations of *Yugioh* texts vary in relation to context, modality, age, gender and social participation?
4. How is each child's social boundary of *Yugioh* delineated by his/her subjectivity and agency?
5. How is the life span of a cultural artefact such as *Yugioh* determined and how does this vary in relation to age and context?
6. What purposes are achieved by the children's cultural practices of *Yugioh*?
7. How do the children develop their literacy through involving *Yugioh*?
8. What implications can be drawn from the British and American Chinese children's practice of *Yugioh*?

3.2 Interpretive Framework

All research is interpretive; it is guided by the researchers' set of beliefs and feelings about the world and how it should be understood and studied. Some beliefs may be taken for granted, invisible, only assumed...each interpretive paradigm makes particular demands on the researcher, including the questions the researcher asks and the interpretations he or she brings to them (Denzin and Lincoln, 2005, p.22).

Denzin and Lincoln state that the researcher's epistemological, ontological and methodological premises shape how the qualitative researcher 'sees the world and acts in it' (ibid, p.22). Initially, as I approached this research from the perspective of cultural studies,

I was introduced to the relevance of critical theory and cultural studies (Morley, 1980; Katz and Liebes, 1984; Ang, 1985; Radway, 1987). The division between the powerful and the powerless, the dominated and the subordinated, and the suppressive and the resistant culture (Fiske, 1989b) is a clear research guideline within the paradigm of critical cultural studies (Foley and Valenzuela, 2005). Thus, class, ethnicity, gender, or marginalized groups often become 'the filter' (Strauss and Corbin, 1998) that is used by qualitative cultural researchers to make sense of the fabric within a given culture.

According to Denzin and Lincoln (2005), poststructuralists and postmodernists have claimed that there is no unified way of probing one's subjectivity and 'any gaze is always through the lenses of language, gender, social, class, race, and ethnicity. There is no objective observation, only observations socially situated in the worlds of – and between – the observer and the observed' (p.21). To carry this argument further, the inter-subjectivity between the researcher and the researched is collectively created and mediated both by the researcher and the researched (ibid). This dyadic collaboration between the researcher and the researched to account for one's knowledge about the world has become common practice in this post-modern and post-structural era. As Guba and Lincoln (2005) put it,

Unfettered from the pursuit of transcendental scientific truth, inquirers are now free to resituate themselves within texts, to reconstruct their relationship with research participants in less constricted fashions, and to create re-presentations that grapple openly with problems of inscription... (p.204)

In accordance with this line of argument, an implication of this approach is that the possibility of employing positivism is excluded, as the positivist paradigm does not allow mediation from both the researcher and the researched in the process of research (Denzin, 1997). Positivism aims to provide scientific objectivism and generalization of research findings (Denzin and Lincoln, 2005), whereas cultural studies place emphasis on contextualisation (Saukko, 2005) and the interpretation of purposeful human acts (Denzin

and Lincoln, 2005). Furthermore, cultural studies advocate the involvement of research participants in a research project in 'capturing or constructing their reality as co-worker' (p.348).

Because I was interested in exploring in depth the cultural practices of *Yugioh* and the literacy development of British Chinese and American Chinese children, I was offered two apparent epistemological positions: either an insider or an outsider perspective (Patton, 2002), and I could take either one of these participatory positions to explore the discursive practices of my research participants. I needed to explore several epistemological questions before I initiated the research design such as: How is a culture defined and on what grounds? Should the research focus be placed on the observation of the cultural behaviour of my research participants, or on their conceptualisation of sociocultural practices with popular culture texts? How should my knowledge of their sociocultural practices with *Yugioh* texts be obtained: by my subjective interpretation or with collaborative construction from my research participants, or both? By whose voice should the narrative be told, by my research participants, me, or both? How much will my academic, social, cultural, and political backgrounds mediate the understanding of the social phenomenon in question? According to Denzin and Lincoln (2005), behind the qualitative research process stands 'the personal biography of the researcher, who speaks from a particular class, gender, racial, cultural, and ethnic community perspective' (p.21). Indeed, this was part of my rationale for including my own personal biography in Chapter One of this thesis.

Schwandt (2000, p.193) in his identification of features of interpretivism indicates, 'in order to understand the intersubjective meaning of human action, the inquirer may have to, as a methodological requirement, participate in the life worlds of others'. This notion of participation in the life worlds of others has led me to embark on participating in the social

life of the researched. By approaching the social domain of my researched participants, mainly children, my understanding of their culture is subject to the structure of the social institutions in which these children are situated and their agency. These children are from families of Chinese ancestry, but their ethnicity, although imposing some influences on their agency, cannot account for their capacity in their social practices. Kincheloe & McLaren (2005) point out that a reductionistic view of structure is misleading to interpret human agency.

The intent of a usable social or educational research is subverted in the reductionistic context, as human agency is erased by "the laws" of society. Structures do not simply "exist" as objective entities whose influence can be predicted or "not exist" with no influence over the cosmos of human affairs (p.320).

Kincheloe & McLaren's argument of human agency shows how human agency and structure is interwoven and cannot be simply reduced to a causal relationship.

From my initial interactions with the research participants, I witnessed how the cultural practices of the British Chinese and American Chinese children were mediated by signifying cultural tools such as language, symbols, artefacts, and social discursive practices. For example, the boys often played and traded *Yugioh* monster cards with their friends in Chinese school during break time. The meaning of monster cards changed in relation to how the boys engaged the cards in their social play. In a competitive card duel, the boys interpreted the meaning of monster cards by the power level of the monster. Similarly, in the context of card trading, the meaning of monster cards was a value that the children had to calculate in their minds before they traded. By the signifying process, the meaning of the cultural tools as well as their culture did not hold static (Lankshear and McLaren, 1993).

Lankshear and McLaren state that,

Meanings and the discourses through which they are inscribed—whether in research, child rearing, education, or whatever site of human practice—are never givens...they are neither ontologically nor epistemologically prior to human living in the sense of

being natural or transcendent; nor are they fixed. Indeed, they are always in principle, and typically in practice, contested, since competing discourses are always potentially or actually in operation (1993, p.12).

To fully illuminate the character of the children's popular cultural practices is problematic, as the term 'popular culture' is an ideological concept that 'is always in process' (Fiske, 1989b, p.3). By this token, the British and American Chinese children's sociocultural practices of *Yugioh* may appear to be fragmented and partial. This 'historical and cultural contingency' is defined by Lankshear and McLaren (1993) as follows,

What individual and collective human subjectivities reflect are the dynamics and process of discursive production...given the contingent facts of discursive production within a particular space and time, there is that degree of historical determination of human subjectivity. But that determination is, ultimately, a contingent matter (p.12).

This research does not aim to present reality nor does it assume generalization of the research findings. Instead, the founding principle of the research is to establish a contextual and longitudinal engagement on the part of the researcher, with the use of different research tools, to investigate the British and American Chinese children's appropriation of *Yugioh* texts and the relevant meanings ascribed to the texts in the children's everyday life contexts.

3.3 Methodology

The range of inquiry strategies for exploring the knowledge of bilingual children's popular culture and literacy practices appears to be wide, including media ethnography (Seiter, 1999), case studies (Stake, 2005), critical ethnography (Madison, 2005), and grounded theory (Glaser and Strauss, 1967). Literacy researchers such as Scribner and Cole (1981), Shirley Brice Heath (1983), and Brian Street (1984) have all adopted ethnographic methodology to study the literacy practices of their research participants, and the ways in which they integrate texts into their everyday lives. The nature of ethnography requires

longitudinal participation in the life of the observed, as Hammersley and Atkinson (1983) point out:

The ethnographer participates, overtly or covertly, in people's daily lives for an extended period of time, watching what happens, listening to what is said, asking questions; in fact collecting whatever data are available to throw light on the issues with which he or she is concerned (p.2).

If ethnography is adopted for the purpose of this research, participating in all ranges of the British and American Chinese children's lives will be problematic, given that children are often perceived as a vulnerable social group that needs to be protected. Research with children not only involves ethical issues but may also engage different levels of participation from 'gatekeepers' such as parents, teachers and school managers (Kodish, 2005). Indeed, one limitation of ethnography is that 'methods of data collection are treated as secondary to strategies of participation in the field under study, the interpretation of data and, above all, styles of writing and the question of authority and authorship in the presentation of results' (Hammersley and Atkinson, 1983, p.148).

Considering the limited resources, the limitations of ethnography, and the cross-cultural nature of this research, I have employed grounded theory, for two reasons. First, grounded theory is suitable for the novice researcher who assumes little knowledge but aims to construct a theoretical understanding of the social phenomenon under study (Strauss and Corbin, 1998). Second, grounded theory does not aim for description accuracy but to conceptualise what is going on by using empirical data. In the following, I will describe the implementation of grounded theory and use it as a guideline to structure the research design.

3.3.1 The Overview of Grounded Theory

Glaser and Strauss (1967, p.3) provide an initial definition of grounded theory. Within a qualitative research approach, grounded theory is defined by Glaser and Strauss (1967) as 'the discovery of theory from data' (p.1), and the research design is thus juxtaposed with the data collection and analysis. Data collection and analysis occurs constantly throughout the state of forming a theoretical understanding of a social phenomenon, and can inform the researchers what to do with their research, for example, what to explore, who to interview and where to find the data. The informative function of data collection and analysis prepares the researcher to conduct 'theoretical sampling' (ibid, p.45) to refine the emerging concept arising from the previous data analysis. Additionally, the iterative process of data collection and analysis will not stop until 'data saturation' (ibid. p.73) is reached. An alternative to looking at theoretical sampling is to improve 'thick interpretation' (Geertz, 1973) of the data. In this sense, multiple research tools are employed to testify on the dimension of data in depth, and the credibility of the research can therefore be manifested (Flick, 2002, p.227).

Ryan and Bernard (2000) state that grounded theory is 'an iterative process by which the analyst becomes more and more grounded in the data and develops increasingly richer concepts and models of how the phenomenon being studied really works' (p.783). Grounded theory is also based on symbolic interactionism (Glaser and Strauss, 1967), in which the researcher seeks to determine the symbolic meanings which artefacts, clothing, gestures and words have for groups of people in their social discourse. Unlike other qualitative research, which employs non-probability sampling techniques such as convenience sampling (Patton, 2002) and snow-ball sampling (Patton, 2002), grounded theory uses theoretical sampling to structure the character and the size of the sample. The range of theoretical sampling is dependent on whether the emerging theory is sufficient to

answer the social phenomenon in question. Glaser and Strauss (1967) define theoretical sampling as

the process of data collection for generating theory whereby the analyst jointly collects, codes, and analyses his data and decides which data to collect next and where to find them, in order to develop his theory as it emerges. This process of data collection is controlled by the emerging theory whether substantive or formal (p. 45).

Thus, grounded theory has been described as 'the discovery of theory from data systematically obtained from social theoretical sampling research' (Glaser and Strauss, 1967, p.2). This concept is central to the design of this research and underlies the collection of multiple data sources.

According to Glaser and Strauss (1967), theories are either deduced from logical assumptions or generated from observation. Although grounded theory was initially founded by Glaser and Strauss (*ibid.*), each has since developed his own version of grounded theory and refuted the legitimacy of the other's model. Glaser (1992) argues that theory derived from the data should then be hypothesis tested, which has led to his version of grounded theory being seen as having a positivist (quantitative) base. In contrast, Strauss, given his sociology background and the influence of Corbin (1998), has devised a constructive grounded theory, which suggests that a theory should aim to reflect the constructive meaning between the researcher and the researched, and the credibility of the theory is not grounded on hypothesis testing. For the purpose of this research, I have employed Strauss and Corbin's version of grounded theory, given that the nature of hypothesis testing is based on objectivism and contradicts the principle of qualitative research. Qualitative research is not aimed at providing universal truth and generalisation as objectivism, neither can the bilingual children of Chinese ancestry's appropriation and experiences with *Yugioh* texts be quantified and replicated elsewhere.

Grounded theory has the researcher making little reference to literature (Glaser 1992; Strauss and Corbin, 1998). By so doing, the researchers can keep an open attitude towards the research inquiry rather than contaminating the data with their professional bias. Grounded theory adheres to the concept that 'data collection is data analysis' (Glaser and Strauss, 1967, Strauss and Corbin, 1998). New concepts derived from the data collection are constantly analysed and reflected back into the data collection process. In this sense, my understanding of the sociocultural practices of *Yugioh* by the British and American Chinese children is constantly guided by the 'iterative process of data collection and analysis' (Glaser and Strauss, 1967). This process for data collection and review suits my initial situation as a novice qualitative researcher and allows me to refine the research inquiry in relation to the data derived.

To devise a complete research design before implementation is in conflict with the principle of grounded theory. Research questions and design are instead constantly redefined as more data is collected and analysed (Strauss and Corbin, 1990), until data saturation is reached (Glaser and Strauss, 1967). This means the design of the research plan proceeds in juxtaposition with data analysis. In the following section, I will detail the implementation of stepwise grounded theory. The reason for the implementation to be stepwise is that each step of implementation is guided and informed by theoretical sampling. There is no prescribed order given to each step of implementation for this study, given that research implementation is guided by empirical data rather than by established theory. Thus, all procedures involved in carrying out this study not only are interrelated but also are used to refine and sharpen the understanding of the British and American Chinese children's negotiation of *Yugioh* texts in their bilingual environments.

3.3.2 Initial Implementation of Grounded Theory

Prior to placing my research focus on the cultural practices with *Yugioh* texts of the bilingual children of Chinese ancestry, I pilot tested the social phenomenon of the British Chinese children's sociocultural practices by immersing myself in the Chinese literacy education of the children in the local Chinese school in Nottinghamshire, UK. This meant an ethnographic observation of the children was initially planned. Yet, whom to observe, what to observe and how to observe still remained fairly vague at the preliminary phase of this research. Given that the observation was conducted with open possibilities, this meant the initial focus of observation was to investigate what games the children were playing, what their social discourse was about, and how they interacted with their social peers and contexts. In order to obtain a general understanding of the children's sociocultural practices with popular culture texts, I tried out my hunches and inquiries on the data I observed. However, this did not mean I put aside my theoretical background as a cultural researcher.

My initial subjectivity as a cultural researcher led me to draw on the literature of cultural studies, with a focus on ethnographic media consumption (Seiter, 1999) in a variety of contexts. This approach directed me to explore the meaning of media consumption in the everyday life of the research participants under study. Therefore, when I embarked on my field research in the local community Chinese schools in Nottinghamshire, UK, I paid particular attention to the dimensions of context, agency, meaning attributed to the media used, media use patterns, and behaviour. This contributed to the creation of a survey to study media-use patterns among Chinese immigrant families. The implementation of this survey and the analysis will be represented in Chapter Four. At the time I was immersed in the literature of cultural reception analysis such as the research work of Morley (1980), Ang (1985), Buckingham (1993) and Seiter (1991; 1999), and decided to investigate British and American children's meaning-making of popular culture texts in the domains of their

everyday life. However, this approach had its limitations as it could not account for the literacy and numeracy development which my research participants had demonstrated during the early phase of my field observation. This dilemma, although unanticipated, is characteristic of 'theoretical sampling' in grounded theory (Strauss and Corbin, 1998). Moreover, it contributed to the employment of New Literacy Studies to account for the literacy practices of the children under study.

3.3.3 Ethnographic Observation

As the investigation of children's popular culture practice and their appropriation of cultural texts is central to this study, it requires the investment of participant observation (Tedlock, 2000) on the part of the researcher. This entails immersing oneself in the native culture under study and learning the rules and conventions embedded in the culture so that the researcher can interpret the partiality of culture (ibid.) from the 'emic' perspective (Pike, 1967, see Schroder et al, 2003, p.81) of an insider, so that the culture under observation can be authentically represented as it is. Participant observation as Tedlock (2000) states is:

originally forged as a method in the study of small, relatively homogeneous societies. [researchers]...lived in a society for an extended period of time, learned the local language, participated in daily life and steadily observed... [it] implies simultaneous emotional involvement and objective detachment... (p.465).

Cultural practice can be translated as the shared interpretation and understanding of a familiar act among a group. It can also be used to distinguish one group from another and mark one's identity (Said, 1978; Hall, 1992). Cultural practice is embedded in daily life and is taken for granted by the native. To explore the shared interpretation and understanding requires an investment of effort and involvement on the part of the researcher. Such an approach rests on the premise that many aspects of cultural practices are nonverbal. The hidden norms shared in a group cannot be easily observed or understood without conforming to the cultural norms of the group or taking the 'native' perspective.

Furthermore, the group norms and ways of practising culture vary with the context and participants. This subtle difference cannot be easily detected without a lengthy participatory observation on the part of the researcher. In the case of the British and American Chinese children, they practised their popular culture with their family members and school and community friends in their daily context. These multiple domains necessitated a combination of research tools in addition to participant observation to explore their cultural activities in different contexts.

The purpose of the ethnographic observation of the British and American Chinese children's cultural practices with popular cultural texts was to obtain a general sense of how the children practise their culture in the domain of community Chinese school. Within the context of local community Chinese school, the children's subjectivity and agency in their social play was mediated by the members within the community school (Lave and Wenger, 1991), the context, school culture and Chinese literacy education. As the observation of the children's sociocultural practice was embedded in the context of Chinese school and Chinese lessons, it meant that the investigation of the physical environment, school culture, teachers, parents, pupils and Chinese lessons was of importance to the field observation. Each of these elements contributed to the configuration of a certain school context and affected the way the popular culture was practised.

The following section will, first and foremost, illustrate the context of community Chinese school and the members within the community school. Second, in order to narrate the context of the ethnographic study, I had to obtain a narrating position. This position was mediated by the social connection (*guanxi*³) between the researched and the researcher and affected how this study was implemented.

³ *Guanxi* refers to connections and is embedded in the Confucian philosophy and moral code (Fock and Woo, 1998 cited in Leung and Wong, 2001), which exerts a great influence on Chinese culture.

3.3.3.1 Participants and Context

This cross-cultural research aims to investigate the British and American Chinese children's negotiation of popular cultural texts. There are two aspects to look at in this research: social context and people. It is understood that children's popular culture practice is a socially discursive practice (Gee, 2002) and, thus, the preliminary research focus is to explore the children's sociocultural activities. Furthermore, this leads to an investigation of whom the children play with, as well as how and where their social activities take place. Given that Chinese community school is a fairly omnipresent cultural routine for the children during their weekend, Chinese community school seems to be a feasible choice to begin my field research.

Qualitative researchers tend to rely on convenience sampling (Patton, 2002), as this non-probability method is often used during preliminary research attempts to gain a gross estimate of the results, without incurring the cost or time required to select a random sample. Since I am a PhD student in the University of Nottingham, I approached the local community schools in the nearby neighbourhood of Nottinghamshire. Similarly, I am a local resident of Salt Lake County, Utah, so I was able to obtain community resources to assist me in identifying participants in schools in the United States for this cross-cultural study.

Two local community Chinese schools in Nottinghamshire, UK, and another two in Salt Lake City, Utah, USA, participated in my ethnographic observation of the children's practices of popular media culture. They are Schools B and E in Nottinghamshire, U.K, and Schools H and O in Salt Lake City, Utah, USA, respectively (see Table 3.1). Each school is further organised into different media of communication, which reflects the heterogeneous character embedded in ethnic Chinese diaspora.

Table 3.1 Context of Study in the UK vs. the USA

	Nottinghamshire, UK (school location)	Salt Lake City Utah, USA (school location)
Mandarin	School B (at a local community centre)	School O (in a Christian church)
Cantonese	School E (Within a local primary school)	School H (at a local community centre)

Neither Nottinghamshire nor Salt Lake City, unlike major cosmopolitan cities in the UK and the USA, has a salient Chinese landmark such as a Chinatown. This suggests that a local ethnic organisation such as community Chinese school emerges to connect the ethnic Chinese families and community. As a Chinese school is normally run on a community basis, it means that the information concerning the school is regionally oriented and shared by the interest groups in the community. In this sense, their information is not listed publicly except in the community media if there are any. In order to find Chinese schools in the local area, I undertook an Internet search. The rationale for undertaking an Internet search of community Chinese school in Nottinghamshire was that the Internet traversed the boundary of community. This meant that the Internet was an effective access to probe regional information at little cost. School B was the only Chinese school listed in Nottinghamshire on the Internet at the time. I later located and contacted School E.

My ethnographic observation started with School B. Following a letter from my academic supervisor, and the consent of the head teacher of the school, my field observation began

with the youngest class in this school, in October, 2002. This introduction letter explained my bona-fide affiliation with an academic institution, the University of Nottingham in the UK. In addition, it stated the purpose of my PhD field research and explained the professional guidance from my academic supervisor. This letter of introduction served as a means to establish the connection between the community Chinese school and myself, and served as validation to begin a relationship with my research participants.

A. School B, UK

School B rented the site of a local community centre to organise the operation of the school. Because of the limited resources of the community, parents in this school volunteered to set up the table and chairs for the class and arrange field trips.

This Chinese school was open every Sunday from 10:30 am to 12:30 pm and my field observation had to fit into the school hours and the agenda of the school. This school was founded by a group of Chinese scholars, most of whom were studying for a research degree or were exchange scholars at the University of Nottingham. Internet communication was commonplace among these scholars and between the school and the parents. The parents in the school were mainly from China and were professionals from various disciplines.

Many Mainland Chinese immigrant families only had one child, perhaps partly as a result of far-reaching influence of the one-child policy in China in the 1980s. Despite the fact that the one-child policy did not apply to them, provided their children were foreign born, they could not afford to have a second child as there were no carers in the house to baby-sit the children whilst both parents were at work.

The medium of communication in this school was Mandarin Chinese. There were four classes running in this school and they were separated by the level of Chinese proficiency,

irrespective of age. As British Chinese children aged from six to twelve was one cohort of research participants I wanted to study, this meant I had to sit in a class with pupils in this age group. The head teacher assigned me to the youngest class because this class was the largest and required additional in-class assistance. This gave me an initial identity, as a teaching assistant, to conduct my field observation with British Chinese children.

In this observed class, most of the children were the first generation of British Chinese born in England. The children's knowledge of Mandarin Chinese was very limited, as their parents with advanced English proficiency were accustomed to using English to communicate with them.

The Impact of the Three Children

My early observation of three children in School B was to have a significant impact on my research design. These three children caused me to think about the language variety embedded in the Chinese language, and the degree of bilingual contexts encountered by British Chinese families. Cantonese was the dominant language in overseas Chinese communities and symbolized the immigration history of early Chinese expatriates in Britain. I realised that my observation in School B could not account for British Chinese children born in Cantonese-speaking families unless I aimed to conduct a case study with Mandarin-speaking families as well. To acknowledge the potential influences of language variety, I have included a Cantonese community school, School E, due to the inspiration of the three children.

(1) Andy, Maggie and Frank

The three influential children to the research design of this study were Andy (aged 9), Maggie (aged 7) and Frank (aged 5). Andy always carried a bag with School E logo. Maggie, speaking Cantonese, Mandarin, and English, was often confused by the simplified Chinese characters in the class. Frank did not speak Chinese at all and was clearly anxious about Chinese language learning. As School B did not implement a dress code, it was difficult to identify that there was a Chinese school open and based in a local community centre. Andy spoke mainly Cantonese at home, and Maggie was always confused about her teacher's Chinese writing because she attended two schools; one was School B and the other was School E. The two schools adopted different systems of Chinese writing, school B with simplified Chinese characters and school E with traditional Chinese characters.

Maggie attended two schools in a row on Sunday, School B from 10:30 a.m. to 12:30 p.m., and School E from 2:00 p.m. to 4:00 p.m. Andy, who also attended School B and School E, had learned Chinese for years and developed language awareness of both Cantonese and Mandarin. By contrast, Maggie was confused with the different ways of Chinese language writing because she did not know that there were two different systems. Her parents were from Guangdong province in China, a diglossia region where Mandarin was the high variety and Cantonese the low variety. They wished their daughter to be as competent in Cantonese and Mandarin as everybody else back in their hometown. Since Cantonese was the home language, they were hoping that she would acquire Mandarin Chinese from School B. Frank was from a Cantonese-speaking family originating from Southeast Asia and spoke only English. Both of his parents were emigrants to Britain as young people and spoke near-native English. His parents' fluency in English led Frank to rely on English to communicate.

These three British Chinese children came from three different families and with different home language practices. This marked difference led me to contact School E for possible research participation.

(2) Approach (es) to Contacting School E

On Andy's school bag and school workbook, there was no contact number or address for School E. Neither were the principal and the teaching staff at School B aware of the existence of School E. I then asked Andy for the information. As Andy had no idea where his Cantonese school (School E) was or the contact phone number or address, I asked Frank's mother for information. She told me where the school was roughly located but she had no contact number for the school. She provided me with the name of the primary school which School E rented as a site for organising the Chinese school. I searched the Web site of the primary school but found no contact information for the Chinese school. I finally typed in the name of School E but no result was generated. This explained why my initial attempt to locate local Chinese schools in Nottinghamshire region failed and no result was generated except School B.

The reason for detailing my efforts to locate the information about School E is to demonstrate that this school recruited its pupils by word of mouth. Parents in this school had limited knowledge of Internet technology and the majority of them worked in the Chinese restaurant business and had lived in Britain for more than twenty or thirty years.

B. School E, UK

School E was finally reached through a contact number left on a BBC Web site (http://www.bbc.co.uk/nottingham/spotlight/2001_chinesenewyear/events.shtml, accessed 28/10/02). On this Web site, it reported a Chinese New Year celebration organised by the

East of England Chinese Association, and the contact number was for ticket purchases for the New Year show.

School E was affiliated with the East of England Chinese Association. In overseas Chinese communities, it is not uncommon for local Chinese societies to sponsor or organise community Chinese schools. The programme agenda for the celebration was often planned by the head teacher in School E. The New Year celebration organised by the association was well-known in local Hong Kong Chinese communities and had attracted public attention. BBC Nottingham reported this event regularly and treated Chinese New Year celebrations organised by the East of England Chinese Association as a cultural landmark in the local news.

School E had operated for more than twenty years in the Nottingham region so it had a large number of pupils and alumni in the local community. In contrast, School B was founded in the late 1990s and the majority of the parents in the school were short-term exchange scholars from China rather than British Chinese. Thus, British Chinese parents in School B could not organise the same scale of New Year celebration as their Cantonese counterparts. This could explain why BBC Nottingham had sent a news crew to interview the children of School E in 2003 rather than School B to gather their views of Chinese New Year during the course of my field observation.

School E relied on a cultural and conventional way of recruiting its pupils: word of mouth. As this school had run for nearly three decades, some of the pupils' parents attended the school in their youth. Cantonese families were typically extended families and had many close relatives living nearby. Therefore, in School E there were on average two to three children from the same family attending the school and they were often in the same class as their cousins.

School E had a long-established system of school curricula and organisation. There were nine levels of Cantonese Chinese classes in addition to two levels of Mandarin Chinese classes. Each class normally consisted of fifteen to twenty pupils. In addition to the regular Chinese language lessons, the school provided three extra-curricular classes: drawing and martial arts classes for the pupils and a patchwork class for their parents.

These extracurricular classes were organised from 12:45 p.m. to 1:45 p.m. and were prior to the normal Chinese language lessons. At 1:45 p.m., it was the assembly time in the hall for the entire population of pupils in this school. The head teacher announced the school agenda of the week for the teachers and the pupils. At two o'clock, each class was led by their teacher to their designated classroom for the language lesson. Parallel with the Chinese language lesson was another class, a martial arts class for the parents. The extra-curricular classes were offered to the pupils and their parents free of charge as long as the pupils enrolled in the regular Chinese language lesson. As the parents still kept the Chinese restaurant business open on Sunday, they had limited time to travel between home and the school. Thus, they often stayed in the martial arts and patchwork classes and waited for their children to finish their Chinese class.

In School E, I was led to a primary school level one Cantonese class, with pupils aged seven and eight years old. As School E was based in a local primary school, the seating arrangement in the class remained the way it was. Groups of four to five pupils were sitting at each round table.

C. Context of Chinese Language Learning

Chinese language lessons aimed to familiarise pupils with Chinese characters and teach them how to read and write. Teachers wrote the new words and phrases to be learned and had the pupils copy them down in their workbooks. Pronunciation and meaning of the

words was demonstrated so that pupils could rehearse pronunciation and be able to read it in group reading. At the end of each lesson, teachers had to assign homework for the Chinese lesson. Homework in the context of community Chinese school served two purposes. First, it meant that teachers had done their teaching so that they could assign homework for the pupils to practise at home. Second, it meant that pupils had actually absorbed the knowledge so that they could demonstrate their literacy achievement in their homework. Parents often actively asked their children and the teacher for the homework of the week and about their children's performance in Chinese school, apart from the mid-term and final exam.

Teachers in School E closely followed the curriculum designed by the school. They often had to finish a designated lesson in a week and begin a new unit the following week. Also, heavy word load such as teaching new phrases, the meanings, the pronunciations, ways to write the characters, and doing group reading and assigning homework was not uncommon for the teachers. In order to meet the demand placed upon the teachers, the teachers had to reduce the number of tasks that the pupils could engage in to improve their literacy learning. As a result, pupils either became 'bored' or 'hated' Chinese learning (See Section 5.1.3.A).

In School B, by contrast, Amy, the teacher of the younger class that I observed, designed her own class syllabus and materials. Amy perceived that the designated textbook for the class was beyond the understanding of the young language learners. As a postgraduate ELT student at University of Nottingham then, she had incorporated her professional knowledge into her Chinese lesson. Despite having teaching materials customised to motivate the younger language learners, some of them still found Chinese lessons 'boring'. As Zoe explained, 'One thing I don't like the school...when you read, you write them and then you write them and read them and read them and writing them and write and read...' Further

information regarding the pupils' experience with Chinese literacy in School B can be found in Section 5.1.3.B.

In parallel to the two Chinese schools in the UK, another two local schools in Salt Lake City, Utah, USA took part in this research. They were School O and School H.

D. School O, USA

School O was a Mandarin school, renting the space of a Christian church for the school operation. Like School B in the UK, School O was founded by a group of Chinese scholars from China. Most of the parents in the school were immigrants to the United States. Although School O was based in a Christian church, it had the physical layout of a normal elementary school, except the classroom decoration demonstrated a salient Christianity.

This Christian church had an affiliated private church school organised from the elementary school to the high school level. As the church school was open from Monday to Friday, and Sunday school was for the children of church members, School O had to arrange Chinese language lessons on Saturday. When Chinese school was in session, minor adjustments were made to accommodate a large-size class, given that each classroom was fairly small in size.

The normal Chinese class in School O was from 10:30 a.m. to 12:30 p.m. on Saturday. However, prior to normal school hours, two classes were organised from 9:00 a.m. to 10:30 a.m. One was for an adult Chinese class and the other was for Scholarly Aptitude Test (SAT) math preparation. Many teachers in this school had been in the educational discipline in China and they were hired because of this qualification. Another characteristic of the teachers was that they were either the church members or the parents of the pupils. This meant the social capital within this community was affiliated with the Christian church.

School O opened for three semesters in a year: fall, spring and summer. It charged seventy dollars for tuition for each semester. School O relied heavily on community donations to supplement the tuition fee. With respect to the recruitment of prospective students, Chinese language media within the community were used. *Eastern Trends* was a free community paper and popular with the local community. School O used this ethnic media to advertise and recruit prospective students. In addition to *Eastern Trends*, word of mouth was another alternative commonly used by the school as well as the local Chinese community (see Section 5.2.3).

The permission to observe in School O was gained through connections. I pleaded with the priest of the church for academic support, and with his referral to the head of the Chinese school, I was finally able to begin my observation in the school in January, 2004.

E. School H, USA

School H was founded by a few Vietnamese Chinese parents twenty-six years earlier. The initial goal of establishing this school was to provide a Chinese learning place for their offspring. The founder of School H is a grandfather himself now but is still an active member in the school and in the local Vietnamese Chinese community.

Vietnamese Chinese in Salt Lake City shared a common multilingual background. They were fluent in Cantonese, Mandarin and Vietnamese, with some also fluent in Hakka, Teochew, or Southern-Min. This linguistic character was incorporated in the school literacy education. Cantonese remained as the primary medium of communication whilst Mandarin Chinese was the language subject to be learned. Teachers in School H had to switch language between Cantonese, Mandarin and Vietnamese, depending on their interlocutors in

the class. The orientation to multilingual language was to reflect the multilingual family background of the pupils.

School H, like School B, was based in a local community centre. School H was open from 3:30 p.m. to 5:30 p.m. on Sunday, two semesters in a year. School H recruited pupils mainly from Vietnamese Chinese families. As the community centre was open to the public for community activities, School H had to accommodate to the physical layout of the centre, setting up tables, chairs and lecture boards for the class each week. In School H, volunteer parents were rotated to help with the school operation with such duties as ringing the bell, preparing water and cookies for the break time, and arranging the classroom.

Apart from the tuition, the operation of School H was supported by the fund-raising of the head teacher. His good connections with the local Vietnamese Chinese community and the local Chinese entrepreneurs alleviated the financial stress which a typical community language school would face in Salt Lake City. Unlike School B and School E sponsored by the British Council, local Chinese schools in Salt Lake City received no governmental sponsorship. This suggests a different attitude between the UK and the USA towards heritage language education, and indicates how language policy in America is oriented towards English-only education for the children of minority groups (Reagan, 2005). Given that the American Chinese children are acculturated to English-only education, they may leave behind their own language, culture and ethnic identity in the process of acculturation (see Figure 5.34 for Lina's interview). For this reason, the American Chinese families tended to list 'maintain ethnic identity' as their primary reason of Chinese literacy education for their children (see Section 4.5.3).

School H was my husband's old Chinese school and the head teacher was a close friend of my husband's family. Through this connection, School H participated in this research study.

As I had to continue my field observation in the UK, I recruited my husband as a co-researcher and trained him to undertake field observation in the United States while I was away. I constantly reviewed his observation and used it as a reference when I returned to America to continue my field observation there. Although my field observation in the USA was mingled with his observation, this arrangement was not to miss any cultural activities that might deem to be significant to this study. Because my American co-researcher concentrated on the aspect of children's cultural activities, his weekly field-notes (see following section) were more about what children did and talked about in school rather than Chinese learning and the interaction between the teacher and the pupil.

The initial symmetric design of two schools in the UK and two schools in the USA aimed to characterise the similarity and the contrast among the Chinese children in the UK and the USA. The entry to the field observation of each Chinese school was obtained through different *guanxi* (connection or relationship). In the UK, the *guanxi* was professionally maintained as the participating schools acknowledged that this PhD study had a genuine purpose and was academically related. By contrast, in the USA, the connection was established in a different manner, by referral. This referral relationship suggested a weak foundation in the relationship. In what follows, I will illustrate how this research is implemented, and identify the implications of the withdrawal of School O from this study.

F. Field Observation in the USA

As this research was a cross-cultural study, it required a co-researcher to collaborate and engage in different phases of data collection. Part of field observation in the USA was conducted collaboratively by my American co-researcher. This collaboration was to ensure that field observation was consistent and symmetrical in relation to the framework adopted in the UK. This design was to arrange a comparable ground so that the British Chinese and American Chinese children could be compared. In addition, the field notes and feedback of

the co-researcher were constantly reviewed in weekly e-mail correspondence. Table 3.2 shows an excerpt of a weekly correspondence from my American co-researcher.

Table 3.2 Field-notes from my American co-researcher

School O

Date: February 28, 2004

Time: 10:30am – 12:30am

Scott's Class

Daniel and Kristine turn in their media diary today. Kristine says this is the first time her parents like her to watch TV, because, she needs to write a report for her English class.

Later on while Steve is explaining the story from the textbook, he asks to see if anyone is watching The Monkey King at home. It's playing on CCTV channel now everyday at 11a.m. Everyone says they do watch it at home except Jennifer. Because, Jennifer doesn't not have any Chinese cable at home.

Kristine says the monkey from the Monkey show looks like the monkey in the Jackie Chan Adventure. They both have the same power and weapon.

School O

Date: February 28, 2004

Time: 10:30am – 12:30am

Teacher: Rita

Here are some reasons why the kids like Yu-Gi-Go trading cards so much.

1. *You know the effect by seeing if it is dark brown.*
2. *You know if it is fusion if the card is purple.*
3. *The card is magic if it is green*
4. *It is a trap card if it is purple*
5. *We play by the rulebook. You can get them at Wal-mart, Toy-R-Us, or any supermarkets.*

Next are some of the rare and special Yu-Gi-Go cards, which you can only get them in the package if you are lucky.

1. *The Wing dragon of Ra*
2. *The Right leg of the forbidden one*
3. *The Left leg of the forbidden one*
4. *The Right arm of the forbidden one*
5. *The Left arm of the forbidden one*
6. *Exordia the Forbidden one*
7. *Perfectly Ultimate great moth*
8. *Blue eyes weight*
9. *Relinquish*
10. *Thousand eye Restrict*
11. *Obelisk the Tormenter*
12. *Red eyes Black metal dragon*
13. *Park Magician*
14. *Sword of the Revealing highs*
15. *Red eyes B. shell dragon*
16. *Salamander*
17. *Beta the magnet worrier*
18. *Paladin of the white Dragon*

School H

Date: February 29, 2004

Time: 3:30pm-5: 30 pm

Teacher: Ruth

I don't have anything today for this school except a note from Ester. She gives me a note today while I was talking to her in the classroom. I don't know if I should type it here for you or not. She just gives me the details of what she is doing on Sat. and Sun. Let me know if you want this.

As the field observation in America was conducted one year after that with British Chinese children, this implied that the pace of field observation with the American Chinese children had to be expedited to reduce the influence of the time factor on the children's appropriation of popular culture texts. The expedition of field observation was made by observing two classes in a regular school visit on Sundays in School H. The choice of the classes to be observed was to comply with the criteria applied to the British context. As each Chinese lesson lasted for two hours, the first hour was with one class and the second hour was with another class.

3.3.3.2 Field Observation of the Children's Sociocultural Practices

Ethnographic observation was the initial phase of data collection. It was arranged in accordance with the school calendar and subject to the agenda of the class observed. The following table depicted the time observed for each class in each school in the UK and in the USA.

Table 3.3 Observation Agenda with Community Chinese Schools

	UK	USA
October 2002 to June 2003	<p>School B (10:30 a.m.-12:30 p.m. Sundays) The youngest class in the school. This class consisted of 10 to 15 pupils, aged 5 to 11, at the beginning level of Mandarin lessons.</p> <p>School E (2:00 p.m. to 4:00 p.m. Sundays) Elementary level one for Cantonese lesson. This class consisted of 16 to 20 pupils, aged 7 to 8.</p>	<p>Observation in USA did not begin until December of 2003.</p>
Sept. 2003 to Feb. 2004	<p>School B Same class as the previous year because rest of the pupils in other classes are mostly non-British Chinese.</p> <p>School E Elementary level four Cantonese lesson. This class consisted of 10 to 15 pupils, aged 10 to 13</p>	<p>December 2003 to May 2004</p> <p>School H (3:30 p.m. to 5:30 p.m. Sundays) Two classes were observed. First class (Advanced Mandarin) was observed from 3:30 p.m. to 4:30 p.m. and the second class (Intermediate Mandarin) from 4:45 p.m. to 5:30 p.m. Pupils in this first class were aged from 9 to 12 and those in the second class were 6 to 16 years old. Each class consisted of 15 to 20 pupils</p>

The initial aim for this ethnographic observation was to obtain a general picture of the British and American Chinese children’s sociocultural practices with popular culture texts in community Chinese schools. This initial aim then developed into more focused research about *Yugioh* texts, when the children extensively appropriated *Yugioh* texts in their cultural practices. The social phenomenon of *Yugioh* emerged as a category throughout the course of the ethnographic observation.

(A) Yugioh

Figure 3.1 *Yugioh*

Yugioh was introduced as a Japanese comic book in 1996 before becoming an animated TV show in September, 2000 on the *WB Kids* network in the USA. *Yu-Gi-Oh*, translated from the Chinese characters '遊-戲-王' (see the words behind Yu-Gi-Oh in Figure 3.1), literally means Game King. Yugi is a fictional character and is talented at playing monster card games. The central character of *Yugioh* is a seemingly normal boy called Yugi Moto (in the foreground of Figure 3.1), who gained extraordinary powers at playing card games after

completing a strange puzzle that his grandfather gave him as a gift.

In the story, Yugi and his friends share a love for the newest card game fad, Duel Monsters, and the story follows their adventures through the duellist kingdom card tournament. The real prize for Yugi, though, is to retrieve his grandpa's soul back from Pegasus, the evil creator of the duel monster. Helping him out is a mysterious spirit that is locked away in his millennium puzzle. In the course of their monster card game adventure, Yugi and his strongest opponent, Kaiba, finally come to realize that five thousand years ago, ancient Egyptian Pharaohs used to play a similar game that could magically predict the future. However, in those times the monsters were all real. In present times, the game has been revived in the form of playing cards and the monsters can only be activated during the course of the game.

The game of duel monsters requires opponents to bring a deck of forty cards to the battlefield. Each player lays five monster cards on the table, either in attack or defence mode. They then try to increase their power through the use of 'magic' and 'trap' cards. The object of the game is to defeat enough of your opponent's monsters to reduce their life points down to zero. The excitement of *Yugioh* is that a player can activate and control the monsters, according to the game rules, by placing monster cards (Figure 3.2) on the battlefield. In addition, *Yugioh* engages a player into different discursive practices, which depend upon the ways cards are traded and collected. *Yugioh* issues numerous monster cards. Among these, *Blue-eyes White Dragon* and *Dark Magician* are quite popular with *Yugioh* fans. Each monster card is associated with a type, attribute, and strategic power level, translated into "ATK", meaning attack point and "DEF", meaning defence point.

Figure 3.2 Monster Cards

(a) Blue-eyes white dragon



(b) Dark Magician



The following section will illustrate how the conceptualisation of *Yugioh* fad emerged in juxtaposition to the observation of the children's cultural practices of *Yugioh*, and how this study was carried out in congruence with the principle of grounded theory.

Field observation began with the British Chinese children and followed with the American Chinese children. Although both the British and American Chinese children's popular culture practices still remained unknown at the initial stage, I decided to start this research with the British Chinese children for the sake of convenient sampling. Additionally, to conduct cross-cultural research without any comparable framework would mean the research was poorly designed. Thus, the field observation with the British Chinese children served as a prototype and was then extended to the field observation with American Chinese children, which began one year after that of the British Chinese children.

At the initial stage of field observation with the British Chinese children, there were several goals to achieve: to observe their sociocultural practices, cultural artefacts, popular culture, group discourse and interaction. The means to these goals was the rapport between the observed and the observer, which took time to build. This rapport was built on mutual trust and understanding between both parties (Patton, 2002) and was established through my role as classroom assistant.

As each Chinese school had Chinese language classes for different levels, choosing a particular class to observe depended on three primary criteria: the presence of Chinese children with British nationality, the age group under study and the head teacher's judgement. The school head teachers identified the classes to be observed, taking into consideration the teacher's consent and the class size. As this research studied British and American Chinese children aged six to twelve, the broad range of the age group affected the number of the classes to be observed and the duration of field observations with each individual class. This arrangement was to take into account the different popular culture practices among the British Chinese children of different age groups. In the classes observed, proficiency in Chinese was the salient factor in organising a cohort of pupils into a

class rather than age, which did not appear to be a factor.

Field observations were recorded in the format of field notes and a journal. The British Chinese children produced different creative texts during the course of Chinese lessons, coupled with their discourse of popular culture texts during break time. Such information was significant and was carefully collected. In some circumstances, unclear field notes created the need for a follow-up observation or for a more intensive interaction with some of the children.

3.3.4 Breakdown of the Implementation of Grounded Theory

The research planning for this cross-cultural study started with ethnographic observation of both the British and American Chinese children's sociocultural practices with popular cultural texts. The ethnographic observation was conducted in the context of the local Chinese school, and a social *Yugioh* phenomenon was then identified. In order to explore different dimensions of the *Yugioh* phenomenon, such as how both the British and American Chinese children obtained advanced knowledge of *Yugioh* texts, the meaning of *Yugioh* discursive practices, their motivation for participating in a variety of *Yugioh* activities, their literacy and math skills, the parents' mediation of the children's cultural practices, and the upbringing context of the children, several approaches were used synthetically and each followed the concept of theoretical sampling in grounded theory. The timeline for each approach and procedure of implementation was noted. Each approach explored different categories of the *Yugioh* phenomenon, and the emerging themes can be referenced in the breakdown of the implementation of grounded theory (see Appendix A).

A. General conceptualisation of domestic media context of Chinese immigrant families

An investigation of the British and American Chinese children's meaning-making of popular cultural texts cannot be solely based on field observation. Cultural capital, as Bourdieu (1986) claimed, is closely related to familial backgrounds. In order to acquire a better knowledge of the local Chinese community and how their daily life was mediated by media texts, a survey was designed to study the general media context in Chinese immigrant families and the types of sociocultural capital that the families had developed within the domestic context. Therefore, the first survey was of the domestic context of media consumption (see Appendix B for domestic context of media consumption and survey implementation). The familial context reflected the parents' socioeconomic status, ethnic identity, immigration history, education status, English proficiency, acculturation to the host culture, and connection with the local community. The aim of this survey was to examine the array of media used in the Chinese immigrant families and their general media habits.

As the appropriation of popular culture texts took place in the domains of everyday life of the children, the investigation of the domains of everyday life was of importance. The domains of everyday life could be perceived as 'spaces' or 'contexts' where the children engaged in their popular culture activities. These spaces can be perceived as out-of-school contexts in a broad sense because the formal school setting had strict learning curricula for pupils to comply with. This implied that children had very little time or space to engage in popular culture practices in the context of the formal school setting (Barton and Hamilton, 1998). Thus, family and community appeared to be the domains of everyday life apart from the school.

The second and third surveys of children's ten favourite TV programmes and their collection of popular culture products, respectively, were to investigate the children's cultural capital in

relation to popular culture texts. These surveys were conducted in parallel to the field observation and set out in details as follows.

B. Survey of the Children's Favourite Television Programmes

Because cultural artefacts based on TV animation were widely used in the children's popular culture practice observed, the survey of the children's favourite TV programmes aimed to explore the cultural artefacts used in the children's social play and whether *Yugioh* animation was considered as a popular television programme. The survey (see Appendix B) showed that both the British and American Chinese boys were oriented towards watching Japanese animations. The animations such as *Pokemon*, *Dragon Ball (Z)* and *Yugioh* were action-oriented and supported by a variety of action figures and video games. Many studies showed that boys were attracted to masculine representation to assert their masculine identity (Roberts, 1999; Livingstone, 2002). Because Japanese animations were predominately action and masculine oriented, it was not surprising to find the boys rating *Dragon Ball*, *Yugioh* and *Pokemon* as their top choices in this survey. By contrast, the girls were apt to rate TV programmes with more feminine and neutral representations such as *Hello Kitty*, *Pokemon*, *The Simpsons*.

In comparison to their British Chinese counterparts, the American Chinese children's TV selection was more diverse. American Chinese children listed the names of many different favourite programmes. The difference between the choices of the British and American Chinese children raised questions about the children's access to television programmes and the differing broadcasting culture between the UK and the USA. Apart from English language programmes, the children also consumed Chinese language programmes in their daily television viewing. *Monkey King*, a famous Chinese mythical drama series, was popular with both British and American Chinese children. Additionally, *Golden Faith* and some other Chinese family drama series were popular with the children. From this, we

discovered that both British and American Chinese children not only had access to Chinese language television in the domestic context, but also consumed both English and Chinese language programmes.

Although the children had access to Chinese language programmes, this did not necessarily mean that they would watch or would like to watch these programmes. The survey finding showed, however, that the children rated several Chinese drama series as their favourite TV programmes. Because of this survey result, I was interested to find out what contributed to the children's consumption of Chinese language TV programmes and how Chinese language TV was made available to the children. These points became new emerging concepts in the following theoretical sampling.

From this survey, the close relationship between cultural artefacts and the children's favourite television programmes was identified. *Yugioh* and *Pokemon* were rated as popular television programmes by both the British and American Chinese children. Also, *Yugioh* trading cards and *Pokemon* cultural artefacts were widely used in their social discourse. This relationship reflected that children's sociocultural activities involved cultural artefacts. However, in this particular relationship, we would ask what meaning the children attributed to the cultural artefacts used in their social discourse, and why did the children's social practices necessitate a matching cultural artefact? Perhaps the answers rested on the motivations that triggered the children's participation in their sociocultural activities.

C. Media Diary Project

Pellegrini (2002) points out that 'diaries... [are] related to insider views of behaviour' (p.63). In this sense, a media diary is aimed at providing additional information about the patterns and experience of the British Chinese and American Chinese children's domestic media use. The survey of domestic media consumption provided us with information on preliminary

sociocultural practices embedded in these ethnic Chinese families. The more detailed picture of domestic sociocultural contexts could be derived from two alternatives, ethnographic observation of domestic media consumption and media dairies. After considering the limited resources for this research, I adopted the media diary as a method to examine the profile of domestic media consumption and the related cultural practices occurring in the ethnic Chinese households.

The media diary project was implemented in two phases. It can be described as follows,

Table 3.4 Implementation of Media Diary Project

Implementation	Phase One/Pilot Testing	Phase Two
Subjects studied	With the American Chinese children, during Christmas and New Year Holiday.	Both British and American Chinese children. Media diary project was carried out in combination with the focus group interview.
Duration	A month	Two weeks
Purpose	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. To identify if the children’s media consumption differed during holiday and non-holiday seasons. 2. To quickly add up my understanding of the American research participants as the field observation in America did not begin until December 2003. 	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. The data from the media diary can serve as a reference to examine the children’s negotiation of popular culture texts in the focus group interview with the children.

The children who agreed to participate in this project were required to keep two to three weeks of notations in a media diary (see Appendix B). The content of the diary ranged from

jotting down the name of the programme watched and the programme schedule, to digital games, and the content and context of media appropriation. Each child was from a family with different configurations of media access. The children's access to different media texts constitutes their cultural capital at different degrees. For example, the children from Cantonese families were oriented to watch Chinese drama series with their families. They assumed a better knowledge of Chinese language programmes than their Mandarin counterparts. Additionally, the boys tended to consume diverse media texts such as watching television, playing *Pokemon* Game boy and playing online games with their friends. By contrast, the girls recorded more consistent television viewing and less diversified media activities in the domestic context. The differences between Cantonese and Mandarin families and the boys versus the girls raised the issue that domestic media activities were presumably mediated by language stream and gender. This presumption led us to the next phase of data collection and analysis, and qualitative interviews (see Section 3.3.4.E).

1. Gender Issues and the Yugioh Phenomenon

During the field observation, boys and girls seemed to occupy different territories to conduct their social play. This phenomenon occurred in all the schools observed. At break time, girls often gathered together in the classroom chatting whilst some young girls sketched domesticated animals, houses and trees. On the other hand, young boys tended to bring different cultural artefacts such as video games, trading cards and spinning tops, while older boys engaged more in team sports and occupied space outside the classroom. Cultural activities and territories were divided, clearly, by the gender factor. The gender issue has been widely discussed in many literacy research studies, such as Marsh and Millard (2000). Despite the fact that the gender divide in children's social discourse is so marked, some children still choose to cross over the gender boundary and take part in social discourse that interests them. For example, in the first few months of ethnographic observation, the boys in the younger class of School B traded *Pokemon* monster cards and sketched the monsters

whilst some boys and girls played *Pokemon* Game Boy alone. The *Pokemon* phenomenon was fairly popular with both boys and girls in School B. Thus, gender can only account for one of the factors which influence the ways in which children participate in their sociocultural activities.

Also, at School B, the children under study brought a variety of cultural artefacts to Chinese school and engaged these cultural artefacts in their social play. Amongst the variety of cultural artefacts of the children's, *Pokemon*, *Beyblade* and *Yugioh* appeared to be fairly popular. On the other hand, in the observed class of School E, many young boys played *Beyblade* whilst some bystanders observed the game. *Beyblade* is a specialised-design spinning top, featured in the Japanese animation of 'Beyblade'. At the break time, the boys often took their *Beyblades* out of their school bags and prepared a space for them to play the game. They competed with each other to knock down their opponent's spinning top, and the game was open to whoever had a *Beyblade*. The players were accustomed to the game rules and no explanation of the game was ever made to the newcomers. In this sense, the players had already assumed the knowledge in their common practice and playing *Beyblade* was a common culture shared by the boys in this observed class.

Although the two different classes engaged different cultural artefacts in their social play, the difference between *Pokemon* and *Beyblade* was merged when both classes observed started to play *Yugioh* card games. The *Yugioh* phenomenon was not salient until six or seven months of field observation had been conducted. *Yugioh* card game appeared to be a play commonly shared by the boys of pre-adolescent age. In juxtaposition to the *Yugioh* phenomenon, children of different age and gender seemed to assert their own identity by the space occupied and the social play engaged. In this sense, space, social play and identity emerged to be a new category to add to the dimension of the *Yugioh* phenomenon.

During the course of field observation, many *Yugioh* fans aged six to seven were able to perform four-digit math addition and subtraction without any aid. At each round of a *Yugioh* card game, young *Yugioh* fans were able to memorise each card's features and apply the knowledge in the card duel. The children's learning was contextualised and assumed to be capitalised on by the children in their social discourse of *Yugioh* in other contexts. However, the motivation for the children's learning of *Yugioh* card games, and their literacy development of *Yugioh* texts was still unexplored. Thus, there emerged a need to include a new theoretical framework to account for the contextual learning and literacy development. New literacy studies emerged to account for the contextual literacy development in the *Yugioh* phenomenon of the children and will be discussed in the following section.

D. New Literacy Studies

Because this study was implemented congruent with the principle of grounded theory, the research design was an iterative process of data collection and analysis (Charmaz, 2006). This can explain why a theoretical framework such as New Literacy Studies was not used in the initial research planning. Because of the field observation of the *Yugioh* phenomenon in the Chinese schools, the children's appropriation of *Yugioh* and other popular cultural texts could be easily identified. However, field observation did not account for some unobservable scenes such as the children's motivation for *Yugioh* cultural practices, their interpretations, and their learning of *Yugioh* games, cards and culture. Thus, New Literacy Studies emerged to be a necessary theoretical framework to explore the meanings of *Yugioh* sociocultural activities for the children.

E. Qualitative Interviews

The qualitative interviews aimed at exploring different dimensions of *Yugioh* cultural practice. In the ethnographic field observation, the *Yugioh* phenomenon could be easily identified. However, the observed *Yugioh* phenomenon could not explain the reasons why the children were interested in the card games and the meanings of the card games to them. Additionally, many young children appeared to master the card game with a high level of confidence and expertise. In order to explore the children's perspective regarding their appropriation of *Yugioh* texts, a set of semi-structured interview schedules were arranged, and the details of implementation can be seen in Appendix B.

Apart from the qualitative interviews with the children, the parents' attitudes towards their children's appropriation of popular cultural texts was of importance. In the media diary project, some children indicated how their parents mediated their appropriation of media texts. For example, Tony in Figure 7.39 indicated that his father did not allow him to make *Yugioh* Christmas cards with a printer. Parents' mediation of their children's appropriation of popular cultural context was not uncommon. However, the level of the parent's mediation influenced the children's access to popular cultural texts and the capital that the children could develop accordingly. In this sense, another set of interview schedules (see Appendix B) was arranged to explore the parents' viewpoint regarding media consumption. Additionally, the children in this research were raised bilingual and bicultural. This upbringing context of the children contributed to the children's bilingual and bicultural practices. For example, the British and American Chinese children in the survey of favourite television programmes and media diary illustrated their bicultural practices such as watching Chinese language programmes and learning Chinese literacy. This meant that the bilingual context was closely integrated in the children's everyday lives, and presumably was mediating their development of sociocultural capital. Therefore, the qualitative interviews

would also explore the bilingual and bicultural practices of both the children and the parents respectively.

F. Children's Collection of Popular Culture Products

Children were more aware of the latest information on popular culture products than their parents were (Livingstone, 2002). This survey aimed to have the children under study examine their own collection of popular culture products. Additionally, it could recapitulate the British and American Chinese children's experience of a wide range of popular culture texts and serve as their cultural capital for popular culture texts.

Children's knowledge base regarding popular cultural texts is accumulated and formulated through daily cultural practices. One way to explore their knowledge base of popular cultural texts is to look at their collection of cultural artefacts. Because of the intertextuality between popular cultural texts, the children's knowledge regarding *Yugioh* texts can be identified by looking at their historical collection of a variety of other popular cultural texts. Also, by looking at the children's historical collection of cultural artefacts, I was able to identify the collection patterns of the children as well as the parents' orientation towards the children's appropriation of popular cultural texts in a general sense. A family's support of cultural artefacts can be examined from the children's possession of popular culture artefacts. For example, many studies in the literature indicate that parents in general encourage their children to use the computer because of the educational properties of computers (Buckingham, 1993). In this sense, parents could purchase cultural artefacts for their children for educational purposes.

Information about the children's collections of popular cultural texts can also be used as a backdrop to analyze why some *Yugioh* fans were able to develop more sophisticated knowledge about trading cards and card games. For this reason, a survey (see Appendix B

for children's collection for popular culture artefacts) was designed to look at the historical development of the children's capital regarding popular cultural texts, and the family's support of their children's consumption of popular culture products. This survey was conducted in conjunction with the focus group interview with children.

3.4 Guanxi

The withdrawal of School O prior to qualitative interview illustrates how guanxi is central in the interaction with Chinese speaking communities. A community Chinese school is not only a place to reach Chinese diaspora but also a networking place for the members in the narrow society to develop guanxi (Leung and Wong, 2001). Because I did not have particular guanxi with School O, a guanxi with the school had to be established beforehand. In the U.K, guanxi was established by the formal academic support provided by my affiliation with the University of Nottingham. Through an introduction letter from my academic supervisor, my initial guanxi was established. The gatekeeper in this sense was the head teacher of the school, and through the head teacher's guanxi, I was further referred to the teachers and parents in the school. According to Leung and Wong (2001), any individual will fall into a natural guanxi web throughout his/her socialization process. This guanxi web is held in high regard in the Chinese-speaking communities. Gift giving is a necessary means of establishing and cultivating guanxi (ibid.). Although such acts raise ethical issues in western culture, they are regarded as acceptable in Chinese culture. In relation to the Chinese-speaking communities, my Chinese appearance and native Chinese speaking connotes my ethnic identity and the need to be Chinese-like. To conform to the group convention is highly regarded within Chinese-speaking communities, which are based on collectivity and social harmony. To integrate into Chinese-speaking society, I am subjected to the social norms and cultural conventions underlying Chineseness.

In order to conform to the acceptable and necessary Chinese culture, I prepared small gifts for the Chinese community school at the end of each school semester in the UK. The gifts were handed to the head teacher so that he could use the gifts to reward the pupils with outstanding performance at the end of each semester. Similarly, my *guanxi* with School H in USA was firm and lasting because of my co-researcher. His close and lasting relationship with School H since his childhood encouraged School H to support my research.

By contrast, my *guanxi* with School O deteriorated as I did not continuously maintain the *guanxi* by making the necessary contribution required by the school. The priest's referral was a good beginning to build a professional research relationship with the school. I, as well as my co-researcher, offered to help out with the teaching in class. This was appreciated by the teacher of the class observed but was not much appreciated by the head-teacher's wife, 'Eva', who was a *de facto* head-teacher. Eva was a teacher in this school and also an active member of the Christian church. Regular donations to the church were commonplace among the church members. However, this remained a hidden norm to outsiders like me and my co-researcher as we did not go to church on Sundays as did the rest of the members. Neither did we make contributions to the school and the church like previous academic researchers who had chosen the same school and the same site for field research.

Eventually School O refused to cooperate and explicitly inquired about the donation, given that regular donation was a common cultural practice in this society. I had breached the cultural norms existent within church members, yet I could not have expected such a covert cultural norm. This made me to realise that there was a perception gap between a church member and non-church member. In addition, the 'rewarding' tradition that had been established by the previous academics was not made explicit to me until the social bond was destroyed.

As I was not continuously present in the community school, I had to rely on my American co-researcher to maintain *guanxi* for me. However, my American co-researcher, an ethnic Chinese born in America, abided by the professional code of conduct required in a western academic environment. This meant that maintaining a *guanxi* never concerned him and he was not aware that making a contribution to School O was critical. Although he later realised the reason for School O's abrupt interruption of the research, and we tried to remedy the relationship by making a donation to the school and the church, the school still refused to cooperate.

School O mistakenly believed that I was a funded research student and part of the funding should be appropriated to my prospective research participants. This misunderstanding could not be repaired despite evidence from my academic supervisor to prove that I was a self-funded research student. As a consequence, they withdrew from this research. I then had to rely on School H and the parents' *guanxi* to recruit research participants in the later phase of data collection. This meant that the data collected with the children in School O had to be abandoned. This interruptive research development demonstrates that a qualitative researcher has to respect the culture of the researched and establish a rapport within the cultural boundary.

3.5 Ethical Considerations

The ethical considerations of this study centred largely on issues of informed consent—from both the parents and the children (see Appendix B for the Research Consent Form). Prior to participating in the interview, parents were invited to read an explanation of the purpose of this research, give their consent to the interview and the recording equipment, and indicate who would be participating in the interview. Given that parents were concerned that their children's Chinese learning would be interrupted for the sake of the interviews, they were ensured that the interviews with their children would only take place before the Chinese

class or during the break so that their Chinese learning would only be interrupted at the minimum level. In addition, the parents, teachers, and children were all informed about the venue for the interviews so that all the research participants could be interviewed in a familiar context where they would feel comfortable and in control. Both parents and children were ensured that all the interview information acquired was to be used for academic purposes only and would not be revealed for commercial use. Furthermore, the identity of each research participant remained confidential and a pseudonym was used to protect the children as well as the parents under study.

As children's voices and perspectives regarding their cultural practice was central to this research, they were informed that they could exercise their right to stop an interview or withdraw if they felt uncomfortable or unhappy about the questions being asked. In each session of the interviews, interview protocols were debriefed so that children could learn more about the research and the right to exercise their rights. Given children were informed that I would be the interviewer and the rapport between me and the children had been established since the initial phase of this research, in many occasions they influenced their parents to allow them to take part in the research. In this sense, these children exercised their active right and cast their own perspective regarding the research.

3.6 Tools for Data Decoding and Analysis

Two separate tools were used for transcribing the interview data. The children's interviews were played through a multi-media computer application and transcribed word by word. Because video recording provided different aspects of data such as body language and facial expressions, it assisted me in reading the children's non-verbal language. Given that the bilingual children were accustomed to using English for their daily communication, the translation of the interview transcripts only became necessary when there were Chinese languages in the interview. The parent's interviews were transcribed with a transcribing

machine and translated from Mandarin or Cantonese to English.

Unlike the British and American Chinese children, the British and American Chinese parents under study opted to use their heritage language to communicate with the interviewer, whom they considered to be part of their community. This could be manifested in their interview transcript, as they often used 'we' (see Section 6.1.1) to signify the commonality between the interviewer and the interviewees. Similarly, 'we' marked the difference between ethnic Chinese vs. the native English and Americans in the host culture. Regarding the data management and analysis, it was done with the computer software, QSR Nvivo. The sophisticated function of Nvivo to store, retrieve, sort and organise the interviews verbatim was significant to deal with a vast number of interview transcriptions before they were thematically analysed (Gibbs, 2002).

3.7 Research Credibility

The purposes of employing multi-methods to collect data are two-fold. First, multi-methods allow triangulation (Denzin, 1970; Patton, 2002; Flick, 2002), which can improve research results more effectively than a single method (Jankowski and Wester, 1991). Many years ago, the concept of triangulation was promoted by Campbell, quoted in Patton (2002) and defined as "every method has its limitations, and multiple methods are usually needed" (p.247). Additionally, triangulation by research methods can reconcile the differences inherent in each method. Flick (2002) adds that

Triangulation was first conceptualised as a strategy for validating results obtained with the individual methods. The focus, however, has shifted increasingly towards further enriching and completing knowledge and towards transgressing the always limited epistemological potentials of the individual method (p.227).

Secondly, triangulation by different methods aims to produce rich data grounded in the

researched scenes (Glaser, 1992) without constraining novice researchers within the boundary of preconceived questions or frameworks. As subjectivity is a pathway to explore the human dimension of the world, this triangulation by method is to provide different perspectives of the phenomenon under study rather than to seek a singular truth (Lincoln and Guba, 1985). Additionally, it is an approach that is widely used in qualitative research to improve the credibility of the research (Patton, 2002; Creswell, 2006).

3.8 Conclusion

This chapter has shown how the research methodology and design are in compliance with the interpretive framework that I have adopted. It also sets out the theoretical grounds of the methodology used and takes into account the dimensions of research contexts, participants, available resources, ethnical considerations and cross-cultural issues. Furthermore, the use of multiple methods of data collection at different phases is consistent with the approach of grounded theory and increases the credibility of qualitative research.

Chapter Four

Overview of Bilingual Contexts in the Chinese Immigrant Families

4.0 Introduction

This chapter aims to explore the bilingual contexts which are not only central to the British and American Chinese children's everyday sociocultural practices but also to their development of bilingualism, biculturalism, ethnic identity and socialisation. Kucer (2004, p.225) indicates that the background knowledge, such as gender, ethnicity and socioeconomic status, that readers apply to text not only represents idiosyncratic, particularistic experiences but also the beliefs, ideologies, and experiences of the groups to which the individual is affiliated. Accordingly, it is critical to investigate the implications of these bilingual contexts on the children's language and cultural capital and on their appropriation of popular culture texts. The characteristics of bilingual contexts vary from one family to another, from one community to another and from one nation-state to another, which implies that the children's sociocultural practices will not appear homogenous.

Bilingualism has been perceived to be a common characteristic associated with immigrant families in a multicultural society. To be bilingual is an ideological choice that is often made by immigrant parents who struggle to preserve and negotiate their cultural identity (Blackledge, 2005). This choice is enacted and supported by many cultural practices such as ethnic media, ethnic community schools and ethnic organisations. These cultural practices are not uncommon in Chinese immigrant families in the UK and USA and are evident in different domains of their everyday life.

The children of British Chinese and American Chinese families are immersed in a varying degree of bilingual and bicultural representations, depending on their parents' immigrant history, social economic status, connections with local Chinese communities, English proficiency, identity and acculturation to the host culture. It is important to foreground the bilingual contexts in which the children under study are brought up and to investigate the intra- and inter-group differences embedded in the ethnic Chinese families in the UK and the USA. Furthermore, it is significant to explore the implications of bilingual and bicultural context on the children's appropriation of popular cultural texts, literacy development and identity.

This chapter thus starts with an initial theoretical analysis about the influence of ethnic media on the Chinese immigrant families. This will lay a foundation for the bilingual context to be discussed. Given that cross-cultural data concerning the bilingual contexts of British and American Chinese immigrant families are not well-established in the literature, this chapter will highlight the differences in the bilingual contexts between the British Chinese and American Chinese families with a quantitative survey. This survey (see Appendix B) will present the bilingual cultural practices in a quantitative bar chart in order to establish a general profile of bilingual and bicultural contexts within the Chinese immigrant families in the UK and USA.

4.1 Representations and Thought

People perceive the world through representations. These representations, such as language and symbols, are perceived to be able to transmit one's thoughts objectively and clearly. This perspective is partially rooted in the Sapir-Whorf theory (Whorf, 1956), which argues that thinking is determined by language, and people who speak different languages perceive the world differently. Saussure's (1986) semiotic theory points out how sign systems are not given or natural but are formulated on cultural conventions and shape our

consciousness. According to Saussure, sign systems are rule-governed and people in a given culture conceptualise their worlds through the same system. However, given that their theories are to emphasise the commonality within a specific culture, neither Sapir-Whorf nor Saussure consider whether, for those who are able to speak two or more languages, their worldviews will be conflicted, reconciled, or coexistent. This view of cultural commonality is challenged as a result of the advanced information and communication technology (ICT) in the post-modern era, which creates nation states without borders; connects people of different countries, cultures and languages in the global virtual community; and creates an influx of hybrid identities (New London Group, 1996; 2000; Gee, 1993; Kress, 2003a). Christiansen (2004) found that, with the advent of digital broadcasting satellites, people in Europe with ethnic minority backgrounds generally appear to be more likely to consume the transnational media from their countries of ethnic origin than the national television channels in the host countries in which they live.

This phenomenon is not uncommon in the Chinese immigrant families who live in a modern multicultural society such as the UK and the USA. Yet, not everyone in this ethnic group has equal access to modern information and communication technology. People often choose one medium over the other for a number of different reasons, at different times and in different contexts (Livingstone, 2002). Among the many representations used in modern society, language, media, cultural artefacts, and symbols are used in a number of ways to reflect beliefs, identities and cultures. However, the representations can get complicated when they are juxtaposed in two or more languages and are used in a variety of combinations in the bilingual/multilingual household, community and society.

4.2 Bilingual Contexts and Chinese Ethnicity

The degree of bilingual contexts in Chinese immigrant households varies among different households, communities and countries. The juxtaposition of English and Chinese

languages serves different social functions in the households of Chinese immigrants. Although English is the dominant language in the host country, it is an additional language within the family, which reinforces the value of the heritage language. This practice is not uncommon among Chinese immigrant households in the UK and the USA and will be discussed in depth in the survey.

The survey explores the social functions of these two languages and their implications for the everyday life of the Chinese immigrant families. From the perspective of the Chinese immigrant parents under study, the use of the Chinese language, ethnic media and cultural artefacts at home and in the community served multiple purposes: to maintain Chinese ethnicity and culture, to connect with other Chinese communities, to allow them to keep up with the current affairs in the host country as well as in their country of origin, and to support a Chinese-speaking environment for their offspring born in the host country. The synthesis of these cultural practices, presumably, can serve as an index of the bilingualism. It also reflects a contestation of ethnic and cultural identities. This concept echoes Gillespie (1995, p.8), who states that "ethnicity is a contradictory term of contested meanings." Although ethnicity is constantly constructed, and is fluid and fragmented (Hall, 2000), it reflects the struggle that ethnic Chinese immigrants in the USA and the UK have to cope with on the junctions of two or more languages, cultures, and identities. According to Wang (1999), Chinese ethnicity is a representation of cultural identity and is subjectively determined. In this sense, it begs the question whether the Chinese ethnicity is defined by aspects of psychology or physical attributes. This vagueness of Chinese ethnicity is compounded even more in Chinese diasporas in Southeast Asia and North America (Ang, 1998; Wang, 1999).

Although the term 'ethnic' evokes some negative connotations such as 'strange', 'outsider', and 'inferior' in multicultural societies (Gillespie, 1995), it is used, for the purpose of this

research, to describe members of the Chinese diasporas who have emigrated to the host country for various reasons: for employment, for political asylum, for education, for family unification and so forth. This distinction is to illustrate the heterogeneity within Chinese diasporas in terms of country of origin, immigrant history, language spoken and culture practiced. Furthermore, I have used Ang's (1998) concept of 'diasporas' to connote Chinese immigrant families' affection and nostalgic feeling towards their imagined homeland.

Diasporas...understood as transnational, spatially and temporally sprawling, sociocultural formations of people, creating imagined communities whose blurred and fluctuating boundaries are sustained by real and/or symbolic ties to some original 'homeland'... It is the myth of the (lost or idealised) homeland, the object both of collective memory and of desire and attachment, which is constitutive of diasporas, and which ultimately confines and constrains the nomadism of the diasporic subject (Ang, 1998).

Chinese immigrant families' psychological affiliation towards their culture, identity and homeland will be explored in depth in Chapter Five. This qualitative data, informed by theoretical sampling, aims to increase the dimension of bilingual contexts and practices. The term 'diasporic communities' also refers to the movement of populations and groups from one culture to another, and immigrants are one of the typical groups in diaspora communities (Cottle, 2000). Chinese immigrants in the UK and USA settled in their new country during different historical time frames. Their Chineseness is hard to pin down (Wang, 1999), given that their immigrant history, home language, identity, consumption of ethnic media, social economic status, degree of bilingualism, connection with ethnic Chinese communities, and acculturation to the host country are different from one another. This distinction calls for an investigation of their Chinese cultural practices, which not only represent their Chinese ethnicity, but also contribute to the contexts in which British Chinese and American Chinese children are brought up. Their Chinese cultural practices will be examined in the following sections in terms of the use of Chinese language media and the Chinese language. Before starting the quantitative analysis of the bilingual

practices of the Chinese immigrant families, I need to distinguish the heterogeneity embedded in the Chinese language. By so doing, the reader can comprehend that the use of a Chinese language shows not only the identity but also the political history of the user.

4.3 Chinese Language Family

Within the broad Chinese language family are five different spoken varieties: Mandarin, Wu, Cantonese, Fukienese (Southern-Min) and Hakka. Under each category are four to eight subdivisions (Hsia, 1956). The various spoken varieties are mutually unintelligible and are used by the populations of different regions to differentiate their idiosyncrasies. Mandarin, the largest language group in terms of populations, has evolved into the official language in countries such as China, Taiwan and Singapore, while Cantonese, spoken by early Chinese immigrants in the overseas Chinese communities, is still today the official language for Hong Kong and Macau. The history of how Mandarin was designated as the official language in Taiwan was presented in detail in Chapter One. From this, the debate about whether each Chinese language is a language or a dialect is ideological in its nature. As Cooper (1989) indicates, in a multilingual society the official language is often used to unite a nation and to eradicate the linguistic diversity within the nation. Through the means of language and education policy, the language of the powerful group is often imposed as the 'correct' one; whereas the language of the competing groups is, as a result, perceived as vernacular or dialect (ibid). In this sense, language is an ideological means that is commonly used by the powerful group to reach a political end.

4.4 Chinese Language Media

Many surveys of domestic media consumption, such as the large-scale quantitative survey conducted by Livingstone (2002), do not tap into the availability of ethnic minority media in the market. This type of lack of information is not uncommon to the quantitative researcher who aims to seek objective generalisation in the national data. However, such national data

cannot objectively represent ethnic minority groups whose media cultural practice is mediated by their heritage language practice. Using Chinese immigrant families as an example, among the wide range of Chinese language media such as television, radio, newspapers, magazines, Internet, and videotapes, Chinese satellite television is a prevailing cultural practice within the Chinese-speaking communities (see Section 4.4.1, 4.4.2). The presence of Chinese satellite television responds to a demand by the population of Chinese immigrant families. However, how this demand is catered requires a further analysis. For this reason, an overview of the Chinese satellite TV service providers will be presented to lay a foundation for the immigrant families' choices of certain satellite TV providers.

4.4.1 Chinese Satellite Televisions in the UK

The four major Chinese satellite TV service providers in the UK are Television Limited Broadcast (TVB) Satellite Channel-Europe (TVBS-Europe), China Central Television (CCTV) and Phoenix Chinese News and Entertainment (PCNE). TVBS-Europe is the most popular Chinese television network serving the UK and continental Europe. It is also a subsidiary company of TVB (<http://www.chinese-channel.co.uk/english/eaboutus.htm>), accessed April 8th, 2003). TVB was founded in 1967 in Hong Kong and is the dominant TV station within the Hong Kong community. Its two stations, Jade (Chinese language channel) and Pearl (English language channel) account for three-quarters of the market share of the Hong Kong viewing population. Eighty percent of the programmes on TVB Jade are produced locally and in Chinese languages (mainly Cantonese). TVB also distributes Chinese-language programs globally through its satellite and cable television stations across the world (<http://www.museum.tv/archives/etv/H/htmlH/hongkong/hongkong.htm>), accessed April 8th, 2003). TVBS-Europe operates as an individual satellite service and available exclusively to its subscribers.

CCTV is a free Chinese satellite television station and has twelve channels for its domestic viewers in China. Amongst the twelve channels, CCTV-Four (Chinese) is mainly targeted at overseas Chinese and the broadcasting language is Mandarin Chinese. In order to receive the channels from CCTV, the overseas viewers need to purchase a satellite receiving box. CCTV-Nine is an English channel, serving mainly the foreigners within China (<http://www.cctv.com>, accessed April 8th, 2003).

PCNE broadcasts in Mandarin Chinese and covers broad issues concerning China, Hong Kong and Taiwan (<http://www.phoenixtv.com>, accessed April 8th, 2003). It is accessible through Sky TV in the UK. Unlike TVBS, whose service subscribers have access to only one Chinese language satellite channel, Sky subscribers of the basic package can watch not only PCNE but also many other satellite channels. This implies that British Chinese households who are TVBS subscribers may only have one satellite channel, which negates the assumption that a British Chinese household with domestic satellite television has access to many Chinese-language channels.

4.4.2 Chinese Satellite Televisions in Utah⁴, USA

The ethnic Chinese population in Utah is relatively small (10,742 people, US Census Bureau, 2000) in comparison to the states with the largest Chinese population, such as California, 1,122,187; New York, 451,859; and Texas, 121,588. For this reason, salient regional Chinese language media have not been established in Utah as they have been in Los Angeles, San Francisco and New York. Presumably, this reason contributes to why Chinese

⁴ Apart from Chinese satellite TV, a free community Chinese newspaper named Eastern Trends (pronounced as Dong Fang Pao in Cantonese) is widely circulated within the community. This newspaper is issued twice a month and is distributed in places such as Chinese supermarkets, restaurants, and retail businesses. Eastern Trends (ET) focuses on topics more concerned with the local community interspersed with some headlines news from China, Taiwan and Hong Kong. Furthermore, ET is used as an advertising medium by the local community for activities such as musical performances, festival celebrations, Chinese school open days, retail business advertising and job vacancies.

immigrant families in Utah orient toward the wider and transnational Chinese media such as TVB Jade.

In the American context, Chinese satellite TV is offered via Direct TV and the DISH Network. Direct TV has a higher market penetration and offers a wider variety of programmes in a package which can meet the needs of Chinese immigrants speaking different Chinese languages. On Direct TV, Chinese satellite TV has been marketed in a package of five channels in Jadeworld⁵. The Jadeworld package has captured most of the Cantonese-speaking population in the USA, given that it is the only Cantonese language TV service made available in North America. Chinese Vietnamese Americans, constituting the majority of the American participants in this study, tend to tune in to Fei Chui Tai (TVB Jade channel), given the broadcasting language on the channel is Cantonese, the lingua franca among this ethnic Chinese population.

In contrast to Direct TV, DISH Network offers a Chinese channel package oriented towards the Mandarin-speaking ethnic Chinese population

(<http://www.dishnetwork.com/content/programming/international/packages/indexpackage.asp?languageType=Chinese>, accessed August 8th, 2005). Currently there are five Chinese programming packages; Great Wall TV Package, Chinese Variety Pack, Chinese Plus Pack⁶, Chinese Super Pack, and Chinese Select Pack. Except for Great Wall TV and Chinese Plus, which target mainly Putongwha/Mandarin viewers from China, the other three packages contain mainly Taiwanese channels and their locally produced programmes from Taiwan.

⁵ The package includes three TVB channels from Hong Kong (Channel 450, 451, 452), one Taiwanese channel (Channel 453) and one Chinese channel from China (Channel 454).

⁶ Chinese Plus Pack includes one Hong Kong channel, ATV, CCTV Four from China and Phoenix North American Channel from Hong Kong. It is worth noting that despite ATV being a Cantonese-speaking channel from Hong Kong, American Chinese families in this research subscribe to TVB rather than ATV.

4.5 Quantitative Survey Analysis

The lack of literature investigating Chinese immigrant families' bilingual cultural practices calls for a quantitative survey to explore the general picture of cultural practices within the families. This survey (see Appendix B) was designed to shed some light on the cultural capital the children of Chinese immigrant families have developed in their everyday living context. This survey, entitled *The domestic media consumption of Chinese immigrant families*, was carried out with the British and American Chinese families in the summer of 2003. The findings to this survey are presented in the bar chart in three main categories: 'language used in domestic context' (Section 4.5.1, 4.5.4), 'reasons for subscribing to satellite television' (Section 4.5.2, 4.5.5), and 'reasons for sending children to Chinese school' (Section 4.5.3, 4.5.6). The limitations and implications of this survey are discussed in Section 4.7. The outcome of this survey was informative to the successive research plan, including the survey on the collection of popular culture products, the media diaries and the qualitative interviews with the British and American immigrant families of Chinese descent (see Chapter Three for research design and Chapter Six for data analysis).

A. British Chinese Families

In this section, the extent of the bilingual and bicultural context within British Chinese families is presented in 4.5.1 'languages used in domestic context' (see Figure 4.1), 4.5.2 'subscription to Chinese Satellite Television' (Figure 4.2), and 4.5.3 'reasons for Chinese school' (Figure 4.3). This survey, conducted via a local community Chinese school, recruited volunteer British Chinese parents to participate. There were one hundred and three valid completed questionnaires. Seventy-seven British Chinese family participants answered the survey in Chinese while twenty-six participants answered in English, making a total of 103.

4.5.1 Language(s) Used in the Domestic Context

As shown in Figure 4.1, forty-one percent of the British Chinese parents surveyed used both Cantonese and English as home languages with their children. Given that the survey allowed the participants to check off multiple choices to reflect their home language practice with their children, the result showed the ubiquitous nature of bilingualism in British Chinese families. Forty-one percent of the participants used both English and Cantonese in their domestic communication. Thirty-seven percent of the participants used only Cantonese as a home language with their children. This reflected that the majority of British Chinese surveyed were originally from Hong Kong. The use of the heritage language in the domestic context was commonplace and indicated that Cantonese was the dominant language used among British Chinese surveyed. The second primary home language used in British Chinese families was Mandarin. Approximately nine percent of British Chinese parents in this survey used both Mandarin and English to communicate with their children in the domestic environment, followed by about seven percent of the parents who used only Mandarin with their children. In comparison to Cantonese, Mandarin appeared to be in a low percentage of usage for a home language in British Chinese families. This was attributable to the fact that British Chinese families of Mandarin speakers were the new emerging immigrants, whose number was still on the rise.

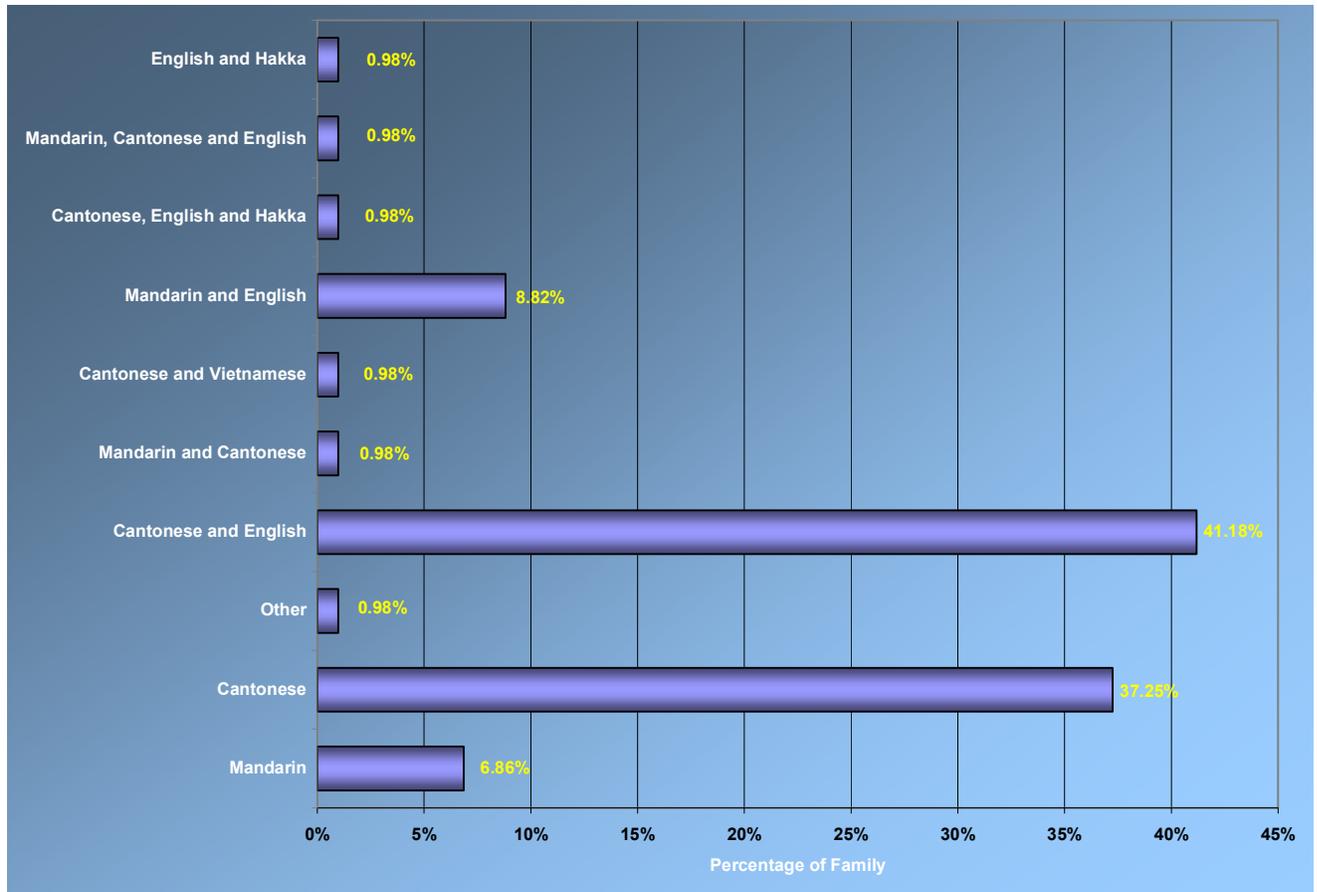


Figure 4.1 British Chinese Families' Home Context of Language Use (Number=103)

4.5.2 Subscription of Chinese Satellite Television

Of the one hundred and three British Chinese families surveyed, sixty-six percent subscribed to satellite television at the time of the survey. As shown in Figure 4.2, about fifty-five percent of British Chinese survey participants specified that their primary reason for subscribing to satellite television was to watch Chinese channels and for Chinese cultural reasons such as, 'to know information from Hong Kong and China', 'to help their children learn Chinese' and 'so their children will be interested in learning Chinese'. In this survey, British Chinese parents had often listed more than one reason for subscribing to Chinese satellite television. This indicated that Chinese language satellite television provided multiple utilities to the family life of British Chinese families.

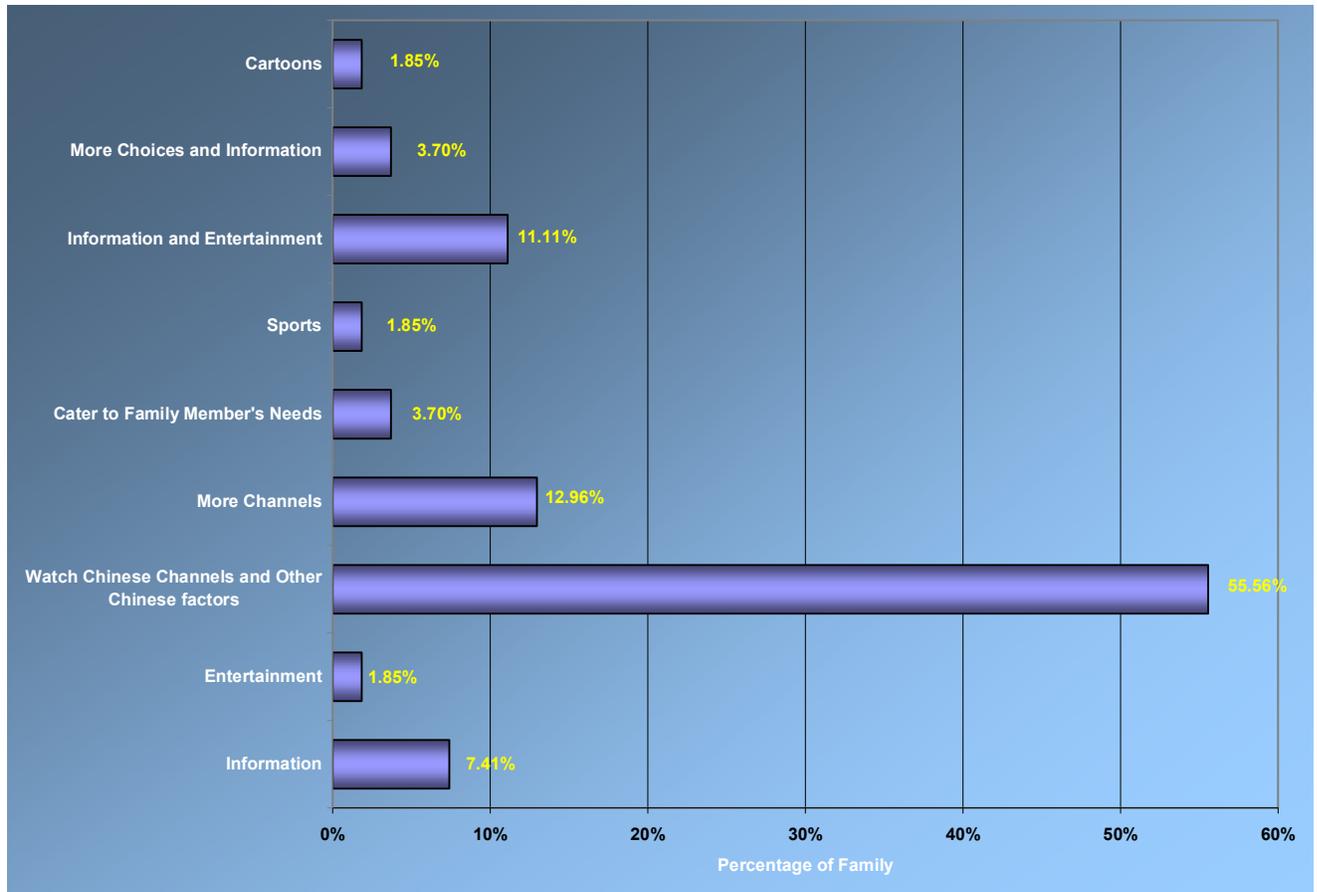


Figure 4.2 British Chinese Families' Reasons for Subscribing to Chinese Satellite Television

It may, at first sight, appear that British Chinese families subscribe to Chinese satellite television for information and for learning. However, this conclusion may be premature, given that it de-contextualizes the context in which the viewing takes place, as well as the narratives of the programmes and the orientation of the satellite television station in terms of language, culture and politics.

If Chinese channels and Chinese cultural factors are influential in affecting British Chinese families' decisions to subscribe to satellite television, this points to the significance of Chinese satellite television in the lives of British Chinese families. Although Section 4.4.1 'Chinese satellite television in the UK' illustrates the available service of Chinese language

satellite TV in the UK, it does not explain why one Chinese satellite television is consumed in preference to another, or what the social and cultural implications of the consumption of Chinese satellite television are. These questions need to draw on Chinese immigrant families' historical and sociocultural living experiences, and will be explored in Chapter Five.

4.5.3 Reasons for Chinese School

In the survey, British Chinese participants were allowed to tick their single reason or multiple reasons for sending their children to Chinese schools (see Appendix B for the content of the survey). Because most of the participants opted to list multiple reasons for sending their children to school, this resulted in different combinations of answers. Although some of the multiple answers presented in the categorical bar chart might appear repetitive, the nuance of repetition showed the degree of different opinions among the participants. In Figure 4.3, thirty-one percent of participants ticked '*To be Chinese literate*', while twenty-four percent of the participants ticked '*To be Chinese literate*', '*Maintain identity*' and '*Have a better future*'. The other reasons were distributed around varying combinations of those listed below. The survey results demonstrated that Chinese school was more than a cultural amenity available in the community to be used for Chinese pedagogy for the British Chinese children. Learning Chinese, from the perspective of British Chinese families, meant to manifest one's Chinese identity and, ideally, to lead a better life in the future.

However, the relevance of 'to lead a better life in the future with Chinese literacy' may appear to be an absurd response given that the English language is the dominant language in the UK. This result gives rise to some speculations about what the parents actually mean by "to lead a better life with Chinese literacy." Although the Chinese language is spoken by one fourth of the population of the world, it still remains a regional language used mainly within Chinese speaking communities rather than a world lingua franca. This raises the

issues of whether these Chinese immigrant families imply that the Chinese language will emerge as a world language, or they expect the economy of China to improve to the point where they are able to relocate back to their homeland and live there in prosperity.

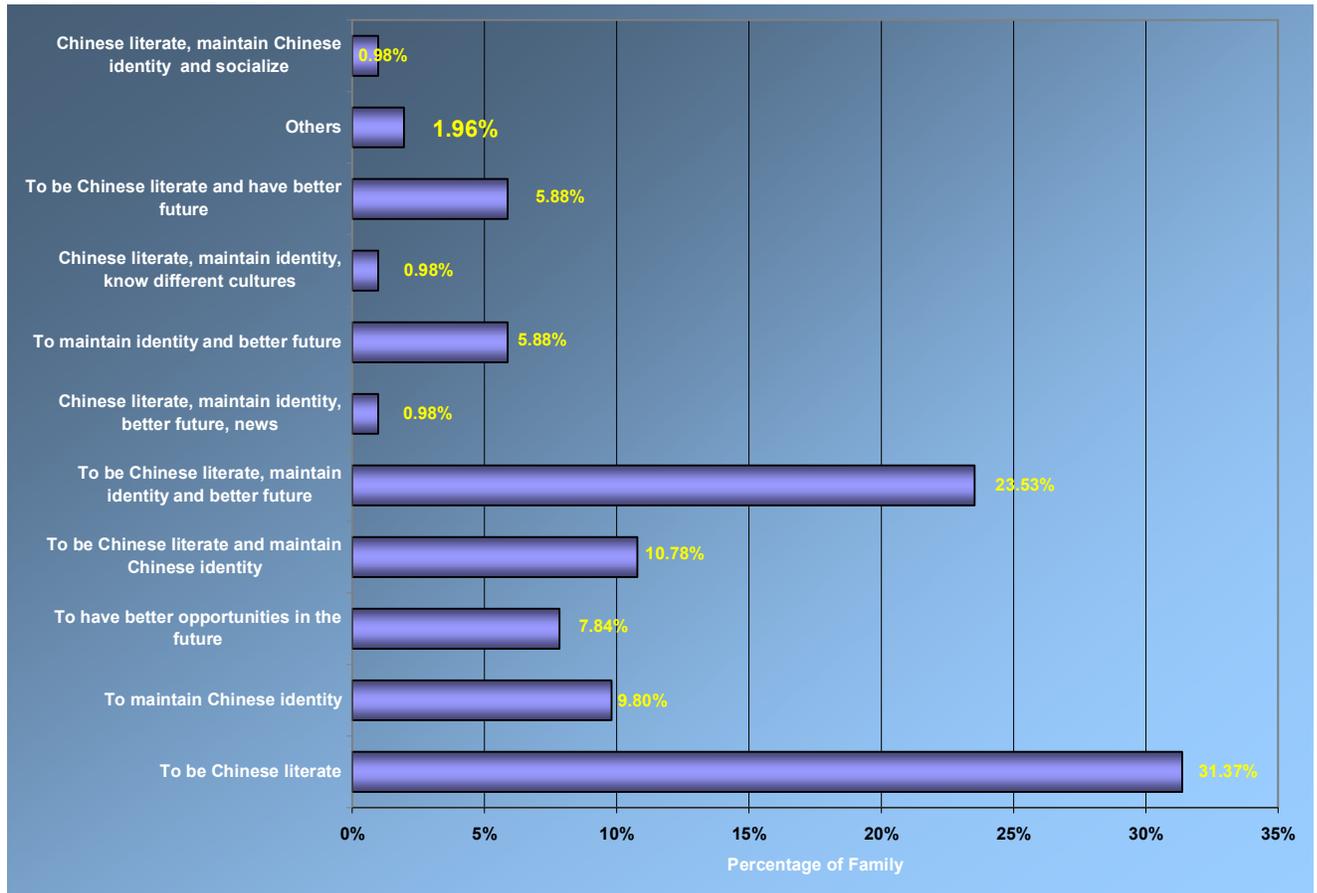


Figure 4.3 Reasons for Sending British Chinese Children to Chinese School

B. American Chinese Families

Similarly, the bilingual and bicultural context of American Chinese families will be set out in 4.5.4 'language(s) used in domestic context' (see Figure 4.4), 4.5.5 'subscription to Chinese satellite television' and 4.5.6 'reasons for Chinese school' (see Figure 4.5). There are forty-five valid survey questionnaires, and the demographic of the American Chinese family participants is included in Appendix B.

4.5.4 Language(s) Used in the Domestic Context

Thirty-three percent of American Chinese families used Cantonese only as their home language in the domestic context, followed by English (18%) and Southern Min (13%). In this survey, Cantonese remained the dominant home language in the American Chinese families. This implied that many of the participating families were of Cantonese descent. What distinguished this report from that of the British Chinese families was the use of Southern Min (Taiwanese) as a home language. This implied that the demographic of American Chinese families was more diverse than that of their British Chinese counterparts. The use of Mandarin as a home language was as low as four percent, a counterclaim to Mandarin as the second dominating Chinese language in overseas Chinese communities. In addition, using English along with the Chinese heritage language was not a common language practice in American Chinese families. The latter two points illustrate that the participating American Chinese families might be composed of a very different nature from their British Chinese counterparts. From this, it suggests that the immigration history of both American and British families of Chinese descent is worth exploring in depth.

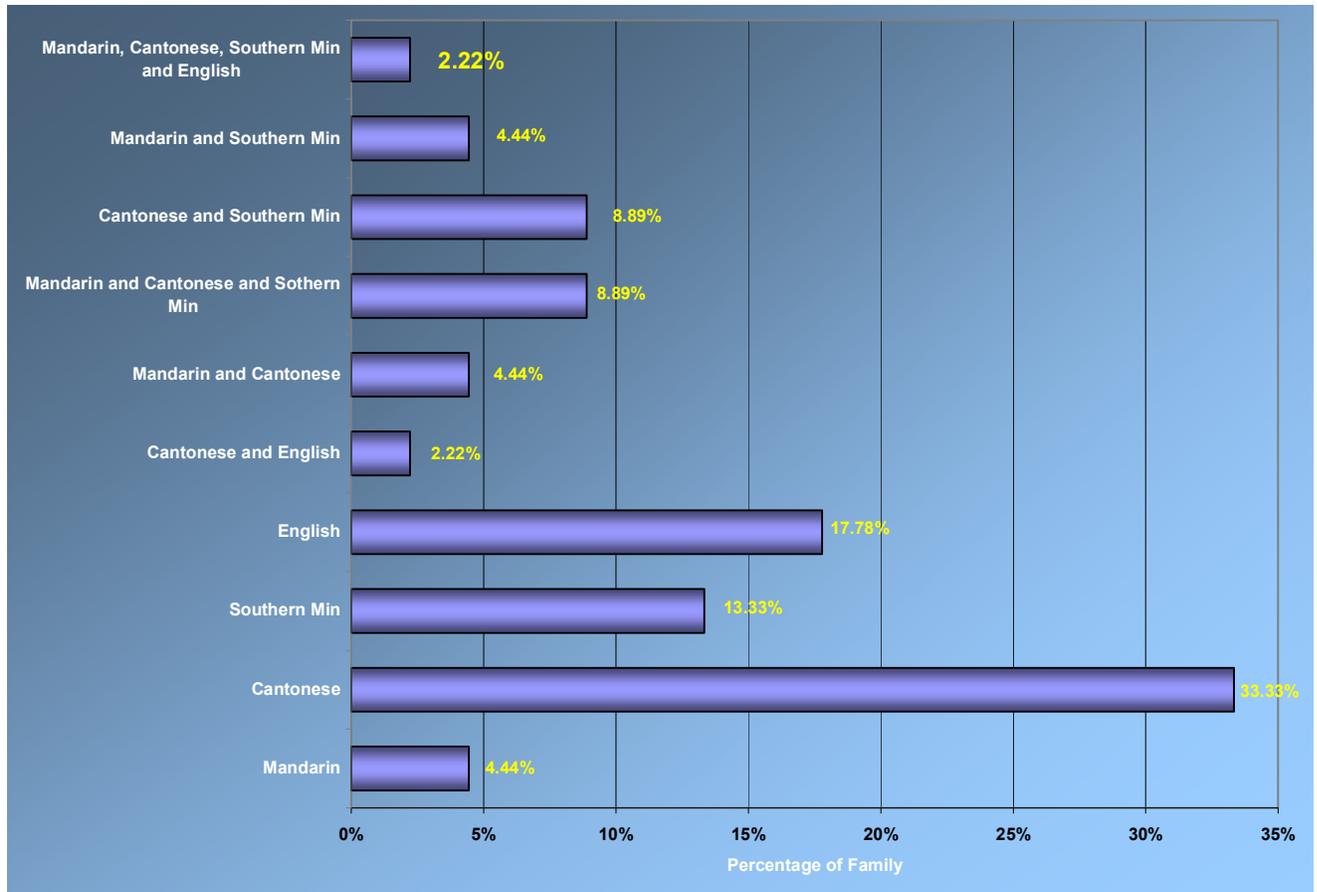


Figure 4.4 American Chinese Families' Home Context of Language Use (N=45)

4.5.5 Subscription of Chinese Satellite Television

Only eight out of forty-five American Chinese families surveyed subscribed to satellite TV and none of the respondents elaborated their reasons for subscribing to satellite television. As a result of this, it was problematic to illustrate the reasons for Chinese satellite TV subscription in statistics. In contrast to British Chinese participants' clear and concise accounts of their subscription of satellite television, American Chinese participants seemed to be more reserved in that they often left the open-ended questions blank. In addition, only two out of forty-five American Chinese participants specified their occupations, while the rest declined to provide information. This information might suggest that the questions asked on the survey were perceived as addressing more private issues by the American

participants. So, although this survey demonstrated that there was a generally low subscription rate to satellite television among American Chinese households, it also suggested that this was an area that needed to be explored further.

4.5.6 Reasons for Chinese School

To the American Chinese parents, the primary reason for sending their children to community Chinese school was 'to maintain their Chinese identity' (51%), followed by 'to have better opportunities in the future' (20%). Unlike their British Chinese counterparts, American Chinese parents weighted 'Chinese identity' more than 'being Chinese literate'.

Both the USA and the UK are multicultural societies. However, in the United States of America, the commonly used term 'melting pot' has the connotation that foreign immigrants to American society have to learn to assimilate to the mainstream culture. This suggests that the foreign immigrants may lose their heritage culture and language as a result of the assimilation process (Berry et al, 1987) and the dominant English-only language policy in the USA (Reagan, 2005). Fiske (1989b), in his analysis of the paradigm of cultural studies, indicates that in the USA, this field of knowledge focuses on social harmony and integration, whereas in the UK it highlights individual differences. These different approaches to cultural studies by the UK and the USA reflect different perspectives towards foreign immigrants' acculturation to the mainstream society. This may explain why 'to maintain Chinese ethnicity' remains a significant factor for the American Chinese parents in deciding to send their children to community Chinese school.

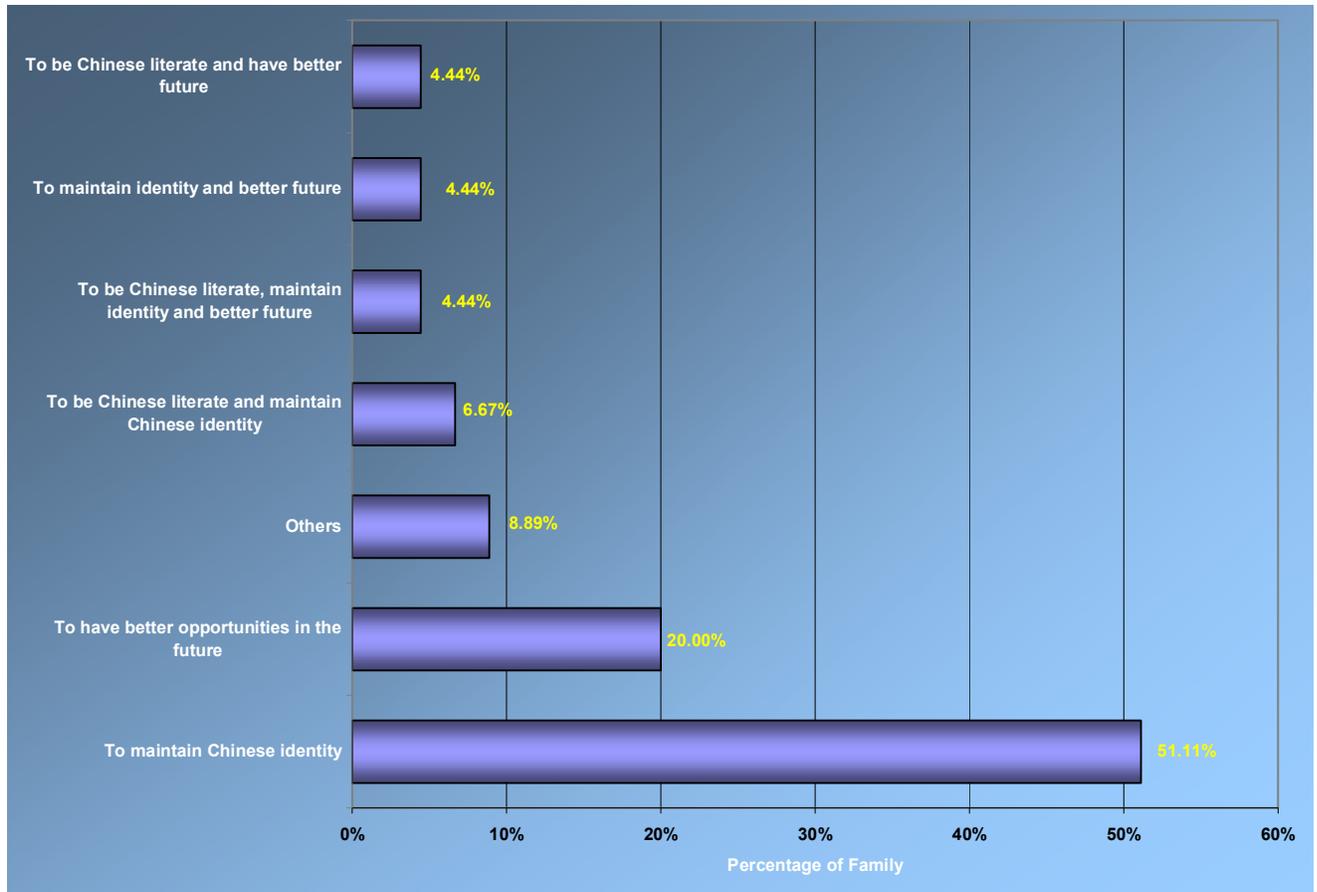


Figure 4.5 American Chinese Families' Reasons for Sending Their Children to Chinese School

4.6 Survey Limitations and Implications

Because of the nature of the quantitative analysis, this survey does not explain why bilingual and bicultural practices are important to the Chinese immigrant families and how significant these practices are to the British and American Chinese families in their everyday life. In addition, as cultural practices are contextualised, this quantitative analysis is not sufficient to show the causal relationship between the cultural practices and the context. However, the survey does show a correlation between different parameters. For example, 'country of origin' for the British Chinese participants shows a positive and significant relationship to 'age', 'number of children', 'duration of settlement in host country', 'use of Internet to read Chinese news', but a negative one for 'education status' (see Appendix C

for the correlation table). This suggests that immigrants' family structure can be differentiated by their country of origin and immigration history. In addition, 'Internet' is significantly related to the use of 'cable TV' and 'VCR/VCD/DVD player'. This shows that in the British Chinese families surveyed, there are a number of information communication technologies present in the domestic context.

In contrast, for the American Chinese families, 'education status' is significantly related to 'respondent's age', 'use of Internet', 'use of network channels' (-, a negative relationship) and 'subscribe to or buy Chinese newspapers' (-). Unlike their British Chinese counterparts, American Chinese immigrants' family structure cannot be easily identified. However, education status does become an index for the use of Internet and reading of Chinese newspapers. In addition, 'number of children' shows a negative significant relationship to 'cable TV' and 'read Chinese news on the Internet'. This indicates that the subscription to cable and Internet service is less likely for families with a large number of children.

In conclusion, the differences in the survey responses between the cohort of British Chinese families and American Chinese families have shown that Chinese ethnicity alone cannot account for the different bilingual cultural practices existent with Chinese immigrant families. In the survey with the British Chinese families, Cantonese is the dominant language used in the domestic context, followed by Mandarin. This has made 'Chinese language family' a potential criterion for organising contrasting groups. For this reason, it is critical to investigate how Chinese immigrant families' media use and cultural practices centre on the language, and how a language family is used by the immigrant families to mark their identity and differentiate themselves from the speakers of other Chinese languages. For example, Hong Kong Chinese often differentiate themselves from Mainland Chinese in the use of different Chinese languages. The multifarious distinctions between these two cohorts can be identified by the use of different Chinese writing systems, attending different

community Chinese schools, and practising different cultures. In order to explore in depth the heterogeneity embedded in the bilingual and bicultural practices of the Chinese immigrant families, the following chapter will present the qualitative information to contextualise the bilingual and bicultural practices and will explore the heterogeneity on the dimensions of country of origin, heritage language and host country. Also, the arrangement of Chapters Four and Five is in tandem with the concept of grounded theory. Given that the aim of Chapter Four is to present an overview of bilingual context within Chinese immigrant families, I can then use the informative data in Chapter Four to plan the necessary theoretical samplings such as surveys, media diaries and qualitative interviews to probe the heterogeneity within the bilingual and bicultural practices.

Chapter Five

Bilingual Cultural Practices and Their Implications for the Chinese Immigrant Families

5.0 Introduction

This chapter will continue to explore bilingual contexts sustained by Chinese immigrant families in both the UK and the USA. The degree to which bilingual contexts are sustained by these families is not simply a matter of proficiency of heritage language matched against English. Rather, it relates to the everyday life of the Chinese families in a multicultural society.

Chinese children may appear 'natural' at mastering both languages, suggesting that their bilingual ability is endowed by their Chinese ancestry as well as the English-speaking multicultural society in which they are raised. However, this is not necessarily the case. Their mastery of the heritage language reflects the extent of language use in addition to social and cultural affiliation. Cho (2000) argues that to be competent in one's own heritage language is critical to ethnic identity and to the knowledge of heritage culture and tradition. By Cho's argument, language is a practice for ethnic identity and cultural repertoire. In this sense, I do not intend to place an emphasis on the bilingual ability of the British and the American Chinese children, as there are a number of texts addressing bilingualism from a sociocultural perspective, such as Li Wei's (2000) *The Bilingualism Reader*. Instead, it is the sociocultural context which contributes to bilingual and bicultural practices that I will highlight in this chapter. From my study, it appears that cultural practices do not occur in a vacuum but depend on the embedding context.

In terms of heritage language and cultural practices, the embedding context is a signifying process that allows Chinese families in the US and the UK to develop a sense of their own identity. Chapter Four shows that there is a relationship between immigrant history, family

structure and the use of ethnic media. Also, there are a sizable number of families supporting the practice of heritage language and Chinese literacy education. With this in mind, I will draw on three aspects—immigration history, Chinese language media, and community Chinese schools—to qualitatively explore the naturally occurring bilingual context and the subsequent implications for the Chinese families. Each of the aspects of the bilingual context is supported by the data from the interviews with the parents and the children. Each interview excerpt is labelled with a theme and presented as a figure. The labelling standard is based on short illustrations of the interview excerpt and direct quotations from the interview participants. This labelling structure is applied to all the chapters in this PhD thesis.

5.1 The British Chinese Families

The data collected on the British Chinese families is derived from fourteen parents (eight Cantonese-speaking parents and six Mandarin-speaking parents) who agreed to take part in this qualitative research and share their immigration history as well as account for their use of ethnic media and describe to what degree they want their children to be familiar with Chinese language and culture (see interview schedule in Appendix B). To protect the identity of the research participants, the names used in all interviews are pseudonyms, but their real occupations and ages are provided to reflect their diverse perspectives.

5.1.1 The Immigrant History of the British Chinese Families

The heterogeneous nature of the ethnic Chinese diaspora can be attributed to different waves of migration. According to Karim (1998), diasporas are not necessarily categorised by primal factors such as race and ethnicity. The nuances within a diaspora group are created by political, temporal and spatial factors. As Karim argues,

Following the lifting of restrictions on race-based immigration in the 1950s and 1960s, Asians and Africans began to migrate in larger numbers to North America, Australasia, and Europe... These movements of people of various origins to different parts of the

world have created diasporas that are layered by periods of migration, the extent of integration into receiving societies, and the maintenance of links with the land of origin as well as with other parts of the transnational group...(Karim, 1998, p.2-3).

In this respect, the distinction between Hong Kong Chinese and Mainland Chinese in Britain and Vietnamese Chinese and Mainland Chinese in the United States is more than just that of heritage language and place of origin.

A. The Hong Kong Chinese

Amongst British Chinese families studied, Hong Kong Chinese were different from mainland Chinese in terms of their emigration. Those from Hong Kong who emigrated for job opportunities settled in the UK during the 1950s and 1960s (Wang, 1999). Conversely, Chinese mainlanders came much more recently and for educational advancement.

Many of the early Hong Kong settlers were males from villages, who gained some stability before sending for the rest of their family. In the following interview excerpt Cynthia indicated that her father travelled to England with only basic personal belongings because the initial intention for those early migrants from Hong Kong was to earn money for the family they left behind in Asia.

Figure 5.1 Travelling alone to England

Cynthia (former Chinese-take-away owner, mother): My dad carried...a sailor's bag, a brush, a rag, a tube of toothpaste and one or two items of clothing, and worked as a cook on the ship and followed the ship to England... My dad was in the first batch of [sojourners] but my mom came here by plane⁷.

In contrast, mainland Chinese came to Britain in the late 80s, mainly for higher education. They then settled in Britain and worked as professionals in a variety of occupations (Hamilton, 1999).

⁷ Interviews with Chinese parents are literally translated from Cantonese and Mandarin to English. This rule of translation is to maintain the originality of the interview transcript although, to some extent, the syntax of English is compromised.

The Hong Kong parents interviewed immigrated to the UK with their families during their adolescence. Because their labour was needed in the family-run Chinese businesses, many of them had to quit school after a short period of English language learning in school. This reflected that the purpose of pedagogy, primarily, was to prepare them for English language communication rather than to learn the knowledge in the content subject. In Hong Kong, these children would have been involved in farm work and, as indicated by Pete (Figure 5.2), when they came to Britain they sacrificed education in order to contribute to the family economy.

Figure 5.2 Labour experience since early childhood

Pete (Chinese take away, father): I came to England when I was 14 or 15.

Interviewer: Did you attend high school here?

Pete: No, I came here when I was 15 and after that I didn't attend school....

Interviewer: ... that must be tough. You were still young at that time

Pete: Yes, I was still young but I even worked before that [back in Hong Kong]...

Some did receive one or two years of English schooling but often felt humiliated in front of their English classmates (Figure 5.3).

Figure 5.3 Cynthia's early experience of English language schooling

Cynthia (British Chinese, mother): ...when people said 'Good morning' to you, you only responded in 'yes', 'yes' or 'no'. It was only a few phrases such as 'Good morning' or something like that. I was such a fool at that time and I was often teased... When I cried really hard and she [Cynthia's cousin] came over to ask me, 'Why were you crying?' but it was too late...

Unlike their parents, who were employed in kitchen and cleaning jobs, the children had more direct contacts with the native British and often liaised between their non-English speaking parents and the native British. Although not receiving a thorough English

language education, they acquired proficiency in English through working in the Chinese take-away business. For this reason, the parents relied on the children and would usually live with one of their children after retirement. This also meant that the children's English remained limited and it was thus difficult to fully integrate into British society. However, they did inherit from their parents a Chinese identity which was very much linked to the catering industry, as the interview with Cynthia would suggest.

Figure 5.4 The inheritance of Chinese food business

Interviewer: Why do many of the overseas Chinese run Chinese take-away?

Cynthia: Because our education status is not good enough...our parents were already involved in this [Chinese restaurant] industry and we had no time to study English...But our next generation still has a chance to escape the circle of Chinese food industry... but for my generation, I couldn't leave it because I am getting old now...

The average British Chinese parent was normally from a large family. Life in Hong Kong was based around the village society and this usually meant a tough childhood. Older children would have to either labour for money or take care of their brothers and sisters while the rest of the family earned a living. The poverty experienced in childhood and adolescence caused them to impose a strict discipline on their own children when they came to the UK. For example, both Cynthia and Maria, two British Chinese mothers, projected their childhood experience on their child-rearing.

Figure 5.5 Different childhood experience between generations

(1)

Cynthia: I carried my little brother when I was five and herded the cow in the village. Can you imagine that she [Cynthia's daughter] is already eleven now and she still has to watch cartoons, I feel that she never grows up. You see, (Laughter) I am really old-fashioned.

(2)

Maria had managed a Chinese restaurant business since her early teens. Her childhood

experience convinced her that nothing in this world came free and easy.

Maria (former Chinese take away owner, mother): He earns every game he has... For example, I know he likes PlayStation Two and stuff which are very expensive...because I feel like they are just for entertainment ... I want him to know that parents cannot always have that much money because the games are not cheap at all.

B. The British Mainland Chinese

The mainland Chinese participants interviewed came to Britain initially for higher education and academic exchange. Upon graduation and gaining a profession, they chose to settle in Britain with their families. Because these mainland Chinese were already professional, and some had numerous contacts with native-English-speaking professionals at work in China before they advanced their education in Britain, the English language was not a new language to them as it was for the Hong Kong Chinese. In the interview below, Henry is one of the mainland Chinese parents who had contact with native English speakers prior to his embarking on a new job in England.

Figure 5.6 Early contact with native English speakers in China

Henry (Graphic design professional, father): I came to England in 1987... Because then I was... teaching in the university [in China] and was in charge of a project, which was similar to the business of the company [a British company that offered Henry a position in England]; they hired me...

The majority of the mainland Chinese parents were funded academic scholars when they initially came to Britain. Unlike the Hong Kong Chinese, they did not have to join the labour market immediately upon their arrival in the UK. This discrepancy in English proficiency and social-economic class between mainland Chinese families and Hong Kong Chinese families is also apparent in family education and child rearing, both of which will be discussed later.

In contrast to the extended families of Hong Kong Chinese, mainland Chinese families were, in western terms, nuclear. Rarely did Chinese-speaking elders live with the family and even though the Chinese-speaking parents came to visit, they did not intend to settle in Britain. The absence of the Chinese-speaking elder in the household contributed to the problems of child-rearing. Because both the mainland Chinese parents had to work, their children were often put in the care of native British professional child care givers with the result that many British Chinese children born in mainland Chinese families spoke English as their first language. In these families, a Chinese language was not used for child rearing. Instead, it was used between parents and Chinese-speaking friends and relatives. Chinese children speaking English as their first language appeared to be in a dilemma. This dilemma stemmed from the conflict between Chinese ethnicity and British identity and was considered an important issue by the mainland Chinese parents in Britain. The term 'foreigner' used by Henry (Figure 5.7) implied that both the father and the interviewer were ethnic Chinese. The 'we' versus 'others' illustrated the difference the ethnic Chinese perceived between themselves and the native British.

Figure 5.7 Language gap by generation

Henry (Graphic design professional, father): ... We were very busy then and both of us had to go to work so we had to send our kids to a foreigner's family and so we communicated with them in [English]... But then I found that this was a mistake and we should not speak to them in English... Sometimes I talked to them in Chinese on purpose but they always used English to respond and at the end I used English as well. There was a problem with this. (Laughter)

Consequently, English was the language commonly used between mainland Chinese parents and their children. Even though the parents made several attempts to initiate conversations in Chinese, their children failed to acknowledge the linguistic cues and still responded in English.

Figure 5.8 The parents' attempt to promote heritage language

Matthew (Pharmacy professional, father): We [husband and wife] use both English and Chinese. But we always want to speak in Chinese because we are afraid that he will forget Chinese. We also want him to get motivated to learn Chinese...but he is not willing to speak Chinese.

Interviewer: At home?

Matthew: He only speaks it for a while...but if you speak Chinese to him, he responds to you in English.

Mainland Chinese parents frequently spoke in English to their children, who were more conversant in English than in Chinese. From the perspective of the children, they were brought up to learn the basics of the Chinese language by identifying the language and its users. As a result, Chinese was only used with their grandparents from China who might come to Britain occasionally. In this respect, the connection between Chinese and its users was more to do with the lack of English proficiency of the visiting Chinese elders.

Mainland Chinese families were often independent, without any family and relatives in Britain. The lack of close kin made many mainland Chinese form a narrow society with other parents in the community Chinese school. This ethnic enclave took on a different form to that of the Hong Kong Chinese. The former was a community-based institution while the latter established its ethnic nexus through the family-run Chinese take-away business. Despite the fact that mainland Chinese parents were mainly professionals and had very intensive contact with the native British at work, their interaction with the native British community was limited outside of the work environment.

The two fathers (see Figure 5.9) demonstrated that their inability to assimilate into British society can be attributed to the lack of sense of belonging and to a large cultural chasm that existed between British and Chinese cultures. Frank perceived that 'a society was composed of family and friends.' His perspective of society was close to what Putnam (2000)

defines as 'community.'

For most of us, our deepest sense of belonging is to our most intimate social networks, especially family and friends. Beyond that perimeter lie work, church, neighbourhood, civic life and an assortment of other weak ties (p.274).

Frank implied that his Chinese cultural heritage was the backbone of his social network. Because friendships were normally formed with other ethnic Chinese parents and were connected to the community Chinese school, their children often participated in the same activities and learned skills from the same instructors. In this narrow society, conforming to the group was expected. For example, reducing the amount of hours children watch TV was common so that the children could invest more time in their 'proper learning.' In this respect, mainland Chinese parents were oriented towards disregarding TV as a medium for learning (Figure 5.9)

Figure 5.9 Group conformity

Interviewer: Why is your daughter learning piano?

Frank: ...Most of the people in this community want their kids to learn something such as to learn piano. Of course this is not the primary reason but this becomes a trend. Because everybody supports such practice, I have to do it as well...another reason for this is to make her schedule tight in case she watches TV for the whole day..

This parental discipline was also evident in the children's collection of popular culture products in Section 7.1.5 (C), which demonstrates that middle class families opt to purchase more educational materials and less popular culture items for their children.

5.1.2 The Usage Pattern of Chinese Language Media in the Domestic Context

Diasporic minorities often have to turn to media produced in the country of origin—especially satellite television—....in order to meet their desires and needs for ethnic information and entertainment and outputs in their minority language (Georgiou, 2003, p.19).

Ethnic media contributes to ethnic cohesion and cultural heritage (Karim, 1998). The quantitative data in Chapter Four shows that the British Chinese families under study had access to a variety of ethnic media products such as Chinese satellite television, Chinese news on the Internet and so forth. Chinese satellite TV is the ethnic media most widely subscribed to by ethnic Chinese families. It provides for the niche market of ethnic Chinese communities by relaying news and entertainment that interests and appeals to the Chinese diaspora. From the perspective of the Chinese immigrant families, Chinese satellite TV is less a symbol of wealth than it is of Chinese identity. This is despite the high subscription costs that generally do not allow the less well-off in diaspora communities to receive the programmes (Karim, 1998).

Because social, cultural, psychological, temporal, and contextual factors are mediating the process of media consumption (Gee, 1991; 2006; Buckingham, 1993), media consumption is more than an activity. For the Chinese immigrants, Chinese language satellite TV is perceived more as a cultural practice and is used to satisfy the cultural and psychological needs of the Chinese. In this sense, the use of the ethnic media is, to a large extent, culturally and psychologically motivated. According to Berry (1989), the acculturation level of immigrants is reflected by the use of ethnic media, as opposed to the use of the English language media. By Berry's theory, he acknowledges that the dual language media access is existent with immigrants and, presumably, this would mean ethnic media is not only mediating the acculturation process of the Chinese immigrants but also, relatively, affects how the English language media is used.

As we have already explored the relationship between Chinese satellite television and the Chinese diaspora, the following section will continue to consider the use of the ethnic media in relation to family, context, and heritage language. While acknowledging that the Chinese media are influenced by modern media techniques and communication technology, I want to discuss the development of Chinese language media in the host country from its beginnings

to the present for the Chinese immigrant families. To these families, the development of Chinese language media is followed by the changing cultural practices and records the reminiscence of the Chinese immigrants from their adolescence to adulthood.

A. The Hong Kong Chinese Families and the Ethnic Media

For the Hong Kong Chinese parents surveyed, exposure to the popular media in their teenage years was limited due to their work in the Chinese food industry. During that period, as work in the Chinese restaurants was labour-intensive and fast-paced, leisure time was confined to the late evening. This suggested that entertainment to the hard-working Hong Kong Chinese immigrant families was a luxury. Subsequently, the children would read popular fiction secretly and quietly in bed, unnoticed by family members. Then, reading Chinese language fictions was a popular cultural practice in the community.

In terms of exposure to popular culture, 金庸 (Gan Yun) a Chinese martial art fiction series, and 瓊瑤 (Kuong Yo) a romantic fiction series, were popular with the British Chinese during their adolescence. Indeed, many Hong Kong Chinese parents interviewed explained that they were loyal fans of Gan Yun and Kuong Yo's novels. Cynthia, a former Chinese take-away business owner, stated, 'When I was in my teenage years, I read Kuong Yo...Every book of Kuong Yo I have read but now I almost forgot them all...when I was a teenager, I liked to read Kuong Yo's stuff.'

Reading fiction was popular then and the only entertainment they could expect after a long tiring day in the Chinese food business. Gan Yun's Chinese martial art fictions included many real Chinese historical events and geographical references. Gan Yun's readers were not only fascinated with the narrative but also were able to learn about history and geography through reading his novels. Because Gan Yun's fiction was oriented towards martial arts, it appealed more to male readers than females, as evidenced in the interview with Sam and Wendy. Conversely, Kuong Yo's fiction series was oriented towards tragic love and romance

between Chinese couples and families, and attracted many female readers.

Figure 5.10 Chinese fictions – a common cultural practice at adolescence

(1)

Sam (Chinese take away, father): I liked to read novels and martial art fictions...like Gan Yun's martial art fiction series...I loved them. I carried the book all the time. I took it out...Whenever I got the time...I just read.

(2)

Wendy (Chinese take away, mother): In the past when he [Wendy's husband] worked for others, he liked to read Gan Yun's Chinese fictions. Therefore he was very familiar with Chinese history....sometimes I watched TV and I asked him [about the historical events] if I did not understand...he told me what it was about.

The popularity of *Gan Yun* fiction (金庸小說) and *Kuong Yo* fiction (瓊瑤小說) in the Chinese-speaking communities was verified by searching in the Web. The search count on *Google* was 2,440,000 for '金庸小說' and 337,000 for '瓊瑤小說' (<http://www.google.com>, assessed October 17th, 2005). The readers of these two authors can now access the narrative of their novels on the Internet and read entire volumes as digital texts. In addition, the fictional texts have been adapted for TV, movies, and even computer games. The derivative products of Gan Yu's and Kuong Yo's fiction series reflect how the readers are able to explore a variety of textual representations in different places and at different times.

Reading Chinese fiction often leads to watching Chinese drama series on Chinese satellite television, and this was a common experience shared by the Hong Kong Chinese adult participants in this study. The majority of them subscribed to TVBS-Europe because it not only provided programmes twenty-four hours around the clock but also broadcasted news from Hong Kong in Cantonese.

Cantonese and Mandarin are mutually incomprehensible languages (see Section 4.3). This is the main reason why Hong Kong Chinese subscribed to Cantonese TV, *TVBS-Europe*, and

mainland Chinese subscribed to Mandarin TV, *CCTV*. David and Linda (Figure 5.11) pointed out that language and place of origin were important for their choice of Cantonese satellite TV over Mandarin satellite TV. They also acknowledged that watching the TVB channel was a common practice for their relatives in Hong Kong.

Figure 5.11 Hong Kong and TVB

David (Chinese take-away owner, father): [What satellite TV do you subscribe to?] Mo-Cing [TVBS-Europe].

Interviewer: Why do you choose Mo-Cing rather than CCTV or Phoenix?

David: CCTV is about China and broadcast in Mandarin Chinese.

Linda (David's wife): We are from Hong Kong. [Laughter]

David: Phoenix Channel broadcasts mostly in Mandarin Chinese...because Mo-Cing broadcasts in Cantonese.

Linda: Plus our relatives in Hong Kong have been watching this [TVB].

The Hong Kong Chinese parents surveyed subscribed to TVB for several reasons, which would include getting the news coverage from Hong Kong, maintaining their Chinese identity, and helping their children to learn Chinese. Charlie, a Chinese restaurant owner, stated that

I am living with my mother who does not speak English. She could watch English TV programmes but first, she doesn't understand the language and second, she wants to watch some Chinese programmes...so at first I wanted to let my mother and my wife watch the Chinese programmes so that they would not get bored. Another reason was that I wanted my children to watch more Chinese programmes.

Both Charlie and Jason (Figure 5.12) identified that language was a marker for one's identity, and Chinese language TV was a medium for one to establish his/her 'ethnic' character in the process of identification.

Figure 5.12 Chinese TV, Chinese ethnicity and the Chinese way of thinking

(1)

Charlie (Computer Specialist, father): Because we are Chinese...plus the way they [native British] produce the programmes and the way of their thinking is a bit closed to us...plus the shows are way too long. Take 'Coronation Street' for example, it has been broadcasted for decades and it is still showing. The story doesn't vary much and it is dull.

(2)

Jason (Chinese take-away owner, father): We watch the [Chinese] satellite...our children know our culture and they can learn the language and something about back home as well. Because we are living in England and our skin is not white... they [Jason's children] feel English but deep down they are still Chinese. It's better if they know something about 'our' culture...[Jason acknowledges the interviewer's ethnic Chinese identity]

Apart from these reasons, the presentations and programme arrangements on TVBS-Europe catered to the Cantonese-speaking population. The news and drama series on TVB were played several times in a day, and the drama series were oriented towards Cantonese family viewers. The Cantonese speaking elders and care-givers in the household watched most of the Cantonese drama series whilst babysitting the children. The shared experience of the Cantonese care-givers and the British Chinese children in viewing Cantonese drama provided a cultural link between the young and old. Brought up in this particular environment, the older children were not only accustomed to watching Chinese language drama series, but were also able to demonstrate better heritage language skills than their Mandarin speaking counterparts. Charlie's oldest daughter, aged 11, stated her preference for Chinese language TV. Charlie (Figure 5.13) attributed this to the care giver's influence, in this case Charlie's mother, over his children's media consumption.

Figure 5.13 Chinese TV and Chinese care givers

Interviewer: I just had an interview with your daughter and she said that she preferred to watch the Chinese channel. Why does she prefer to watch the Chinese channel?

Charlie: ...When they were still little, my mother already liked to watch Chinese channel [while babysitting the grandchildren]. Most of the time my mother watched the Chinese channel. Sometimes they [Charlie' daughters] would like to watch sports, they would go upstairs and turn on the second TV set.

Although the elders had been instrumental in prompting the British Chinese children to explore Chinese language TV programmes in the early years, older British Chinese children tended to be more independent in what they watched. In this respect, the younger children were influenced by both the older children and the carers.

When this study was carried out, Chinese drama series such as *Monkey King for the Sutra* (齊天大聖孫悟空), *Virtues of Harmony* (皆大歡喜), and *Square Peg* (憨夫成龍) were popular with the whole family, including the children (Figure 5.14). This was apparent when referring to both the children's focus group interviews and the media diaries. Anna (Figure 5.15), a 9-year-old from a Cantonese speaking family, watched *Square Peg* and kept a media diary (see Chapter 3 for methodology) in Chinese about the protagonist called 阿旺 (A-Wong). She repeatedly wrote about '阿旺' in Chinese, demonstrating her Chinese linguistic awareness.

Figure 5.14 Chinese drama series—a popular culture practice for the Cantonese families

Interviewer: Are they [Chinese satellite TV programmes] still showing ... Monkey King?

Everyone (Anna, 9 years old; Sue, 11; Vivian, 11): It's finished.

Interviewer:... So what's being showing after that?

Everyone: Square Peg!⁸

Figure 5.15 Anna's Media Diary

Thursday 26th Feb

Square

阿旺 wife left him and went to her home with her another family. Because 阿旺 teacher came back and she didn't like a 阿旺 and his wife together because 阿旺 teacher you to was together. Then 阿旺 got kidnapped on to the boat, 阿旺 started fight then he got throw in the water then he remember all the thing from long ago. Then remember who his really Mum was who has die and the one who he live with wasn't his really Mum and Dad.

time start: 7:15 pm
time finished: 8:00 pm

Watching Chinese language drama series was a prevalent cultural practice within the Cantonese speaking families and communities in this study. Thus, the children were being raised in a sociocultural environment which was in favour of a Chinese language medium.

⁸ Interview with the children requires no translation given that English is the medium of communication between the interviewees and interviewer. Transcription standard: "... " for ellipsis or pause, "[]" for additional information.

Julie (Figure 5.16), a 12-year-old from a Cantonese-speaking family, detailed times and titles of Chinese TV series that she and her family watched. Each Chinese TV series had an equivalent English translation but Julie specified the Chinese title in parenthesis to show her awareness of the Chinese programmes.

Figure 5.16 Julie's Media Diary

Monday:- After school when I am at my grandma's house at 6:00pm I watch The Simpsons on BBC 2 because I sometimes find it funny. After that on BBC 2 at 6:20pm I watch The Fresh Prince of Bel-Air. I watch it because it's kind of funny as well. At home, at 9:05pm on T.V.B (Chinese channel) I watch Virtues of Harmony (皆大歡喜). My whole family watches it and it has a lot of different problems in the program. At 9:30pm I watch Burning Flame II (烈火雄心 II). I watch that because I have nothing to do.

The new episodes were always on at night, and this widened the children's choice and enabled them to combine English and Chinese TV programmes. Steve (Figure 5.17) stated that watching Chinese drama series was inclusive for all the family and he had learned to incorporate this into his habit of viewing English language programmes after school and Chinese ones at night.

Figure 5.17 TV programmes for day and night

Steve (12 years old): First, my mom, my dad, my grandmother just like to watch Chinese drama and then, every now and then I just start to watch a little bit. I start to follow underneath and I start to watch more.

Bryce (8 years old): But I always watch the English channel in the morning.

Interviewer: In the morning?

Steve (12 years old): Then at night you watch Chinese... because in English [channels], there is nothing on in Chinese.

Bryce: On Chinese in the morning there is nothing on. It is all about News.

The Chinese drama series provided a context not only for the British Chinese families to entertain and socialize but also a learning opportunity for their offspring to advance their Chinese language skills. Maria (Figure 5.18) demonstrated how her children benefited from watching Chinese language programmes in terms of improving their Chinese vocabulary.

Figure 5.18 Chinese TV and Chinese literacy

Maria (Former Chinese take-away owner, mother): Sometimes he [Maria's son] will laugh at the programme if he understands it. If he doesn't get it, he will ask you what does that mean. Sometimes they [the characters in the drama series] speak Chinese slang and they [Maria's two children] do not understand it because they have never heard it in the UK. They are surprised to learn from TV that some slang can be said in a certain way and they feel that it is awesome and they then know how to use the slang accordingly...

B. The Mainland Chinese Families and the Media

The identities of individuals and groups within specific diasporas are formed by complex historical, social, and cultural dynamics within the group and in its relationships with other groups. Retention of ancestral customs, language...and particularly the ease of communication between various parts of the transnational group helps determine its characteristics (Karim, 1998, p.3).

In this study, the mainland Chinese, as with the Hong Kong Chinese, opted to subscribe to Chinese satellite television. However, as expected, they subscribed to a different Chinese satellite television services, CCTV (an independent service) and the Phoenix channel (PCNE) on Sky. Similar to their Hong Kong Chinese counterparts, mainland Chinese families subscribed to Chinese satellite television mainly for the benefit of Chinese-speaking elders at home, although these elders did not reside in Britain as British citizens. Instead, they chose to come to Britain to visit the family, and occasionally babysat the grandchildren during their stay. Henry (Figure 5.19) accommodated his mother's entertainment needs during her frequent visits in England by subscribing to Chinese satellite TV.

Figure 5.19 'At first it was for my mother'

Interviewer: Why do you subscribe to cable or satellite TV? What are your reasons?

Henry: ...The primary reason is to watch Chinese channels. At first, it was not for me to watch Chinese channels but because my mother was here.

Interviewer: How often does your mother come to England?

Henry: My mom comes to the UK very often. Now she is not here. She comes back and forth from time to time.

The absence of Chinese-speaking elders in the household made the British Chinese children born into mainland families less interested in Chinese language programmes and thus less likely to use Chinese for communication. Presumably, because mainland Chinese parents had better English proficiency and were working in an environment full of native British professionals, they watched more English language programmes and were inclined to communicate in English with their offspring. Mandarin Chinese would be used among the parents and their Chinese-speaking friends.

Due to the fact that both of the parents in mainland Chinese families worked, there was hardly anyone in the households to look after the children. Parents often put their children in the after-school club (see Figure 5.20).

Figure 5.20 Child rearing and TV habits

(1)

Interviewer: Why does she go home that late?

Frank (University lecturer, father): Because both of us have to go to work...she is in an after-school club... After she comes back...she starts to have her dinner at 6 p.m. and finishes it at 6:30. After dinner, she watches TV for another 10 to 20 minutes and then she does her business like doing her journal, playing piano and writing her homework.

(2)

Interviewer: Besides watching CCTV [China Central Television], what other channels are you watching?

Lucy (Nurse profession, mother): ...Because both of us have to go to work, we are very

busy with two kids and we can only watch some news.

Interviewer: Are you saying that you only watch a little bit of TV?

Lucy: Yes, only some time in the evening because the kids keep us busy throughout the day...For Ken [Lucy's son]... he goes to school and stays in the after-school club for two hours and I pick him up after work.

The TV viewing pattern of the mainland Chinese parents was different from that of the Hong Kong Chinese, who could watch a varied amount of TV. Most of the Hong Kong Chinese in this study ran a Chinese take-away business downstairs while the family lived upstairs. Therefore, raising children was done in conjunction with their livelihood. Furthermore, the elders in the household frequently recorded Chinese programmes so that the parents could watch programmes on the VCR.

By contrast, mainland Chinese families watched Chinese satellite television coupled with English language programmes after their children went to sleep. They mostly watched the news and current affairs programmes if their schedule allowed it. One of the reasons why they watched more factual programmes on Chinese satellite TV was that news and current affairs outweighed light entertainment and drama. This was because programmes on the Chinese channel were oriented more towards adult viewers. Accordingly, the children from mainland Chinese families (Figure 5.21) found Chinese language television difficult to comprehend in terms of language and programme content.

Figure 5.21 Mandarin TV talking too fast

Beth (UK, 10 years old): We only get one satellite so you can't really get two things at once. Sometimes I can understand a little bit but not really much because I watch what they are doing and I can understand what they are saying sometimes.

Christina (UK, 10 years old): They say it too fast.

Beth: Sometimes my dad asks me, 'Do you understand it?'... but not really although sometimes I do.

Christina: I saw Chinese news...talked really fast and I didn't understand a word.

Beth: Oh, yeah. They [TV news anchors] always speak fast.

Due to these factual programmes placing a high demand on the viewers' cognitive and Chinese linguistic abilities, the British Chinese children born into mainland families were not oriented to Chinese TV. Although the children could assert control over what they wanted to watch and avoid the incomprehensible Chinese language programmes, frequent family trips to China often tested their proficiency in Mandarin when they were exposed to Chinese language and culture. Although the family normally communicated in English, visiting China required frequent use of the heritage language on the part of the children. Put in this situation, the children were forced to participate in conversational Chinese and, because of this, they often made considerable progress in being literate in the native language of their parents.

Mike's family paid frequent visits to China. When asked about Mike's proficiency in Mandarin after returning from China, Mike's father stated: 'It was excellent. [Laughter] He spoke Chinese fluently then but he forgot a bit of English... after a while, it was back to normal again. During his two months in China, his Chinese was excellent. He spoke so well.'

In order to develop literacy and encourage their children to learn Chinese, the parents often purchased a variety of educational materials while in China, although their effort was hardly appreciated by the children. These educational aids were often presented in simple Chinese language with the content catering to preschool children. It would appear from this that the parents presumed their children's Chinese skills were at the preschool level and their children would be motivated by the learning materials. However, age-inappropriate learning materials often prevented the children from integrating the supplementary materials into their daily activities. Lucy, a then seven-year-old girl, watched *Top of the Pops* and enjoyed

singing along with the popular hit songs, but her father (Figure 5.22) failed to acknowledge Lucy's musical preference.

Figure 5.22 Not interested in the Chinese language materials

Frank (University lecturer, father): I brought quite a few [learning materials] back here... we [Frank and his wife] went back [to China] and we bought something for her English learning as well as the DVDs for Chinese learning and some Chinese singing and dancing..

Interviewer: Are they all nursery rhymes?

Frank: Nursery rhymes and children's dancing.

Interviewer: Mainly for her to learn Chinese?

Frank: Yes, mainly for her to learn Chinese, but she never watches them.

Apart from these educational aids for their children, mainland Chinese parents also purchased locally produced popular drama series on the recommendation of their families and Chinese friends. These popular media products, such as VCDs and DVDs, became souvenirs of the trip but were actually in great demand within the Chinese community as Henry and his wife often loaned the drama series to their friends in England.

Figure 5.23 Circulation of Chinese drama series

Henry (Graphic design professional, father): Friends [in China] would recommend to me a few TV series and if they were good, as they said, I would take them back [to England]...In general...they were something like VCDs and DVDs... After I watched them once, I was not interested in the shows anymore.

Interviewer: How about your wife?

Henry: After she watched them once, she was not interested anymore. We just loaned them to others.

5.1.3 The Community Chinese School in Nottinghamshire

Within the Chinese immigrant families, both language and media appeared to serve different needs such as communication, information, and entertainment. However, underlying the pragmatics of Chinese language and media is the connection to Chinese culture and Chinese identity that is negotiated at individual and group levels. The extent to which 'Chineseness'

is practiced varies considerably; although how much it varies depends on how Chineseness is defined. To preserve a sense of ethnic Chinese identity may be a dilemma in a multicultural society. This is because community resources, language, and education policies favour the English language (Blackledge, 2004). Heritage language is an identity marker for ethnicity because it enhances the stereotype which is constructed by the dominant culture. The stereotype, as stated by one of the British Chinese parents, is rooted in the 'appearance' of the ethnic group.

Figure 5.24 Chinese ethnicity and 'Chinese' appearance

Charlie (Cantonese school, father): The problem is that no matter how good your English is, even if you are completely integrated into the society and working for British people or whatever.. the fact that you have black hair, black eyes and yellow skin can never be changed. From other people's perspective, whether you speak or not, they'll reckon you as Chinese people...if people look at you as Chinese, you should at least know something about the Chinese culture. If you don't know anything about Chinese, even reading and speaking, then that's not good enough because it does not match your outlook at all.(sic)

According to Wang (1988, p. 11), 'physical norms directly contribute to a keen sense of Chinese ethnic identity and in some cases are the essential elements that define ethnic identity.' Despite the fact that heritage language is an identity marker, the British Chinese have to live up to the stereotype that the host country has imposed on them. Charlie in Figure 5.24 pointed out that by living up to that stereotype, some knowledge of "Chineseness" should be assumed on the part on the British Chinese. Apart from the physical appearance, the most obvious criterion to support Chineseness seemed to be the heritage language. This was one of the reasons that made the British Chinese families send their children to the local Chinese school. From here, it also raises the issue of the role that local Chinese schools have played in promoting the heritage language, the literacy and the ethnic identity.

A. The British Chinese of Hong Kong Descent

The British Chinese children in my study who were born to Hong Kong Chinese families had a fair understanding of oral and listening skills in Cantonese as a result of the Chinese-speaking elders in the household and the frequent consumption of Chinese language media. However, despite the fact that they were fluent in Cantonese, they were illiterate in written Chinese. Illiteracy was a major problem and could not be tolerated by the British Chinese parents, who often placed a high regard on literacy education. In order to ensure that their children were in a position to develop their Chinese, the parents would often send their children to community schools for Chinese literacy education.

The attempts of the Hong Kong Chinese parents to put their children in the community Chinese school were not appreciated by some of their children, especially the boys. The reason for this unwillingness was that to learn how to write in Chinese served only as a limited social function. They believed that the only purpose in learning Chinese was to communicate with the Chinese-speaking elders in the family. Their reluctance to learn Chinese was compounded because the parents were fluent in English and the elders did not live with the family. Steve and Bryce (Figure 5.25) demonstrated why they considered there was little reason for them to be literate in Chinese.

Figure 5.25 Learning Chinese for grandparents

Steve (12 years old, Hong Kong Chinese family): I don't really like Chinese school, learning Chinese...

Bryce (8, Hong Kong): I don't really like Chinese school that much. Sometimes I don't really understand them. When I am speaking in English, they [teachers in Chinese school] just ignore me and then they go round say something else.

Steve: It annoys you.

Interviewer: Really? And what language do you guys use with your parents at home?

Steve: English.

Bryce: English.

Steve: But I talk in Chinese with my grandmother. [Steve's grandmother lives with the

family]

Interviewer: You talk to your grandmother in Chinese because your grandmother doesn't understand [English]?

Bryce: I have to because she doesn't know English.

Although many of the boys wanted to stop attending Chinese school, their parents would not allow it because they were concerned that the children should become illiterate in Chinese. In addition, the children might not be able to communicate with the people from the parents' hometown. This concern was widespread and the boys were forced to stay in the Chinese school even though they lacked interest and were bored in the class.

Figure 5.26 Children forced to stay in the Chinese school

Steve (12 years old, Hong Kong Chinese family): My mom will not let me quit Chinese school. Because if you go to Hong Kong, you should know Chinese...

Peter (12, Hong Kong) Yeah, but I don't want to... I get really bored.

Andy (9, Hong Kong): I don't really like Chinese but I just try to concentrate in the class...

Peter: That's why I give up [learning Chinese but Peter still attended the school every Sunday].

By contrast, girls from Hong Kong Chinese families took a more positive attitude toward learning Chinese. Eleven-year-old Sue, when asked about her reasons for learning Chinese, stated, 'It's good for your future. Say like if you go to China, if there is a sign on the wall, and there is no English... you will be able to read it or whatever it is saying... go this way to toilet or whatever.'

For these families, the ability to speak Chinese is a testament to Chinese ethnicity. In contrast to their parents, the British Chinese girls' definition of Chinese ethnicity was not necessarily to do with physical appearance. Instead, their Chinese ethnicity was inherited

from their parents and encapsulated in their 'Chinese blood', as Vivian put it.

Figure 5.27 Learning Chinese and Chinese blood

Vivian: Though we are Chinese as well, we are born in Britain. When you are in Britain or in different countries, you mostly learn that language and you don't learn blood's language.

Interviewer: Blood's language?

Sue: (Laughter)

Vivian: You know what I mean that we got Chinese blood, and then like if you come to Britain or were born in Britain... then you mostly learn that language... then you don't learn your own home language.

Hong Kong Chinese parents often differentiated themselves from the native British in terms of physical appearance. In this respect, it was easy to presume that the children represented a bridge between their non-English-speaking parents and the native British. Thus, those who were born in Hong Kong but who had spent most of their lives in England had been socialized to acknowledge the dichotomy of their own existence which encompassed both ethnic Chinese and native British. Physical attributes, though, could easily be identified and it was those which foreground the distinction between the British Chinese and the native British.

Within the family, 'Chineseness' was taken for granted. In contrast, outside the domestic context, Chineseness was stereotyped and socially constructed as Charlie pointed out in Figure 5.24. The British Chinese parents showed that regardless of how proficient their English was, there was still a social expectation to acknowledge their Chineseness, an outside expectation to make them act Chinese-like. This expectation was socialised and became obvious with the older Chinese children. Rarely had Hong Kong British Chinese parents thought of themselves as British even though they were naturalized as British citizens. On the other hand, their children were socialized to learn that their Chineseness was given at birth. For this reason, activities such as attending Chinese school developed a

sense of 'Chineseness' and enabled young people to achieve close identity with the Chinese population in their parents' country of origin.

B. The British Chinese of Mainland Chinese Descent

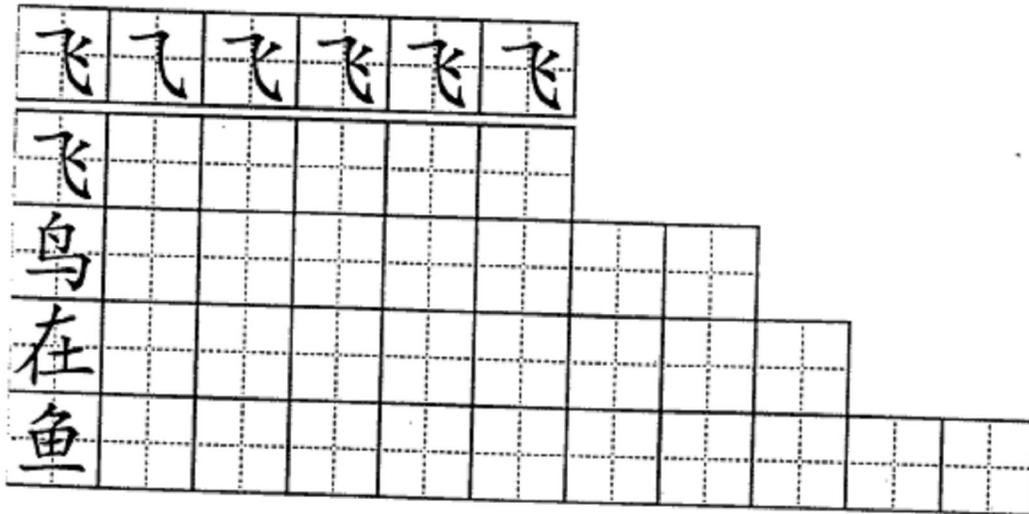
Similarly, many British Chinese children from mainland Chinese families felt reluctant to go to the Chinese school and actually preferred the English school. The children's unwillingness to learn Chinese, though acknowledged by the parents, did not pose a problem to the parents. Frank, like other parents, still drove Lucy to the Chinese school every Sunday. He stated that, 'She doesn't like to come here [community Chinese school]. If you ask her what she likes the most, she will say she loves dancing the most. Second, she likes to go to the English school. If I ask her to attend Chinese school, she will say that she doesn't like Chinese school.'

The children's reluctance suggested that Chinese literacy education was a solitary activity and full of writing drills. Lucy, aged 6, related her experience of Chinese school: 'I don't exactly like coming here because I have to wake up early and go alone and I do in writing, that's all...I just don't like doing in writing.'

Figure 5.28 Chinese writing drills

This is a typical writing practice for young pupils in the Mandarin Chinese school. Each grid is for the pupils to familiarise themselves with the size of each word and the distance between the words. By practicing the same characters over and over, the pupils begin to memorize the form of the words.

4. 写生字 (飞, 鸟, 在, 鱼 - 一字五遍写在练习本上) → 家庭作业.



Like their Hong Kong Chinese counterparts, the mainland Chinese children had their own perspective on Chinese literacy education. Chinese literacy education was deemed compulsory by their parents. The children often felt forced to learn Chinese but were content to attend the Chinese school because their Chinese friends were there. Beth and Christina (Figure 5.29) formed their friendship in the Chinese school which, for this reason, meant more than just an educational institution to them. Instead, it was also a place to socialise and expand their circle of friends outside the English school.

Figure 5.29 Chinese school as a place to socialise

Beth (10 years old): I think when I go to Chinese school, I find it's like...I don't know. It's a bit... intimidating...because it's like going to school on next two days when other people don't usually go...

Christina (10): I don't like it sometimes... but I like it sometimes. Because on Sunday it might be like really boring and I don't know...I don't have anything to do. I come here and to play with my friends like Beth.

The community Chinese school placed a high demand on the students to learn Chinese writing and this was manifested through the repetitive writing drills carried out during class and assigned for homework.

The pragmatics of the Chinese language often remained an irrelevant issue in the school curriculum. Chinese literacy was defined in the light of the ability to read and write 'Chinese characters'. Words and phrases were often introduced at the phoneme level and, thus, in a de-contextualized manner. In this respect, the pupils were not able to improve their Chinese writing at both the semantic level and at the discourse level. Furthermore, the pragmatics of the Chinese language was subject to the properties of a 'foreign' language because it was a language to practise in class and not for communication. Indeed, among the pupils in the Chinese class, communication remained in English.

Despite the fact that learning in a Chinese school was not appreciated by many of the British Chinese children from Mainland Chinese families, they were able to identify the implications of Chinese learning. For example, to maintain ethnic Chinese identity was commonly identified. Lucy and Zoe, seven-year-olds who both came from Mandarin families, justified their reasons for learning Chinese. Lucy perceived Chinese as her 'actual language', while Zoe asserted that 'because we are Chinese, we should learn how to speak Chinese.'

This apparent need to acquire Chinese was echoed by Mandarin-speaking parents such as Henry: 'I want to let them know that they are still Chinese and should know Chinese culture... I will send them to China during their school holiday ...I believe that this will help them with their Chinese.'

Although a few of the mainland Chinese children did not speak it as their first language, the Chinese language was important because it was 'perceived' to be the mother tongue. What was more, it was used to communicate with other Chinese-speaking families in England as well as relatives in China.

Figure 5.30 China as 'a Chinese-speaking country'

(1)

Joann (6 years old): Our grandma [in China] may not know English. If you just learn English, they won't understand you when you talk to them.

Interviewer: So you guys like to go back to China visiting?

Joann: Because I might go back to China because of my sister.

Lucy (7): Hey, I don't want to go back to China and have to speak Chinese again.

(2)

Interviewer: Why do you have to learn Chinese?

Mike (9 years old): Because we have to go back to China. When we go to China on holiday, if we don't know how to speak Chinese, we will not know our way around there, and our grandmother and grandpa are Chinese and speak only Chinese. My grandma and grandpa are in China and all the relatives except my family.

5.2 The American Chinese Families

This discussion with the American Chinese parents is based on studies of twelve participants, of whom the majority were Vietnamese Americans with Chinese ancestry. Based on twenty focus group interviews, the parents' accounts of the practice of heritage language and other cultural practices are juxtaposed with the views held by their children. Because the emigration of the American Chinese families originates from a different base, this results in

the American Chinese families having more diverse occupations than their British Chinese counterpart.

5.2.1 The Immigration History of the American Chinese Families

According to Zhou and Cai (2002), ethnic Chinese immigration to the USA can be divided into three major phases: The Gold Rush and railroad construction of the late nineteenth century, the relaxing of the U.S. immigration policy in 1965, and the third wave of Chinese immigration that took place from the mid-1980s to the early 1990s. However, Zhou and Cai do not consider the effects of the fall of Saigon in 1975 and the Sino-Vietnam War of 1978, both of which resulted in a large numbers of Indo-China Chinese coming to the United States as political refugees. (http://www.nationamaster.com/encyclopedia/Vietnamese_American, accessed October 8th, 2005)

One of the reasons, perhaps, why Zhou and Cai exclude the exodus of Chinese from Southeast Asia is what or who they define as 'ethnic Chinese'. It appears that, ideologically, Zhou and Cai side very much with the concept of a greater China which includes Taiwan and Hong Kong and is based on the Chinese government's wish to gain sovereignty over Taiwan. However, the legitimacy of this claim is still hotly debated in ethnic Chinese communities. My opinion of Zhou and Cai's ideological orientation of Chinese ethnicity coincides with Ang's (1998) definition of Chinese ethnicity outside of China.

China is presented as the cultural/geographical core in relation to which the overseas Chinese is forced to take up a humble position.... The problem is exacerbated for more remote members of the Chinese diaspora, such as for the Chinese in Malaysia and Indonesia or for second-generation Chinese-Americans and Chinese-Australians, whose Chineseness is even more diluted and impure. (<http://www.arts.uwa.edu.au/MotsPluriels/MP798ia.html>, accessed August 15th, 2005).

Another reason for Zhou and Cai's exclusion of the ethnic Chinese in Southeast Asia is the multilingual character in the communities of Indo-China Chinese. This confused situation is particularly exacerbated in interracial households of ethnic Chinese and indigenous people.

In addition, as ethnicity can be defined on the grounds of psychological emotion (Rex, 1996), it becomes increasingly difficult to assess how many ethnic Chinese immigrants from Southeast Asia there actually are.

To take Utah as an example, according to the U.S. census of 2000, there were 8,045 Chinese and 5,968 Vietnamese residents in the State. Of these, there were 7,093 Chinese speakers, and 5,202 used Vietnamese as their first language. These statistics do not clarify the ambiguity of Vietnamese Chinese identity, nor do they accurately reflect the ability of immigrants to speak more than their own language. Chinese, in this sense, is employed as an umbrella term and does not represent the diverse nature of 'Chineseness.'

A. The Vietnamese Chinese

As far as this research is concerned, Vietnamese Chinese Americans constitute the bulk of the participants for this research, though the families in question do include parents from mainland China. Thus, this section will introduce the diasporic background of Vietnamese Chinese Americans, as well as that of the mainland Chinese families.

Many Vietnamese Chinese in this study fled from Vietnam to escape the communist regime. However, before they could taste the freedoms they desired, the Vietnamese Chinese endured the refugee camps of Thailand, Malaysia, The Philippines, and Hong Kong before they were eventually granted admission to countries such as the USA, Australia, and France. It would be foreign sponsorship which determined where they finally settled. Sally and Larry (Figure 5.31) both escaped by boat from Vietnam when they were still teenagers. The price they had to pay for freedom and a better future was to risk their lives travelling on an over-crowded boat and then endured a long wait in the refugee camps.

Figure 5.31 Miles away to free land

(1)

Sally (Post office employee, mother): I came to America in 1979. I was a refugee at that time...I came to Malaysia at that time. I stayed in the Malaysia refugee camp and that's how I came to America.

Interviewer: Could you choose which country to go to?

Sally: No, it depended on which country would like to accept you and it was not like you could select a certain country.

(2)

Interviewer: Why did it take you so long? Why did you have to go to Thailand first?

Larry (Chinese take-away owner, father): Because if you were from Vietnam, you must go to Thailand first...so I stayed in a Thailand refugee camp for a while and waiting for relatives in Australia to sponsor me to Australia...If you got no relatives to sponsor you, then they would send you to any country. It depended on which country would take you and it was not up to your personal choice.

Many Vietnamese Chinese refugees came to the States via sponsorship from the public as well as the private sector. However, the sponsorship programme only lasted a few months, as its aim was to help those political refugees to adapt to the American life as soon as possible. These refugees had to quickly adapt to an American way of life which included living with their English-speaking sponsors and learning English as a second language. At the same time, they needed to make money and prepare for life on their own. The need to overcome language barriers as well as homesickness forced these refugees to work even harder so that they could sponsor the rest of their family to come to the States. During this time, the refugees (Figure 5.32) were dependent on their sponsors who, in most cases, provided them with assistance in all aspects of their life.

Figure 5.32 Living with Caucasian American sponsors

(1)

Interviewer: How did you feel living with your sponsor's family? Did you feel uncomfortable because you didn't understand English at that time?

Tim (Part-time help in Chinese restaurant, father): I absolutely didn't have a

clue of what they were talking about...so that's why I was always thinking about going back. My heart was not even in here at all.

Interviewer: You felt like you did not belong here?

Tim: No, because I couldn't communicate with the people outside and I couldn't communicate with my sponsor either although we were living together. Every time I talked to them... use a dictionary...after we stayed with them for three months, we moved out because she already finished her responsibility...to sponsor us over here, help us locate jobs, and find a place for us to stay...

(2)

Sally (Post office employee, mother): I couldn't speak a word [of English].

Interviewer: How did you make a living?

Sally: Partially because everyone was sponsored by somebody. We lived with our sponsor. He was a very nice person. That's why we learned English from him. Plus, our sponsor had sponsored many people as well.

When these Vietnamese Chinese started to learn to be independent by working in the labour market, their low English proficiency and educational status often confined them to manual work which was not competitive and it did not require any specific qualification (Figure 5.33).

Figure 5.33 Working in manual jobs

Tim: We had roughly about a thousand Chinese living in Utah at that time [1980 or 1981].

Interviewer: What kind of jobs did you guys do before?

Tim: My older brother worked in a bakery store. My older sister made clothes in a clothing factory. I worked as a janitor and went to school at the same time...They [Tim's older sister and brother] attended community school... like ESL.

An English language programme was offered to these refugees to aid their assimilation into the American society. Because the programme was often short-termed, it did not cover extensively the usage of the language. Additionally, the aim of such a programme was to prepare the refugees to get on with their life as soon as possible. Throughout the interview, the Viet-Chinese parents had often evaluated themselves as not being able to speak proper English. In most cases, they perceived that their insufficient ability in English had

prevented them from successfully completing English language programmes and assimilating to the American society (see Figure 5.38). McKay and Weinstein-Shr (1993) claim that the national policies in promoting the refugees' English literacy only aimed at providing them with functional English. Presumably, this language issue may be one of the reasons why the refugees mainly applied for manual jobs.

Once their life had become more manageable, the Vietnamese were able to sponsor members of their families to come to the States. Subsequently, the Vietnamese Americans who came to the States during the mid-1980s arrived because of family sponsorship. Therefore, later groups did not live with American sponsors like their family members who had come to the States earlier as political refugees.

Many first- and second-generation Vietnamese Chinese Americans in this research were multilingual. They could speak Cantonese, Vietnamese and Mandarin, in combination with other Chinese languages such as Fukienese, Hakka or Teochew. Because they were foreign-born, their multilingual proficiency reflected not only their minority status but also their diasporic background in Vietnam and America. Contrary to their parents and grandparents, the first generation of American-born 'Vietnamese Chinese' speak only English and Chinese. Although the American Chinese population is gradually losing their heritage language because of assimilation, their Chinese ethnicity remains through an awareness of their own identity as Chinese Americans and a belief that though they are Americans by birth they are Chinese by blood. Their diasporic history remains that of their parents and grandparents, something the previous generation left behind when they were forced to escape from Vietnam. Lina (Figure 5.34), born in a multilingual family, traced her ethnic roots and recollected her multilingual experience.

Figure 5.34 Vietnamese, English, and Chinese?

Lina (12 years old): Because my family was born in Vietnam but their parents were raised in China...they pass Chinese to everybody and they also pick up Vietnamese from Vietnam...and then when they got me, I knew Chinese but not Vietnamese. But now, I know American but I was born in America...I knew Chinese because they taught me Chinese but I didn't go to school at that time...and once I got to pre-school... the teacher [in the state school] said 'all she speaks is Chinese'... I start to learn... I pick up stuff but leave the stuff behind. Like Chinese, I leave it behind.

The multilingual character of the Vietnamese Chinese families could be attributed to the home language practice that was the medium of communication in school and the official language in Vietnam. Because Vietnamese was the official language of the public school system in Vietnam, the ethnic Chinese opted to attend private Chinese schools. Such linguistic orientation was to maintain the linguistic gap between domestic context and the wider society. Different Chinese schools used either the Cantonese or Mandarin language stream to cater to different ethnic Chinese in Vietnam.

Although they were a minority group, the Viet-Chinese were more well-to-do and generally better educated than the general Vietnamese population. However, they were deprived of their economic and politically privileged status after the fall of Saigon in 1975 and the Sino-Vietnamese War in 1978. This resulted in involuntary emigration among Vietnamese Chinese which affected the acculturation process in the receiving country.

Many Chinese Vietnamese Americans perceived themselves as ethnic Chinese rather than Vietnamese because they were the offspring of the early settlers from the province of Guangdong and Fukien in China. This perception of Chinese ethnicity made them more insular than other minorities. This not only applied to the broader American society but also

to their position within the Vietnamese community. For example, Vietnamese-Chinese Americans were more likely to send their children to local Chinese schools (Figure 5.47) rather than Vietnamese schools, subscribe to Chinese TV (Figure 5.38, 5.40) rather than Vietnamese TV, and speak their heritage Chinese language rather than Vietnamese at home.

B. The American Mainland Chinese

Due to the circumstances surrounding the immigration of mainland Chinese, their life in America differed from that of the Viet-Chinese. America has attracted mainlanders since the days of the Gold Rush in the second part of the nineteenth century. The myth that there were riches to be gained in America was widespread in China. This myth was never verified until the 1980s when China finally opened its door to foreign investors. However, this myth was never challenged in the isolated and undeveloped areas, and because the mainland Chinese immigrants in this study came from small villages and before the 1980s, this myth was shattered once the mainland Chinese immigrants set foot in the United States.

The low English proficiency of mainland Chinese immigrants and their need to gain employment in a competitive market meant that they had to take on lowly manual work in order to make ends meet. Moreover, challenges for them were not only confined to language, they also had to overcome economic and cultural problems. Mandy and Karen (Figure 5.35) recollected how their 'American Dream' was put to the test on their arrival in the U.S.

Figure 5.35 Shattered American dreams

(1)

Interviewer: Wasn't the reason you came to America that you wanted to see what life was like in America?

Mandy: No, everybody wanted to come to America at that time. You must be very lucky to come here. Even until now, those people in China really admire those who can come to America...

Interviewer: Was the living quality in China really bad? Was that why you wanted to come here?

Mandy: Even though that's true, they [the Chinese immigrants] would never expect after they came to the States, they would have to work as hard as they could. Because we thought that life would be better in the best country in the world... we didn't expect that we still had to work even harder to make a living here. [Laughing]

(2)

Karen: At the beginning, this place really did not match me at all. It did not really fit me. My personality was more oriental. I was a very shy and reserved person. In order to come to the States, at that time, the political situation in China was very tense; my mother said, 'if I don't save you and take you out of China, I will be worried.' Plus, studying was my dream, so that's why I wanted to come here to study, though I never got a chance.

As has been mentioned, low English proficiency resulted in the Chinese taking all kinds of menial jobs to make ends meet. To alleviate their language barrier problem, families usually stayed in the same neighbourhood so that they could help baby-sit the children and collectively resolve issues arising from life in America, including intergenerational communication problems. It needs to be noted, however, that it would ultimately be their American-born children who would provide a link between their parents and the wider American culture.

Although English helped the young to assimilate into the broader society, it also raised intergenerational communication problems between the Chinese-speaking parents and their children. For instance, Karen, a single parent, attributed this problem to the lack of communication which existed between her and her son.

Figure 5.36 Language issue

Karen (Factory worker, mother): I am concerned that I can't communicate with him.

Interviewer: Is this because you are too busy? [Karen works two jobs]

Karen: That's right. That's why I feel bad because he speaks to me in English and I

... speak to him in Chinese... when he uses big words, I don't understand what he is talking about. If I speak a little deeper in Chinese, he can't understand me, either. Basically, we have a communication problem.

The American Chinese children went to the English school, which meant they soon became accustomed to America's cultural practices, while English replaced Chinese as their main language. Tong, former Director of Utah State Office of Asian Affairs, during his interview by a local education radio in Utah, indicated that 'it was English that was the second language, and now Chinese would be the second language for those that are born here. It's a common thing, they are called ABCs. That is 'American-Born-Chinese.' The older people want their heritage and history to be passed on and an understanding of what they are.'

(<http://www.kued.org/chineseamerican/utah/interview.html>, accessed August 13th, 2005)

Clearly, the primary reason for the gradual loss of the heritage language was the pragmatics of the Chinese language being confined to communication within the home. The intergenerational conflict that arose from the language barrier made certain parents such as Mandy in Figure 5.37 worried that she might not be able to connect to her children. In this sense, there appeared to be both a generational and cultural chasm between the 'Chinese' parent and the 'American' child.

Figure 5.37 Intergenerational conflict

Mandy (Chinese take-away owner, mother): My son knows my thinking is very traditional like a Chinese. He doesn't like to talk to me. Every time I talk to him, I will tell him to do his homework, study, and listen and respect his teachers...like paying attention in class and doing what the teacher says in class.

To mainland Chinese parents, the psychological attachment to their country of origin, unlike the Vietnamese Chinese counterparts, was significantly evidenced by their frequent visits to China. Many of their family members and relatives were still in China. This provided a

potent emotional backbone for the mainland Chinese parents to identify and practise their Chineseness.

5.2.2 The Usage Pattern of the Chinese Language Media for the American Chinese Families

As with the British Chinese, language served as a primary factor for the American Chinese families under study to choose one Chinese satellite television over the other. Because eleven out of twelve American Chinese parents in this research spoke Cantonese as their first language, the contrast between the Vietnamese Chinese parents and the mainland Chinese parents seemed to be temporarily eliminated by this 'lingua franca.' In addition, trans-national Chinese satellite syndicates opt to unite ethnic Chinese communities in Britain and America through the Chinese language rather than country of origin. This 'integration' of Chinese-speaking audiences is aimed at increasing operational margins. For this reason, the consumption of ethnic Chinese media by the Vietnamese Chinese and the mainland Chinese parents will not be separated in this section.

The barrier that existed between the Chinese language and American culture made the American Chinese parents rely more on Chinese TV for information and entertainment. In Figure 5.38, Larry stated that Chinese TV reconciled his language barrier and cultural/recreational needs.

Figure 5.38 It's a cultural thing

Larry (Chinese take-away owner, father): First, my English is no good...so if the programmes are in English, I will not understand them that well. If there is Chinese TV, I can understand the news better. Second, even though there are many English series on TV, I can't understand them at all because the culture is different... that's why we [Larry and his family] want to watch Chinese drama series because it makes better sense.

In addition, the presence of retired Chinese-speaking elders around the household added to the need for Chinese TV, a similar situation to that of the British Chinese families (See Figure 5.19). For example, Vanessa (Figure 5.39) stated the importance of Chinese TV for her mother.

Figure 5.39 Chinese TV a necessity for the retired

Interviewer: Do you know why your mother has Chinese TV at home?

Vanessa (Vietnamese Chinese, mother): Because my mother doesn't understand English. With Chinese TV, she can understand what's going on. She is bored because she has been retired...my mother likes to watch Fei Chui Tai (TVB Jade Channel). There are Mandarin channels but my mom doesn't understand Mandarin.

Low proficiency in English, in addition to working in a low-paying job, was not uncommon among the American Chinese elders (grandparents), who relied on Chinese TV to connect to the outside world. Despite living in the States for twenty or thirty years, English literacy for the older Chinese was still very limited. This phenomenon can be classified as 'fossilization,' the final plateau of language development, and defined by Han (2004) as 'cessation of learning in spite of continuous exposure to input, adequate motivation, and sufficient opportunity to practice... as modulated by individuals' internal and external factors' (p.37).

The Chinese TV, in this sense, mainly referred to the programmes on TVB's Jade channel, which broadcasted a considerable number of family drama series as well as frequent short news coverage. As TVB offered more drama series and reruns, it attracted audiences at different times of day and, in this respect, accommodated a more diverse viewership. It was also very popular with Cantonese-speaking households. In Figure 5.40, Larry states how TVB-Jade channel fitted into his everyday life.

Figure 5.40 Chinese TV after work

Larry (Chinese take-away owner, Vietnamese Chinese parent): Generally speaking, we don't have a choice at that hour [late night around 11:00 p.m.] You either watch the Mandarin channel, which is playing news, or you watch the drama series on another channel...so we choose to watch the drama series [on TVB]... it is a totally different story when you watch the drama series. After you watch it, you will forget it. [After a long tiring day of work]

Having been raised in an environment that exposed them to Cantonese-speaking caregivers and Cantonese drama series, the children were more fluent in their heritage language than those who did not live with their grandparents. Eva (Figure 5.41), a ten-year-old from a Cantonese speaking family, recalled the name of the Chinese drama series that she watched with her grandmother every day. By contrast, Carol, raised in a Mandarin-speaking family, had no knowledge of Cantonese television programmes.

Figure 5.41 More TV options for the Cantonese children

Eva (10 years old, Vietnamese Chinese family): I don't normally watch 'Lao Gen Shui Ue' [*Golden Faith*] and I like to see 'Gei Dei Fuen Hei' [*Virtues of Harmony*].

Interviewer: Why did you like to watch 'Gei Dei Fuen Hei'?

Eva: Funny.

Interviewer: Funny? Carol, do you like to watch 'Gei Dei Fuen Hei'?

Carol (9 years old, Mandarin Chinese family): I never heard of it.

The grandparents' home often became a place for day care as it was not uncommon for children to stay with the grandparents and wait for their parents to collect them after work. These children tended to play with their English-speaking cousins whose parents also left them with the grandparents. In this respect, the grandparents provided the children with a social context in which to explore the English language games rather than the Chinese.

Vickie, aged 11 and from a Vietnamese Chinese family, often played with her boy cousins and explored the latest games and gadgets. She stated, 'Every week I usually play with the

kids [she refers to her cousins as kids because they are younger than she is]... My cousins usually go to my grandmother's. All my cousins are boys and I play with them a lot. The video games that we play now are *Park Man*, *Dragon Ball*, and *Brutal Kite*.'

In contrast, Mandarin Chinese children were not in favour of Chinese TV because they often found the programmes on the Mandarin channel incomprehensible (a similar situation to their British counterparts, see Figure 5.21). Jeff, from a Mandarin speaking family, preferred to watch English language programmes.

Figure 5.42 On my TV

Jeff (7 years old, from Mandarin family): On my TV, there are lots of cartoons and kids shows and it's so funny. Well, on his [Danny's TV, Danny was interviewed with Jeff together], it's not.

Interviewer: So you prefer to watch English TV because there are lots of cartoons?

Jeff: And I know what they are saying. In Chinese, I don't.

Jeff's grandparents and father opted to watch Mandarin Chinese TV. Although Jeff preferred English TV to Chinese TV, he and Danny (Figure 5.43) recognised that the existence of Chinese TV was to serve the needs of their parents. From their point of view, Chinese people watched Chinese TV to connect with their country of origin.

Figure 5.43 Chinese TV for Chinese people

Interviewer: Why do you have Chinese TV at home?

Danny (7 years old, Cantonese family): Because my grandma has to see and my dad and mom have to see.

Jeff (7, Mandarin family): What's going on in China.

Danny: Yeah, they are Chinese.

Interviewer: Why do they have to know what's going on in China?

Jeff: If they didn't know what happened [such as the latest news coverage of floods or catastrophes] in China, their house might get destroyed.

5.2.3 The Community Chinese School in Salt Lake City, Utah

Chinese satellite TV, community Chinese newspapers, Chinese retail businesses and local Chinese organizations have served the local Chinese community well. This is a contributing factor as to why retired elders and some of the parents who speak only functional English can still survive in the predominantly English language American society. However, this ethnic enclave is facing challenges, particularly when their American-born-Chinese offspring are caught between two cultures and two identities. In this context, a bridge is needed to reconcile the communicative gap between the Chinese-speaking parents and their English-speaking offspring. This role is taken on by the community Chinese school.

Most of the parents in this research were Vietnamese Chinese whose children attended School H, a Cantonese school which is the focus of this study. However, there were a few parents in my research who had their children attend local Mandarin schools and their experiences will be scrutinized to give a broader perspective of community Chinese schools.

Chinese schools were often advertised by word of mouth within local Chinese communities. This method of enrolment was typically Chinese (Zhou and Cai, 2002), reflecting the mutual trust and close social bonds which were nourished through a sense of common identity.

Vanessa and Alan, on the recommendation of their family and friends, had their children attend School H, and when asked how they knew about the School, they replied:

Figure 5.44 Chinese school by referral

(1)

Vanessa (Vietnamese Chinese parent): My niece recommended it to me. She has five children who are also attending at School H right now...Before I didn't know they had a Chinese school here, but my niece knew someone teaching Chinese there so she told me about this.

(2)

Alan (Vietnamese Chinese parent, Teochew speaker): Because we know other parents from this school, they send their kids to this school to learn Chinese.

From the perspective of American Chinese parents, learning Chinese was compulsory for their children, and obeying parental wishes was prevalent within the cultural mores of the Chinese family (Kee, 2005). One American Chinese mother, Jessica, stressed that 'Even though they [her children] were born here in the USA, they still need to learn Chinese because they are Chinese. So even though he [her oldest son] doesn't want to learn, he has to learn.'

Chinese language lays the foundation for Chinese ethnicity, and, by retaining their heritage language, the American Chinese children, at least in the view of their parents, were expected to have a more promising future in Asia. This indicated that learning Chinese went beyond just maintaining Chinese identity in a foreign land. Larry, Jessica, and Karen (Figure 5.45) stated the implications associated with Chinese literacy education in the following interview:

Figure 5.45 Implications of Chinese literacy education

(1)

Larry (Vietnamese Chinese parent): That's simple, because we are Chinese. Chinese people must learn Chinese.

(2)

Jessica (Vietnamese Chinese parent): Because we are Chinese. In addition to speaking, he [Jessica's son] should know how to read and write Chinese...Chinese is very common, especially Mandarin... if he knows Chinese, he can go anywhere in China, Taiwan, or Hong Kong. He will have advantage there....

(3)

Karen (Mainland Chinese parent): Chinese is very important and it's also very common too. I think it will help him get a better job in the future if he knows Chinese...it will be very competitive in the future...I hope that in the future he can compete with other people and take on more responsibilities. I really want him to be successful...

From the perspective of the parents, their children could ultimately have a more competitive advantage if they have mastered two global languages. The ability to speak both languages fluently remained an aspiration for the American Chinese parents but it was also acknowledged in the interview by the older children, Vickie, Tom and Justin.

Figure 5.46 Views of the older children

(1)

Vickie (11 years old, from Vietnamese Chinese family): I think it is useful for me because like sometimes I want to go to another country, I sort of want to learn.

(2)

Interviewer: Why do your parents want you to learn Chinese?

Tom (11, Vietnamese Chinese): They want us to be good.

Justin (12, Vietnamese Chinese): Well, they want us to be the best kids in the whole world.

In contrast, the younger American Chinese children viewed the learning of Chinese as an evidence of their parents and grandparents' origins. For instance, Carol, aged nine and

from a Mainland family, when asked why learning Chinese was so important, answered: 'My dad is from China and my grandma and grandpa.'

The Chinese language, as a generic term, was perceived as a universal language among the American Chinese parents in this research. This view is based on the premise that more than a quarter of the world's population speak Chinese in one form or another. Also what becomes increasingly apparent is the booming economy in China which reinforces even further the value of the Chinese language. As more and more multinational companies invest in China, bilingual personnel are much more in demand and this can be seen as one of the reasons why American Chinese parents have invested in their children's future by sending them to Chinese school.

Although the American Chinese parents perceived that their children would benefit from learning Chinese and by going to a Chinese school, the same did not apply to the Vietnamese Chinese, especially in terms of ethnic identity. Vietnamese Chinese parents did not perceive themselves as Vietnamese although they had lived in Vietnam for several decades. This ambiguity over ethnic identity had affected what kind of media coverage they subscribed to and what ethnic school their children would attend. In Figure 5.49, Larry acknowledged that learning the heritage language was a cultural thing. His motive for having his children learn Chinese was culturally supported. Although Larry (Figure 5.47) was born in Saigon, Vietnam, and grew up there, his 'Vietnamese' identity was not appreciated.

Figure 5.47 Vietnamese Chinese are not Vietnamese

Interviewer: Larry, your kids are growing up here, aren't they? When they go out to work in the future, the chances of using Chinese are very rare because they live in the USA.

Larry (Vietnamese Chinese parent): Yes, it's rare but it is a cultural thing. I still think they should learn Chinese. Why don't I ask them to learn Vietnamese?...because I don't think I am a Vietnamese.

As far as the parents were concerned, to learn Chinese was to learn how to read and write. Not to be able to read and write in Chinese was considered a form of deficiency, as Alan in Figure 5.48 put it:

Figure 5.48 Speaking is not enough

Alan: No, that's not enough. They can speak [(*Teochew*), another spoken variety of Chinese], but they cannot write [*in Chinese*]. I send them to school because I want them to learn how to write.

Interviewer: Why is that so important to learn how to write Chinese...since they cannot even use it here?

Alan: It doesn't hurt them to learn another skill.

Although Chinese comes in a variety of oral forms and adopts different phonemes, the written form of Chinese characters and the standard writing system are universal. In fact, the standard Chinese writing system has become a unifying force in connecting all the Chinese who speak many different varieties of the language, and this applies to the Vietnamese Chinese community.

5.3 Conclusion

This chapter has explored the sociocultural backgrounds of the research participants in terms of immigration history, the social functions of heritage language, the Chinese language media and the Chinese school. I have also considered the aspects of bilingualism and the bicultural activities practised by the Chinese immigrant families and their implications. Situated in the bilingual and bicultural contexts, the children of the Chinese immigrant families have developed Chinese language and cultural capital. Also, the context and the sociocultural capital are mediating the way that these children appropriate popular culture texts. By this, we can conclude that parents put an emphasis on reinforcing Chinese ethnicity, maintaining Chinese identity and ensuring their children develop Chinese literacy skills in the hopes that they can enhance their Chineseness. These Chinese parents have also played a considerable role in mediating the appropriation of Chinese language

cultural artefacts to counterbalance the English language products which surround the children.

Moreover, this chapter has established a foundation for the research study of the British and the American Chinese children's negotiation of popular culture texts in a bilingual context. Popular culture is often consumed at home, in school and through the community, so it is necessary to investigate the sociocultural contexts in which popular culture practices are embedded. As the British Chinese and the American Chinese are often brought up in bilingual and bicultural environments, there is a need to provide contextual evidence as to why the British Chinese and the American Chinese children engage in a certain popular culture practice and how the contextual evidence supports the way the children appropriate popular cultural texts.

Chapter Six

Children's Popular Culture Practices

6.0 Introduction

In conjunction with my field observations, media diary, and surveys, this analysis of children's popular culture practices is based on the interview transcripts of the British and American children. It is conducted with the use of the computer software package, QSR-Nvivo, and is based on grounded theory (Glaser and Strauss, 1967; Strauss and Corbin, 1998). Given that the conceptual work underlying this data analysis is central to its credibility, as well as that of the research findings and conclusions, it is important to report how I came to understand the implications surrounding my research participants' overall cultural practices. Because my understanding of the data, the relationship with the interviewees and my own background affected how the research was analysed and interpreted, it is necessary to make my subjectivity transparent in order to comply with the credibility of qualitative research. Therefore, in this chapter the first section of data analysis reflects both the research process and the data management. This is followed by my conceptual development of data reduction with the use of the software, Nvivo, in compliance with grounded theory. The second section of data analysis is to present the models based on the themes derived from the data conceptualization.

6.1 Reflexivity

The qualitative analyst owns and is reflective about her or his own voice and perceptive; a credible voice conveys authenticity and trustworthiness; complete objectivity being impossible and pure subjectivity undermining credibility, the researcher's focus becomes balance-understanding and depicting the world authentically in all its complexity while being self-analytical, political aware, and reflexive in consciousness (Patton, 2002, p.494).

As Patton (2002) states, reflexivity involves self-questioning and self-understanding and is considered an integral part of qualitative research. Qualitative researchers are challenged

by the post-modern concerns about the authenticity of knowledge. For this reason, being self-reflective, by acknowledging personal bias and by accepting criticism, can help researchers to utilise their knowledge better by having a clearer idea of their own limitations. My understanding of the British and American Chinese children's cultural practices derives from observations of their activities in the educational environment of the Chinese community school, carried out over a sixteen-month period. These practices were influenced by the children's interactions with playmates, parents, teachers and the school context. After a few months of field observation, *Yugioh* trading cards began to gain prominence in the discursive practices among the British Chinese boys, and it was this phenomenon which challenged my initial understanding of culture and popularity.

The popular culture embraced by the children was usually practised collectively, and not only involved a variety of cultural artefacts, but was also based on contemporary trends which were not only temporal but also involved pleasure, innovation and aesthetics. It needs to be emphasised that the children under scrutiny were not practising culture activities in a vacuum. Their cultural practices were active and value-laden and were, clearly in contrast to Kline (1993), not the consequence of commercial exploitation.

The term 'children' in this case is not meant to suggest that my research participants are representative of children in general at that age. On the contrary, it is my intention not to label the children by ethnicity, gender, age, or social class in order to keep an open attitude which should prevent presumption and bias contaminating the data.

My attempts to understand the meaning of the children's cultural practices were then linked to my observations of both the children and their parents. I believe that the reality of children's cultural practices relates to temporal and spatial factors and, at the heart of this reality, is a symbolic relationship between the different agencies that inform these cultural practices. For example, family and peer group are the two important socialisation influences

(Gauvain, 2001). Taking this into consideration, I began with an investigation into familial factors which include the parents' socioeconomic status, their cultural capital as well as their domestic resources, and their home language. With this information in mind, it informed me why some children had more popular cultural artefacts such as monster cards than their peers, how the children became friends with each other, and what they often played with during break time.

Because the *Yugioh* trading card game was so popular with children, this allowed me to better comprehend the interaction between my research participants and what that interaction symbolises. The perspective from which I was able to add meaning to the underlying cultural phenomenon is based on interpretivist philosophy (Schwandt, 2000; Patton, 2002). Furthermore, although my intention was to understand and narrate rather than to construct a new phenomenon, the extent of the participatory act was subject to both research inquiry and the context.

To participate in a natural setting involves a code of conduct that conforms to that environment and which is at odds with the role that a qualitative researcher normally undertakes. Thus, by complying with the cultural conventions of the researched, I was able to bring different trading cards and card catalogues to the field—a practice that was commonplace among the young research participants. This code of conduct had to be carefully planned. As the children were aged from six to twelve, any miscalculation could affect my position as an academic researcher, a position which was acknowledged by the teachers, the parents and the school administration. This paradox is not uncommon in qualitative research but was nonetheless, critical to my research.

Apart from being an academic researcher, I also have, because of Chinese ethnicity, knowledge of Chinese culture and social conventions. Hence, my ethnic background does inform my narrative and my interpretation of the social phenomenon under consideration.

Indeed, to an extent, my cultural interpretation was subjective in its own right and this subjectivity is a measure of my identity and for this reason is wholly apparent in the research process. As Schwandt (2000) points out,

Reaching an understanding is not a matter of setting figure, escaping, managing, or tracking one's own standpoint, prejudgments, biases, or prejudices...understanding requires the engagement of one's biases (p.195).

6.1.1 The Researcher and the Researched (Parents)

Language as a marker of identity (Pavlenko and Blackledge, 2004) manifested itself in most of the interviews I conducted with the Chinese-speaking parents. My ethnic Chinese subjectivity was challenged as I started to talk to the ethnic Chinese parents in Mandarin and Cantonese. Mandarin parents knew I was not from China as they were informed of my country of origin during the field observation when I did not want to make my ethnicity an issue. Yet, my origin was frequently highlighted by the parents as they continually referred to my Taiwanese identity during the course of the interviews. The oppositions that exist between Taiwan and China were evident and were related to political ideology. Even though my interview questions were not designed to investigate the political situation between Taiwan and China, the Mandarin parents often took a contrary position to indicate their 'different' Chinese ethnicity.

My Taiwanese identity became a sensitive issue which I had to put aside because my interviews were meant to establish how the Mainland Chinese parents settled in the host country, how their media consumption was embedded in their Chinese ethnicity, and how supportive they were to their children's embracing of popular culture. In contrast, the Cantonese-speaking parents knew that I was bilingual but definitely not a native Cantonese speaker. They consequently differentiated themselves from me by inquiring about my place of origin.

This sense of 'difference' alerted some of the Mandarin parents in particular to be quite cautious in the way they responded to me. However, these perceived oppositions converged when the parents began to discuss the ethnic Chinese as a homogeneous mass. In the exchange, they often gave 'the floor'/'turns' (in conversational discourse terms) to me and used 'we' instead of I. In the following interview, Alex's parents attributed their son's attendance of the Chinese school to the emerging importance of China and the Chinese language.

Figure 6.1 Emerging significance of China

Linda: China is open now. If he [Alex] has a chance to go to China to work, it may be helpful to his future work.

Doug: China is so big and we as Chinese should not only learn from the books about British culture....[Doug signalled to me that I am part of what he referred 'we']

The use of 'we' by Doug in the above exchange begs the question of Chinese ethnicity, and in this respect, my Chinese ethnicity united me with the interviewees whenever the topic pertained to 'Chinese'.

The linguistic confirmation check in the interview is critical as it underlies the social harmony and group bound cohesion of Chinese-speaking society. Failing to acknowledge such a linguistic cue may result in discourse disruption. This identifying signifier is evidenced in their use of phrases such as 'we Chinese', 'we are not like the westerners', 'we are yellow'. This 'we', then, connotes the commonality between the researched and the interviewer and has become a salient feature in the Chinese parents' definition of their Chinese ethnicity.

6.1.2 Researcher and the Researched (Children)

To explicate the meaning underlying the children's cultural practice does pose certain difficulties. My Chinese ethnicity and knowledge of cultural studies does not necessarily qualify me to understand those ethnic Chinese children who were born and brought up outside of Chinese-speaking countries and who have been exposed to cultural practices born out of western societies. The bilingual and bicultural background of my research participants ensured that there were certain paradoxes that I needed to address when I occasionally evaluated the children's response to a situation in which, potentially at least, there would be an ambiguity of identity. This ambiguity became clearer when I looked into the differences between Chinese, British and Americans by triangulating the perspective of the ethnic Chinese parent (in the UK and the USA) and the British Chinese and American Chinese children. Their different perspectives showed that the young research participants assumed a fluid identity which was based on the links between bilingual, bicultural and popular culture. In order to understand the many facets to their identity, I needed to interact with my young research participants in depth. However, the question was, how I could interact with my young participants without imposing imbalance of power between the researcher and the researched? Additionally, how could I interact with them without interfering in their normal social discourse with their peers, teachers and parents? Although I had both the schools' and the parents' consents to conduct my research, this did not necessarily mean I had acquired the children's consent to involve them in my research. It was these issues that I decided to make explicit to my young participants, in a language and context with which they were familiar.

Subsequently, I told my young research participants that, like them, I had to do my school homework and that it was to do with the card game, *Yugioh*. I wanted to make them clear that I needed to know how to play the game, what the rules were, why it was so popular, and the reasons for collecting a number of trading cards. This expressed interest in trading cards was to secure their trust and to ensure that their trading cards and games would not

be confiscated or banned by the 'teacher' in the school. Through this process, the children were able to provide considerable feedback when they were playing the card game. Furthermore, the children demonstrated great enthusiasm when I brought my card catalogue and trading cards and when they had spare time during the Chinese lesson.

Their response to my inquiries was not subject to any demands made on them because I was a teaching assistant in the class. On the contrary, the children assumed a certain degree of power by spontaneously inquiring into my background and research motivation. Thus, because I presented myself as a teaching assistant, younger children perceived me more as a helper than as a researcher. This identity was reinforced because I constantly helped the children with their homework so that they could impress their teacher and their parents with their academic excellence in Chinese writing.

This auxiliary role that I assumed was agreed to by the teacher of the younger classes in which I was sitting. Indeed, the teachers often appreciated my presence which helped to alleviate their workload in class. It was important, however, that my role in class remained secondary and that the younger children did not refer to me as their teacher because I was not lecturing to the class; nor did I have any authority. This was evident when I was absent for two weeks from one of the schools. A six-year-old boy who wanted to trade his *Yugioh* cards with me, asked his teacher 'where is that "girl"?', while pointing to the spot I always sat. The teacher was confused at first but then realized it was me when the boy gave a clear description of me.

The rapport that I established with my research participants was no more apparent than in the focus group interview. As I knew how the children interacted with each other, the composition of the focus group interview was organised around friendship, companionship and kinship. What's more, I prepared chips and fruit drinks for the interviewees in an attempt to validate their eating culture during the break time and to respect a social norm

they comply with.

6.2 Field Observation

My longitudinal field observation in the Chinese schools did affect the rapport between the children and myself. This was no more apparent than in the focus group interview session when my interaction with the children was influenced by school culture, physical environment, classroom routines and the attitude of school staff. The following section demonstrates how my field observation changed from one school to another and how the children's cultural activities were subject to the 'culture' of the schools themselves.

6.2.1 UK Mandarin School

In School B I was sitting in the class which contained the youngest children. In terms of the children's ages and their activities, this particular class allowed me to interact with the pupils in a number of different ways. My presence was allowed on three conditions which were validated by both the head teacher and the class teacher. First, I would help the teacher to keep the class under control by attending to the needs of the children. Second, I was expected to alleviate the workload of the teacher so that she could devote more time to teaching. Third, I was to liaise between the parents, the teacher and the children themselves. This final duty, especially, proved to be very useful when I began to recruit research participants.

In the class, sometimes the children scribbled on work paper when they had completed their exercise or if they were bored. Boys normally drew *Pokemon* and *Yugioh* monsters while girls sketched pictures of pretty girls, houses and animals (see Figure 6.3). In my longitudinal field observation, I was able to observe the transition of certain popular culture practices and how the children developed more diverse appropriation of cultural texts. For example, John's drawing of his favourite monsters changed from *Pokemon* initially to *Yugioh* a year later. In the first drawing of Figure 6.2, John wrote 'attack' and 'smoke' and drew a

flame around the monster to emphasise its power and action. As his English writing developed, John began to write a narrative account of a particular episode he had watched. At the same time, he drew a monster card of which he listed the attack and defence points. In this sense, the children's narratives tended to be 'hybrid things with language used to indicate action and narrative sequence, and drawing used to represent, to display, the people and objects in the story' (Kress, 1997, p.24). However, the transition in the boys' culture practices would not have been observed if the field observation had only been implemented short-term.

Figure 6.2 John's drawing from *Pokemon* to *Yugioh*

(1) dated 24/11/02 *Pokemon*



(2) dated 12/10/03 *Yugioh*



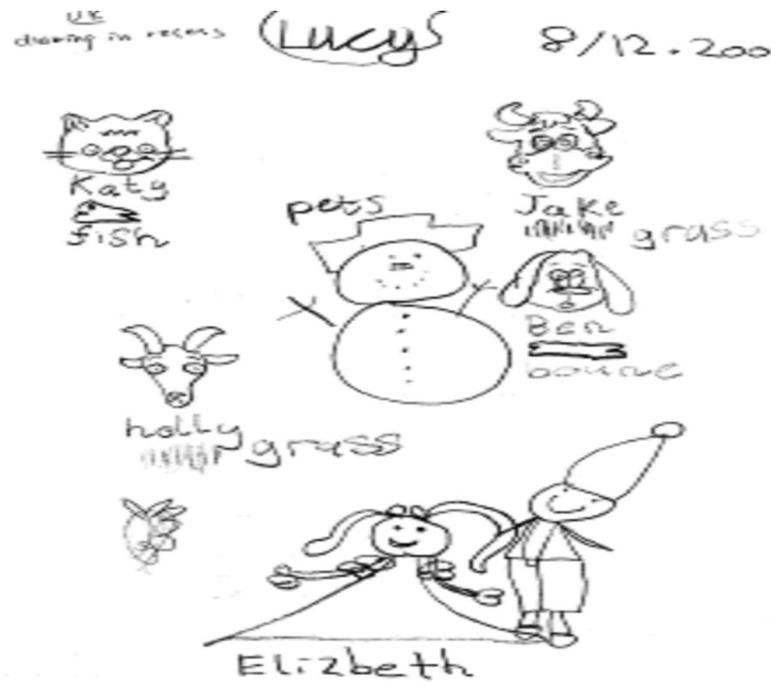
Kill Kaiba

Yugioh card

Egypt

Yu-Gi won the duel
and killed Kaiba
Kaiba was destroying the world
Yu-Gi threw in to a Peaninad
you need to see the evil songs
to see Kaiba

Figure 6.3 Lucy's drawing at recess, aged 7



During the break time of half an hour or more, the children tended to split into groups which were dependent on gender. The boys usually played *Yugioh* and *Pokemon* outdoors. The girls occupied the classroom because it was better suited to their normal play activities. As for the teacher and the parents, they remained at a distance while keeping their eyes on the children. Older boys played team sports in the outdoor court adjacent to the classroom. Some of the young boys gathered in a corner of the playground to share their trading cards and play card games. Card game activities were often aligned to not just the companionship of the boys but also to the fandom culture which surrounded *Yugioh* and included trading cards, sharing information and card games. Fandom according to Hills (2002) is not simply 'a "thing" that can be picked over analytically. It is also always performative...an identity which is (dis)claimed, and which performs cultural work' (p. xi).

When play time ended, the children were reluctant to return to the classroom. There was no bell to signal that the class was about to begin; instead a head teacher would call the children in. However, the children would often appear to ignore the teacher and just continue with their play activities. Thus, a normal fifteen-minute break was frequently extended to thirty minutes or longer. Parents often complained about these protracted breaks as they relied on the teacher to assume more responsibility in running classes on time. Teachers, on the other hand, relied on the children at the front to inform the children further back that it was time for class again.

There were three reasons to account for the presence of the parents in the school. First, they were concerned about their children's Chinese language development; second, to save the hassle of travelling between home and school twice within two hours of the Chinese lesson; and third, to maintain their social network with other parents. Chinese school, in this sense, functioned as a community centre. With parents around the school, some of the more unruly children had to behave because they knew that their mother or father were outside the classroom 'monitoring' them. Subsequently, the presence of the parents

improved class management in the second session after the long break, which usually found the boys exhausted because they tended to engage in more vigorous outdoor activities. However, the parents would ensure that their children were ready for the second session of the class. In contrast, girls relied on each other to prepare themselves for the class.

6.2.2 UK Cantonese School

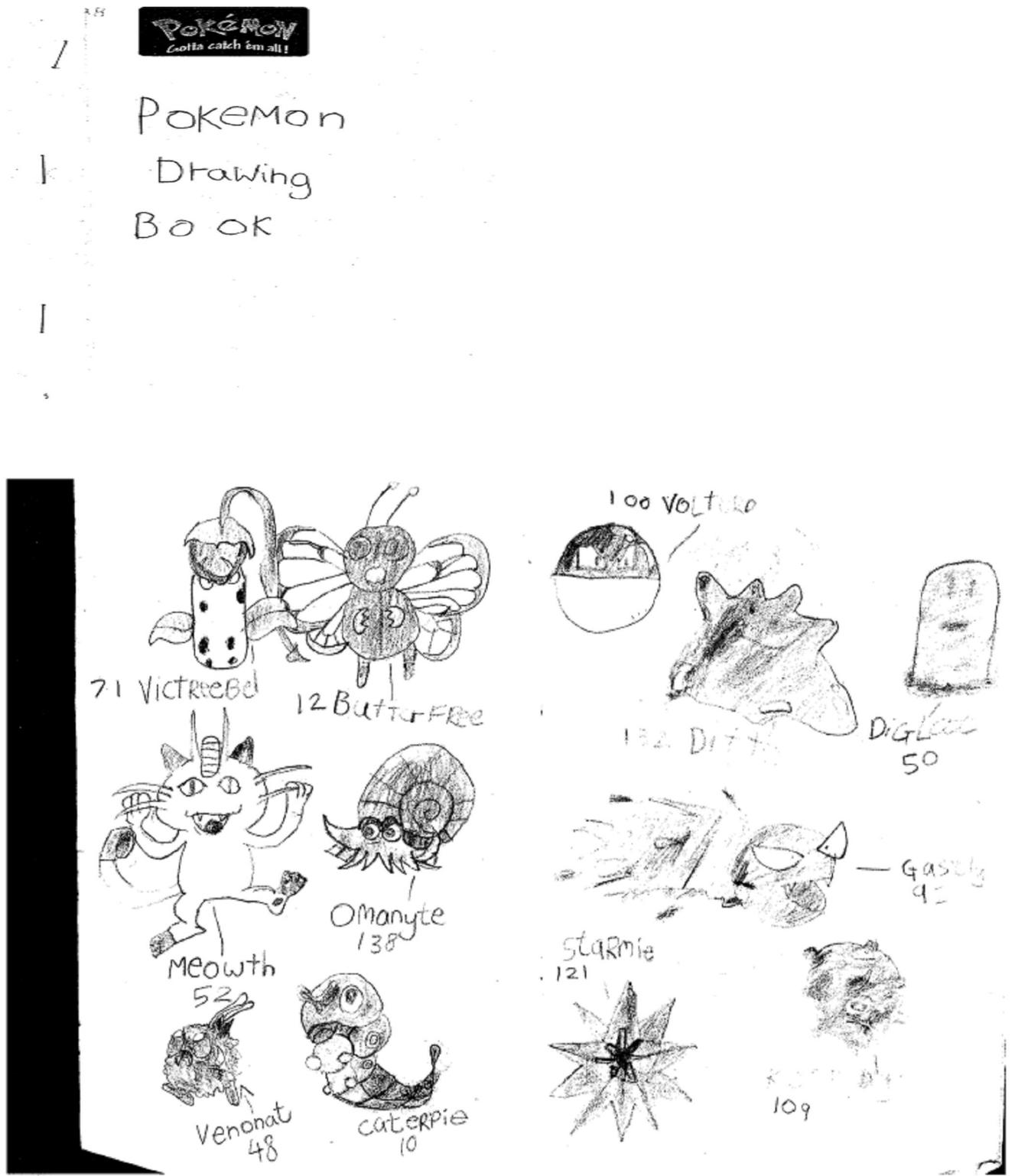
In School E, I was sitting in two different classes; one, which I observed for a year, was a younger group aged 7 to 8, and the other, which I observed for just a semester, was with children aged 10 to 13 years. The older children talked more about video games, new media, movies, music and celebrities, but were more attentive when the class was in session. In contrast, the younger group's sociocultural activities often revolved around the cultural artefacts of TV animations such as cards, action figures, and toys.

Although when I first sat in with the younger class during November, 2002, many of the boys were interested in playing *Beyblade*, this cultural artefact would, a few months after, be replaced by *Yugioh* trading cards. Needless to say, this change in cultural practices coincided with a change of cultural artefacts. It was quite clear to me then, that, often for the young, popular culture was a short-lived fad, and it was this constantly changing situation which prompted me to administer a survey in order to identify the children's ten favourite TV programmes. The results of this survey are analyzed in depth in the survey section (6.4.1).

In 2003, when I was sitting with the class of older children, I found that the children were less likely to bring cultural artefacts such as *Pokemon* and *Yugioh* to the class. Instead, the children were inclined to talk about reality shows and video games. It was not until Wynn, a 10-year-old boy, brought his Pokeball to the class that I started to realise the different cultural practices between the younger and the older boys. By showing me his drawing book of four years earlier, Wynn enabled me to understand that *Pokemon* was out of date at

his age, though as a six-year-old, Wynn had been fascinated by *Pokemon*. He had drawn different *Pokemon* creatures in his own *Pokemon* drawing book in Figure 6.4. He was not, oddly enough, fascinated with *Yugioh* as much as the younger children. Wynn told me that *Yugioh* was not fun because it was a game that depended on luck rather than skill. This conversational exchange with Wynn inspired me to investigate further the different cultural practices between the younger children and older children such as, apart from the age factor, how their cultural practices vary and how they develop advanced literacy skills pertaining to the cultural practices along the way.

Figure 6.4 Wynn's *Pokemon* Drawing book, four years earlier



As the teachers in the Cantonese school perceived me more as a researcher than an assistant, they felt as if they, too, were being observed. The head teacher's wife, Maria, told me that the teacher of the class in which I was sitting felt very uncomfortable about my presence, and this was despite Maria having informed the teachers about the purpose of my research. The teachers' anxiety, presumably, stemmed from their lack of proficiency in Chinese language teaching as the young teachers in this particular school were often university students with no formal training in teaching Chinese. Even the older teachers lacked proper training as they were often parents of the pupils in the school. All this led me to conclude that the resources for the community school were limited and that, ultimately, the hiring of the teachers was not based on a teaching certificate but on proficiency in the 'native' tongue.

The arrangement of my sitting in a given class was political. The more experienced teachers were generally older. Their authority was rarely challenged, although my presence in their class may have been interpreted as challenging the quality of their teaching. The status of the older teachers was represented by seniority, which is highly regarded in Chinese culture. Therefore, when the head teacher decided whose class I should observe during the new semester, I was not allowed to be present in the older teachers' classrooms, even though their classes had many children between the age of six and twelve.

From the perspective of the teachers of the classes that I observed, my academic background highlighted the differences that existed between the teacher and myself. Thus, in order to impress me, the observer, the teachers planned the lesson and rigidly followed the curriculum. This careful planning of the Chinese language lesson rendered little opportunity for me to engage fully with the children on topics relevant to my research. In spite of these restrictions, I would often sit at a table with mixed genders and try to interact with them. In two of the classes I observed, there was a table of girls and a table of boys, while the rest were at a table of mixed genders. However, the teacher in the younger class

tended to break the gender code by mixing the 'naughty' boys with the girls when the class was losing control. In this respect, girls were perceived as 'quiet', 'self-disciplined' and 'well-behaved'. However, this arrangement only took place when the class management became an issue.

This school was the largest among all the Chinese schools included in this research, and recruited children of Cantonese families from both Nottinghamshire and Derbyshire. In addition, there were more rigid school rules to follow because School E was affiliated with a local Chinese society and had a long established history. The school rented a local primary school for its operation. Certain health and safety regulations were strictly abided by and at break time, children had to remain in the playground. Teachers were rotated each week for playground duty, and although fifteen minutes of break time was too short for a serious *Yugioh* card game, it was sufficient for the boys to browse through and swap trading cards.

Given that they were subject to a more rigid school environment, the pupils in the Cantonese school could not play card games as frequently as their Mandarin counterparts. In the school, social activities were divided by age, with the older girls calmly chatting in the corner whilst the younger girls engaged in more energetic activities. In the playground there was no facility for team games, although the children could rent sporting equipment from the caretaker, which was of little use as the tight time control of the school did not permit any large-scale activity. Thus, the structure of Cantonese school begged the question how the children's cultural practices varied with the environment.

6.2.3 USA Cantonese School

School H was situated in a local community centre adjacent to an open-space parking lot. The school operated on a Sunday afternoon along with other activities running within the community centre. As pupils in School H did not have much space to carry out their activities during break time, their domain of activity was either in the classroom or in the

corridor. Gendered activities were not evident as the pupils carried out their activities within the confines of the classroom and the corridor. In addition, during the break, snack food and beverages were provided in the corridor for the pupils.

In the classroom, boys and girls were often mixed together because the table and chairs were organised into two rows. The younger pupils would sit in the front row while the older children were at the back. In what was a typical Chinese classroom environment, pupils practised writing repetitively and reading collectively. Because of this learning method, there was little opportunity for the pupils to reflect on what they had learned in class. Furthermore, shortage of funds dictated that teachers were in charge of pupils with varying levels of Chinese literacy ability and this made lessons difficult to manage.

The school principal openly encouraged interaction between the pupils, the teachers and myself. He perceived me as a professional academic because I was a PhD student, and believed that the school teachers as well as the pupils could benefit from my educational input. I was referred to as 'Teacher Lin' by the principal in the presence of the teacher and the pupils. 'Teacher', in this sense, is considered a respectful term in the context of Chinese manners. Thus, my 'privileged' status in relation to the teachers in this school was validated by the principal. Given that the power structure was sustained through the authority of the principal, this situation allowed me greater autonomy when choosing a class to be observed.

During the fifteen-minute break time, I often chatted with the pupils who remained in the classroom. My inquiry into the pupils' engagement with popular media culture was slightly structured and did not necessarily follow a naturally occurring open style. This may well have resulted from my direct interaction with the children during the observation period when a suitable rapport was not fully established. In addition, my presence at this community Chinese school was irregular although the field observation was continuously

implemented by my American co-researcher. This limitation is described in the research design and methodology in Chapter Three.

My American co-researcher assisted me in observing the pupils' popular culture activities. Before my co-researcher could participate in the field study, I had to familiarise him with the issue of participant observation as well as the TV animations and relevant culture practices I was researching. This training was to ensure that his observations were compatible with my research inquiry. Also, he was required to e-mail me his observation notes on a weekly basis so that I could give him prompt feedback regarding how to further explore the meaning of culture artefacts and practices. The following is an example of the weekly correspondence between my American correspondent and me.

Figure 6.5 Weekly correspondence

On March 6th, 2004, my American correspondent sent these observation notes and informed me to refer to the attachment by 'see attachment files'.

The content of the attachment file with my feedback (in Italics) was as follows,

Today is the second time I sit in this class. During break, I saw a whole bunch of kids were trading Pokemon and Yu-Gi-Oh cards. *(Are they the fans of Pokemon or Yu-Gi-Oh? Pokemon has been out for so many years, why are they still trading Pokemon? Are they still watching Pokemon cartoons on TV, at what channel during what times. Ask Yu-Gi-Oh fans, what are their views of Pokemon trading cards? Are they the same or different? In what ways. How did they initially learn how to play and why did they want to play trading cards? How many cards do they have and why did they need to collect so many? Pretend to ask them to duel against each other and see how they duel? More experienced Yu-Gi-Oh fans tend to skip the rules and boost their life point to 9000 or 10,000 points. Yu-Gi-Oh games start with a life point of 8,000 and you lose the game if all your life points are used up.)*

Some of the kids are fans of both programmes. Majority of the kids are fans of Yu-Gi-Oh. Only a few kids are fans of Pokemon. Some of the kids still trade Pokemon cards and here are some of the reasons why they still like Pokemon.

1. They have good pictures
2. They have powerful attack
3. A fast game to play
4. They can heal themselves
5. This game also has a Rule Book
6. They like the Holographic in the pictures
7. They have a star on the bottom right corner
8. They have 100 HP (High Points)

They are still watching Pokemon on Fox Channel 13 at 9 a.m. on Saturdays. It also plays on the Cartoon Network, Channel 129.

Yu-Gi-Oh fans' view of Pokemon cards:

1. They are for kids
2. They are out of fashion
3. I don't like their pictures

I ask David to explain to me how he trades the cards. David says "You only want to keep the rare ones." The rare ones have special powers and weapons. *(Ask him to give you the names of the cards and where he can get the cards and how much they are. If he can't trade the card, will he consider buying it? Who can he trade the cards with, and how does he know which one is a rare card? Ask him to show you the rare one. If he has the rare cards, can he win the games always? If he can't, what are the reasons?)* You can use it against your enemy when you duel (play) with them. I ask David how he plays. He says "It's kind of hard to explain, you just play." *(You have to bring your own deck of Yu-Gi-Oh so that the children will try to play with you or you can loan your deck to the kids who aren't allowed to bring their cards to school because of their parents and you will see how amazing their strategies of playing the game are... you can ask them if they want to win a game, which cards they need to have and why and how can a card player always win? What are the tricks?)* I ask him to try but he went off to trade cards with other kids.

After reading the field notes, I gave the feedback (see the italics in red in Figure 6.5) to my co-researcher with a set of questions that I would normally ask the children if I were there. In this sense, this weekly correspondence was necessary for my research so that I could compare the differences that existed within the children's cultural practices in a cross-cultural context, while minimizing the influence of the temporal factor. In addition, this ensured that the observations of the children's cultural practices were given some equilibrium with the often neglected 'inter-subjectivity' (Rommetveit, 1974) that was evident between the observer and the observed.

6.3 Media Diary

The media diary project was implemented in order to help both my understanding of the bilingual nature of the children's cultural practices in a domestic context and the experiences of family members in popular media consumption. Media consumption in a domestic setting is not only dominated by the family power structure which includes age and gender (Lull, 1990; Morley, 1992), but also by the parents' cultural capital (Bourdieu, 1986) and their connection with the wider ethnic community (Gillespie, 1995).

6.3.1 Chinese Language Television

In the media diary, both the British and American children detailed their extensive consumption of Chinese language drama. Similarly, both groups watched popular Chinese language programmes such as *Gy-Di-Fun-Hay* (皆大歡喜), and *Monkey King* (西遊記), both of which were oriented towards family viewers, allowing the children to incorporate Chinese language programmes into their media consumption (see Figures 6.6 and 6.7).

Figure 6.6 Media diary of Tony, aged 10, UK

Monday 10th November 2003

Today I went to the computer and played bombman,
 (on: www.kidsdomain.com/games) And went on the following:
www.yugiohrealms.com and www.netpets.com,
 Then at about 9:00 pm I watched 奥特曼

奥特曼

奥特曼

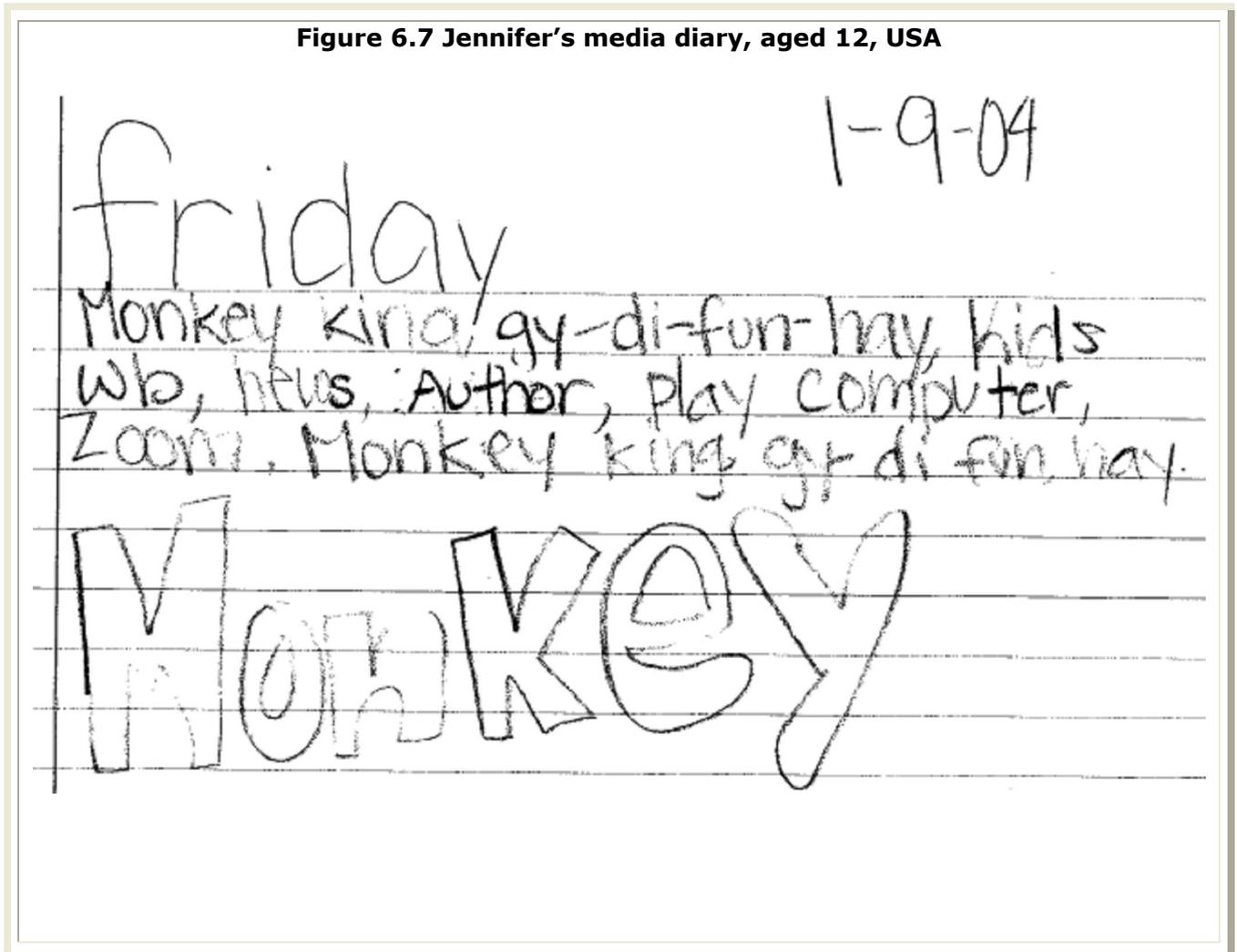
奥特曼

Better do my chinese homework now!

* Extra: I went to a friends and watched beyblade
 and played on a PSP and the games were

Racing Game and SSX.

Figure 6.7 Jennifer's media diary, aged 12, USA



"Monkey King," the drama series, was fairly popular with the Cantonese children because this show was based on a Chinese fairy tale. The narrative was about how a monkey with magical talents and martial arts skills escorted a famous monk in the quest of Buddhism. In Figure 6.7, Jennifer highlighted her favourite show, *Monkey King*, with the word 'Monkey'. To the non-viewers of this programme, the word 'Monkey' was a generic term to describe the primate animal in the monkey families. In contrast, to the viewers of *Monkey King*, the word 'Monkey' referred to the smart and talented *Monkey King* whose courage in protecting the monk from the evil force was admirable. Also, through programmes such as *Monkey Magic*, the children were able to embrace Chinese language and Chinese culture in a way that was comprehensible to them. For example, an awareness of Chinese language was apparent when the children wrote in their media diary the titles of the programmes and the

names of the characters in Chinese (see Figure 5.16 and 6.6). In Figure 6.8, the young Joanna's comprehension of Chinese culture was portrayed in her drawing of two famous mythical Chinese characters in Chinese culture, San-Yan-Drey and Na-Dra. Joanna was six years old then when this field observation was carried out. Her Chinese writing ability was still in the developing stage. Unlike the older children whose Chinese writing ability was more advanced, Joanne made use of the available resources to express her knowledge of Chinese culture.

**Figure 6.8 Two famous mythical characters in
children's Chinese literature**

(1) San-Yan-Drey (literately meaning three eyes) is a mythical character who can see objects in the far distance with a third eye. This extra eye is indicated in Joanne's drawing.



(2) Na-Dra is a mythical child character from the Shang Dynasty who always rides on flying wheels, taking him anywhere within a second.



Given that the Cantonese children often indicated that watching Chinese programmes was a family activity, TV drama can be viewed as a unifying force which can be enjoyed by young and the old. In addition to the Chinese language dramas, there were English TV programmes that were usually watched by children in the same families. In this respect, English became the language of the children, while culturally, the Chinese language dramas connected the children to the adults. The differences in TV viewing habits suggest not only the various orientations toward TV programmes but also the language divide between adults and children.

6.3.2 Personalisation of and Access to Media Consumption

In their media diaries, the children described how they privatised their media consumption. Their personal media cultural activity took place particularly when the children were interested in a certain cultural text and wanted to explore the text through different modalities. In Tony's media diary (Figure 6.9), he mentioned that he would like to make his *Yugioh* Christmas cards. However, Tony's father refused to provide him with the necessary scanning facility so that he could not transform *Yugioh* card texts onto the Christmas cards he would like to make. In the second diary entry, Tony compromised his media consumption after the Internet kept breaking down. His constant visits to www.poj.com for updating his knowledge of *Yugioh*, and *Pokemon* may be attributed to the limited broadcasting of *Yugioh* anime on the terrestrial channel⁹.

⁹ Tony's family subscribes to TVB satellite TV service, which means that there are only six channels available (one Chinese satellite TV channel and five terrestrial channels) in his household.

insisted that *Pokemon* was a past activity. This observation was further verified in the focus interview carried out with the children. Steve, a one-time *Pokemon* fan, got rid of his *Pokemon* cards, as the following interview demonstrates.

Interviewer: I know you sold your *Pokemon* cards for 20 pounds.

Peter (UK, 12): Why did you do that?

Steven (UK, 12): I sold them all to my friends.

Interviewer: Why did you want to sell the cards?

Steven: I don't want them anymore... it gets a bit boring with trading and everything.

Selling their *Pokemon* cards seemed to be an important part of the childhood experience for the children. After exhausting the ways to play *Pokemon* games, they either liquidated their cards by selling them to other 'kids' in school, or gave them away to their younger siblings, cousins and friends. However, these actions differed slightly from what the children said in their private media activities. One notable diary entry was that of Tony's continuous consumption of *Pokemon* texts on the website and on Game boy [see Figure 6.10 (1)]. This action was echoed by Ken, an eight-year-old who played *Pokemon* computer games when he was free at home, as demonstrated in Figure 6.10 (2).

Figure 6.10 Continuous consumption of 'past' fashion

(1) 'So addicted to *Pokemon* games', by Tony

Tuesday Tuesday 23rd December 2003
 Today I played on pokémon
 Sapphire, I found Mr. Stern and delivered the
 package to him. I also battled and
 trained my Pokémon.
 Then I played with my sister's electronic
 pet. Carmen wanted to play on
 my PÉTZ 5 so I let her.
 I started it off for her and
 she played with it. She chose a
 bulldog. I am getting so addictive to
 pokémon sapphire, I went to the trick
 house and beat all of the trainers.
 Then I was stuck. So later after
 lunch I checked for some walk
 throughs and checked that bit.
 So I tried but ~~could~~ could not
 find my rival.

(2) I always beat the computer, by Ken

8th March 2004 Monday

First thing in the morning I got dressed and had breakfast and went to school.

When I came back from school I watched television, the programs I watched were called Arthur, Bamzouki and Blue Peter.

Bamzouki is a brand new show, and the one I watched today was the first Bamzouki ever shown on television, and you can build your own zouk on the Bamzouki website.

Bamzouki is a robot game and you need the right robot for every obstacle.

Then I went to tennis, but I got a very low rally of three.

After that I played a computer game, the game I played was called Pokémon games, and I beat the computer every time.

Then I went to bed.

The data found in the various media diaries suggest that the children have privatised the consumption of 'past' fashion. This implies that the children begin to appropriate with

different modalities, which not only suits the domestic context but also their own personal interest. Although *Pokemon* trading cards might be out of fashion, their derivative products such as *Pokemon* Game Boy and computer games are still commonplace in the private sphere.

6.3.4 Game Devices in the Domestic Environment Meant to be for Boys

Within the context of the Chinese family, it needs to be understood that boys and not girls are more likely to have access to computers and computer games. This gender division was further probed in the interview session and owes much to Chinese cultural values. In Chinese culture, boys are perceived as more important than girls because they carry the responsibility of family inheritance. Their privileged status is reflected by the preferential treatment they receive from the parents. With the families under observation, this favouritism became apparent through the access that the boys had to various representations of the new media. Although the parents might insist that all is equal among the children, these new games were, for the most part, reserved for the boys.

Lisa in her media diary (Figure 6.11) indicated that she watched her brother playing the game for five minutes. She actually wanted to play the game but could not because her brother occupied the game, and the computer was in her brother's room anyway. Lisa and her twin sister Jenny both liked to play video and computer games. However, they could only consume media activities in their brother's room. Both Lisa and Jenny did not list among their possessions a video or a computer gaming device (see appendix C (4) for Lisa and Jenny's collections of popular culture artefacts). This implies that they perceived the video and the computer games as belonging to their younger brother.

Figure 6.11 In Brother's room

(1)

12-29-03

Wednesday

I watch a little bit of chinese movie. About 10 min. I went to watch my brother play game for about 5 min.

I went to watch more chinese movie. It talks about cops trying to solve cases.

(2)

Lisa (12, USA): I usually help my mom or I usually go like my grandma's place. I also go upstairs to my brother's room and watch TV....Because he has... like a game.

Jenny: Yeah, PlayStation Two....

Interviewer: What kind of games are you guys playing on PlayStation Two?

Jenny: Finding Nemo, Cap tour, Right Toy and Yugioh.

Lisa: Not really. I don't play *Yugioh* that much...only sometimes if I am bored.

6.4 Surveys

In this section, I will be analyzing two surveys which are: "Ten Favourite TV programmes" (6.4.1), and the children's "Collection of Popular Culture Artefacts" (6.4.2). The results of these surveys are also drawn into data discussion in Chapter Seven.

6.4.1 Ten Favourite TV Programmes

This survey aims to investigate whether the children's ranking of popular TV programmes is compatible with their relevant cultural practices. The survey results can be referred to in Appendix C (1) for the British Chinese children and Appendix C (2) for the American Chinese children. There were forty-one British Chinese children and forty-six American Chinese children who participated in the survey questionnaire.

A. TV Preference with the British Chinese Children

The survey showed that *The Simpsons*, *Monkey Magic* and *Yugioh* appeared to be the three most popular programmes with the British Chinese children. *The Simpsons* and *Monkey Magic* were popular with both the boys and girls, while *Yugioh* appealed predominately to boys. Unlike *The Simpsons* and *Yugioh*, *Monkey Magic* was a Chinese-language drama series. It was a popular TV drama series broadcasted on TVBS-Europe, with the central character based on a famous mythical Chinese narrative. Eight of the forty-one children surveyed (nearly 20 percent) listed Chinese language programmes in their top three choices. From this, we can conclude that Chinese language programmes were made available in some Chinese families. Given that TVBS-Europe satellite TV is Cantonese broadcasting, this suggests that the children from Cantonese-speaking families consume Chinese-language TV programmes in addition to the English language TV. Also, programmes such as *Pokemon*, *Jackie Chan's Adventures*, *Teenage Mutant Ninja Turtles*, *Dragon Ball Z*, and *Futurama* were only accessible with Sky TV service. This implies that some of the Chinese immigrant families had subscribed to Sky TV and qualified themselves to be multi-channelled households.

The British Chinese boys displayed a more consistent attitude toward the preferred TV programmes than the girls, whose tastes were much more varied. In addition to *Yugioh*, the following action-oriented programmes were popular with the boys: *Burning of Flame*, *Star Wars*, *Robot Wars*, and *The Matrix*. In contrast, the British Chinese girls' TV diet was more diverse, ranging from sitcoms, quiz shows, animation, and drama series to reality shows. This begs the

question of what exactly the girls' popular culture practices are. In congruent with the field notes, this survey showed that the British Chinese girls did not consistently use cultural artefacts in their social activities. Perhaps the answer lies in the fact that these are fewer cultural artefacts available for girls aged 6 to 12, so they are less likely to engage in this type of social activities.

B. The American Chinese Children in Favour of TV Sequels

The survey I conducted with the American Chinese children indicated that the popular Japanese animations, *Dragon Ball (with Z)*, *Yugioh*, and *Pokemon* were the top three favourite TV programmes with the American Chinese boys. This suggests that the American TV network had imported a number of Japanese anime that featured intensive action which appealed more to young male viewers.

In Utah, *Dragon Ball* and *Dragon Ball Z* could only be viewed on cable and satellite TV, whilst *Yugioh* and *Pokemon* were available on the terrestrial channels. One interesting feature of this survey was that the American Chinese boys tended to juxtapose the original programme with its sequel, for example *Dragon Ball* with *Dragon Ball Z* and *Yugioh* with *Pokemon I and II*. Although, in a strict sense, *Yugioh* is not the sequel to *Pokemon*, the children remembered the close proximity of the viewing times of the two programmes on the *Kids WB* channel, with *Pokemon* appearing at 4:00 p.m., followed by *Yugioh* at 4:30 p.m. In addition, the similar narrative structure of the two animations and the similar sociohistorical implications of these two popular cartoons were, it can be assumed, there to attract the children through their cultural preferences.

C. Girls' Programmes

In comparison to the boys' programmes, the number of TV programmes with predominately girls' representation was relatively less. Also, girls' programmes did not appear to have a wide viewership like boys' programmes. In the UK, the programmes like *Tracy Beaker* and *Buffy the Vampire Slayer* were perceived to be oriented towards girl viewers and yet, this survey showed that these shows did not reach a wide viewership within the girls. Similarly, in the USA, the

programmes such as *Sailor Moon*, *Power Puff Girls* and *Totally Spies* did not reach the same level of viewership as did *Yugioh* and *Dragon Ball* among the boys. To use *Yugioh* as an example, it was marketed globally on the television syndicate. In contrast, none of the girls' programmes had been marketed on the same scale as *Yugioh*. From the analysis of this cross-cultural study, we can assume girls' programmes were inclined to target the regional audience and for this reason, it was not obvious to observe a consistent audienceship for a specific programme amongst the girls in this study.

D. The Implications of the Survey Results

I observed from the survey results that, at the first attempt, most of the children had difficulty in listing their ten favourite TV programmes. This initial problem was resolved by offering the children the alternative of including other media representations that would include movies, video games, and computer games. As well as reducing the time needed to conduct the survey, this method helped to reflect the different media products available to the children and confirmed that TV was by no means the only choice.

In the case of the British Cantonese children, the consumption of Chinese language programmes was part of their everyday life, while the Chinese language drama series, *Monkey Magic*, was equally popular with the American Chinese children (as is apparent in their media diaries). However, as the programme had finished a few months before the survey was carried out, the American Chinese children did not list it in the survey. In this respect, the survey participants only listed television programmes that were available then and that they watched on a regular basis. The children displayed a similar attitude toward video games, though with films it was clear that the children did not watch movies and videos as frequently as they watched TV and played video games.

On the whole, it would appear that, compared to their American counterparts, the British Chinese children had less of a choice when it came to television animation. Indeed, many of the cartoons

that appeared on British television were American-produced. The dominance of the American entertainment industry in the global market did not mean that British Chinese children had equal access to American-produced programmes. Rather, the availability of American-produced programmes was subjected to the orientation of local TV stations and to narrowcasting.

6.4.2 The Children's Collection of Popular Culture Artefacts

This survey is to investigate to what extent the negotiation of popular culture texts was taking place in the domestic context. It also needs to be understood that the cultural artefacts collected by the children in both the US and the UK were related to numerous aspects of their social and cultural makeup including age, gender, sibling influence, technology literacy, access, and parents' socioeconomic class.

A. Girls' Collections

Without wishing to state the obvious, the survey demonstrates that the girls were more likely to collect cultural artefacts with salient female features. *Hello Kitty* and *Disney* artefacts were fairly popular in the collection of the girls. Both *Hello Kitty* and *Disney* feature cute animals and market a variety of domestic decorative items. With *Disney* particularly, the theme of the *Disney* animation productions surrounds family, friendship, love and caring. These qualities appeal predominately to the girls and could be evidenced in the girls' collection of popular cultural artefacts. Vivian and Carol in Figure 6.12 collected all sorts of *Disney* artefacts. The two girls, along with many girls in this study, shared a high level of similarity in their collection of *Disney* artefacts. From this, we can assume that the manufacturers' global marketing strategy was also affecting how the girls updated their collections of cultural artefacts.

Figure 6.12 Hello Kitty and Disney

(1) UK, Vivian, 11 years old

Page 1

Characters	Toys				Video Games & PC Games				Movies & Music		Books		Miscellaneous										
	Action Figures and Dolls	Beypilades	Playsets & Board Games	Soft Toys	Trading Cards	Consoles	Gameboy Color & GB Advance	Gamecube	Playstation One	Playstation Two	X Box	PC	CD and Cassettes	VCD/DVD	VHS	Comics	Magazines and Catalogues	Story Books	Accessories	Clothings and beddings	Stationery	Others	
Disney		X	X							X	X	X	X							X	X		
Dragon Ball (Z)																							
Final Fantasy																							
Finding the Nemo												X											
G. I. Joe																							
Grand Theft Auto Vice-City																							
Harry Potter																							X
Hello Kitty				X												X		X	X	X	X		

(2) USA, Carol, 9 years old

Crash Bandicoot																							
Disney			X									X				X		X	X	X			flashlight
Dragon Ball (Z)																							
Final Fantasy																							
Finding the Nemo																							
G. I. Joe																							
Grand Theft Auto Vice-City																							
Harry Potter				X												X							
Hello Kitty																	X				X		towel

However, this perception of gendered activities was mitigated when the girls' social peers included a number of boys. In Figure 6.13, Eva, a ten-year-old American Chinese girl, collected hundreds of *Pokemon* cards and often played *Yugioh* with her younger brother. By collecting this type of cultural artefact, Eva was able to bridge the gender gap and integrate herself with her brothers and other male friends.

Figure 6.13 Bridging the gender gap

Carol (9 years old, USA): I don't think any of the girls in my class like *Yugioh* at all.

Interviewer: So do you know how to play *Yugioh*?

Carol: No.

Eva (10 years old, USA): I know kind of, Kind of... because I don't actually read the manual.

Interviewer: Ok, Eva. If you don't read the manual, how do you know how to play *Yugioh*?

Eva: My friends taught me.

Interviewer: Which ones? In school?

Eva: They just taught me some of it. Like Nathan, Trevor, Deland and Sean and my cousins.

B. Boys' Collections

The survey indicates that the boys are less likely to possess decorative items for domestic use such as clothing, bedding, and stationery. Instead, they tend to collect popular culture videos and computer games, as well as action figures on solid transformable materials such as *Yugioh* action figures rather than soft materials such as *Hello Kitty* stuff animals. According to Ormerod and Ivanic (2002),

a text can be seen as a material object which, through its physical features, reflects processes associated with its physical production and life experience so far and also indicates how it is expected to be handled by the reader (p.65).

To carry this argument further, Kress (1997) indicates that 'children act multimodally, both in the things they use, the objects they make; and in their engagement of their bodies: there is no separation of body and mind. The differing modes and materials which they employ offer differing potentials for the making of meaning; and therefore offer different affective, cognitive and conceptual possibilities' (p.97).

In this sense, the divide between solid and soft material or transformable and fixed physical features can be seen to represent the differences between male and female cartoon characters. The ownership of these 'solid' materials presumably diverts the boys from engaging in games like playing house, which includes notions of collaboration as the concept is often oriented toward the

family. Indeed, solid material per se connotes 'toughness' which is compatible to children's activities around action games such as *Bionicles* and *Transformers*. Therefore, a toy allows its owner to vary the making of meaning in a cultural activity, and their imagination and autonomy of meaning-making is manifested in their choice of material.

In contrast, the girls have a greater numbers of soft toys that are normally associated with universal animations or animations with more obvious feminine features. This implies that the girls continue to negotiate the meaning of cultural artefacts by choosing ones which are feminine-oriented.

6.5 Management of Verbatim Interview Transcripts

This study includes twenty-four individual interviews with parents, of which thirteen were conducted in the UK and twelve in the USA. Added to this are twenty-six focus group interviews with the children, split between the UK and the USA. The interviews with the parents were conducted in both Mandarin and Cantonese, but were interspersed with some English. Therefore, translation from Chinese to English was required. As the interviews with the children were conducted predominately in English, they were transcribed word for word. In order to tackle such a large number of interview transcriptions, I used the qualitative computer software, *QSR-Nvivo* which conceptualised the data and reduced what was a vast amount of information to several main themes. The data conceptualisation process was also triangulated with data derived from field notes as well as from the media diaries and various surveys.

6.5.1 Use of QSR NUD*IST

Nvivo is a widely used computer software in the *QSR NUD*IST package* for qualitative research. Also, it is used for data analysis and data conceptualisation based on grounded theory (Gibbs, 2002). The close relationship of grounded theory and *Nvivo* has been widely introduced through the manual books of *Nvivo* (*ibid.*) and will not therefore be detailed further in this section. Although applying computer software to analyze data has some limitations (Weitzman, 2000), for

the purpose of this research, it is mainly used in the content analysis of the interview texts, and thus serves as a database for easy retrieval and comparison.

I have followed, in the conceptions of grounded theory, the processes of free coding and coding refinement, linking the categories with similar and contrasting attributes and dimensions (Gibbs, 2002). Finally I have identified five themes on which data discussion is based: cultural practices with artefacts, contextual factors involved in cultural practice, literacy learning, identity formation, and childhood development. These themes are not discrete and are central to how the British and American Chinese children appropriate meanings into popular culture texts.

Each theme contributes to the characteristics of cultural practice among the research participants, and the data analysis process is continuous and interwoven with my data collection. The clear divide between data analysis and data collection is hard to distinguish, given that a new theme is constantly reflected in the data collection and is refined or elaborated on by the research participants. For example, in several *Yugioh* interview sessions, a few British Chinese boys argued that *Yugioh* copied from *Pokemon*. This issue of copying brought up other issues that needed to be elaborated on, such as 'out of fashion', 'different narratives' and 'card attributes', 'power levels', 'gender issues', 'the disposal of old cards' and 'the symbolic meaning of cards'.

As *Pokemon* tended to cross the gender divide, the British Chinese girls were willing to participate in the interview process. Initially, their insufficient knowledge of *Yugioh* distanced the girls from playing the card game in the Chinese schools. However, at the interview, the British Chinese girls showed their understanding of *Yugioh* by relating it to their previous experience with *Pokemon*. They were able to demonstrate a sophisticated knowledge of the *Pokemon* trading cards. Thus, the girls' not participating in the card game in the playground did not necessarily mean a lack of interest in *Yugioh*. Presumably, it is, according to the girls' interview conversation, the pictorial representation of *Yugioh* monsters that kept them from participating in the *Yugioh* activities. This different attitude towards the trading cards *Yugioh* and *Pokemon* led me to explore more

dimensions of *Yugioh* cultural practices and how the intertextual property between popular cultural texts related to the children's literacy learning. It also led me to investigate why it was not an obvious social practice for the British Chinese girls to appropriate *Yugioh* texts given that they used to have a craze for *Pokemon* texts.

As there was no new information added to the new emerging categories, this data elaboration and refinement had to be restricted, as the data collection process might reach 'theoretical saturation' (Glaser and Strauss, 1967, p.73) and data saturation (Denzin and Lincoln, 1998; Pope et al, 2000).

In the following data analysis section, I employed open coding, axial coding, and selective coding (Gibbs, 2002) to conceptualise and refine the data. These three coding processes have assisted me in being able to narrate the story of my research participants and explicate the British and American Chinese children's *Yugioh* practices. However, I did not intend to separate these three coding processes, as the rigid sequence of opening, axial, and selective coding was too abstract and did not reflect the practicalities of what was an interwoven and complicated coding process.

6.5.2 Coding

Coding is always a process of data analysis (Miles and Huberman, 1994). This process is essential to how I came to conceptualise the interview data and integrate them with data from field observation, media diaries and surveys. Open coding is used to deal with the voluminous interview data and is thus an essential step for me to familiarise myself with the verbatim interview. Prior to the analysis of interview text, my ethnographic observation of the children in the Chinese school provided me with additional information about different aspects of their culture practices. This information helped to explain how the children's cultural activity was gendered and that their cultural activity involved a number of cultural artefacts. Also, what I learned was that gender, cultural artefacts, group power and negotiation, as well as the context of the school itself,

had all become salient issues that I would like to explore further in my analysis of the interview texts.

In addition, open coding also indicates my reluctance to rely upon established theories in this field. As my initial intention was to conduct a cross-cultural study in order to examine how the Chinese bilingual children appropriated the meaning of popular culture texts, the research scale was large and complicated. This is because an individual's cultural awareness has as much to do with family, language, ethnicity, and country of residence as it does with childhood experience.

For this reason, I had to draw on data from different sources, use them as coding guidelines and apply them to the coding process. The empirical base for any study of children's culture practices in and out of the school environment can be found in field observations, field notes, children's media diaries and various surveys. All this has given me a good start in integrating knowledge gained with the data coding. By referring to data from different sources, this 'data triangulation' has mitigated the seemingly subjective coding structure.

Furthermore, given that all participants receive the same set of questions, the semi-structured interview has yielded some comparable data that relates to issues such as gender, age, language, socioeconomic class, and country. There are then dichotomies which run through the interviews, and these relate to the differences and oppositions which exist between, for example, boys and girls, young and old, Cantonese families and Mandarin families, UK and USA, working class and middle class.

This comparative approach to data analysis serves as a useful pointer toward examining more complex issues from what exactly underlies the contrasting attitudes of different groups, to the way they perceive the cultural practice they engage in and the cultural artefacts they use. Overall, the salient themes in this initial phase of data analysis conform to my research inquiry which deals with the participants' motivations and justifications, in engaging with an array of cultural activities

that include different popular cultural texts. All of these elements, plus temporal and spatial factors, have added to my comprehension of the prevailing culture practices among my research participants and have allowed me to consider the implications that arise from this research.

6.6 Data Conceptualisation

In the following section, I would like to draw a conceptual map of data management. Because *Yugioh* generated a significant number of discussions and debates between boys and girls, older children and younger children, Cantonese families and Mandarin families, American Chinese and British Chinese, I attempted to use 'Yugioh' as the main category in my data analysis with Nvivo. *Yugioh* in this sense was the generic term to account for all the *Yugioh* practices. Therefore, any interview texts related to *Yugioh* were highlighted, scrutinised and categorised. To take one interview transcript as an example, in Figure 6.14, in my exploration of the children's reasons for disliking fake cards, Tony and Andy supplied me with the additional information about how to differentiate between a fake card and a real card and how a fake card was swapped in an exchange. In this sense, fake cards and its relevant attributes were highlighted. In parallel, each highlighted theme was juxtaposed with my interpretation and served a pointer towards informing me about the possible dimensions within the *Yugioh* practices.

Figure 6.14 Highlight for an emerging theme

Interviewer: Tell me why you don't like fake cards? Aren't they all the same? Pretty much similar in terms of the images...*(inquiry of the children's reasons for not supporting fake cards)*

Tony: Very similar. It's similar from the picture and writing but not just the colour. *(criterion for identifying a real card from a fake card)*

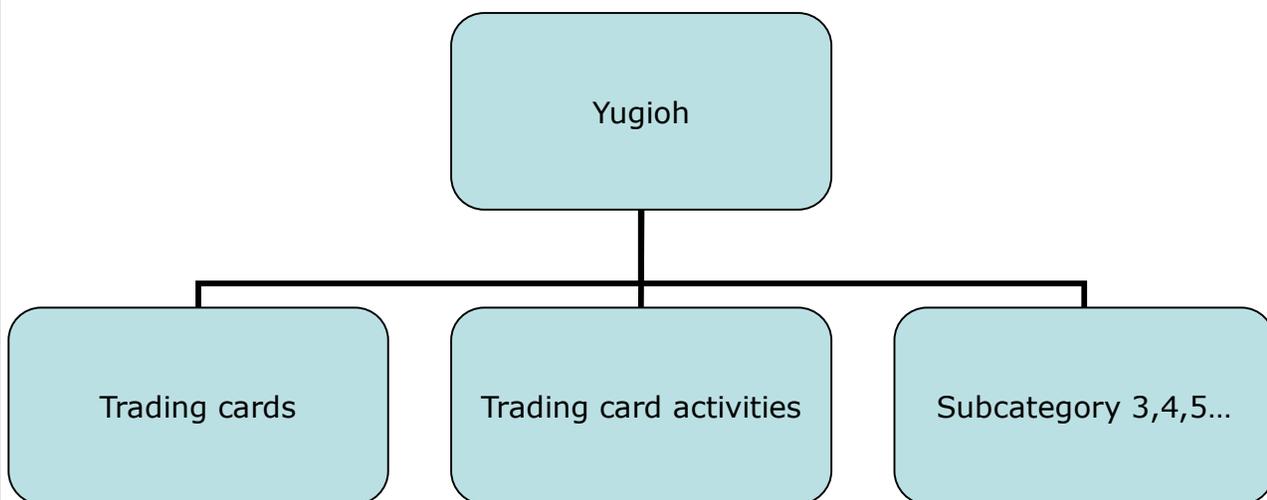
Andy: Because last time there was a card but it's not...fake card and it's rarely...good card and then we just started. This person swapped it for more than 40 cards for that card but that card was a sticker...*(swapping card activities)*

Interviewer: Really? So he swapped his 40 cards to get that sticker card.

Andy: He is my friend and, *(relationship with the members of Yugioh activities)*

Thus, with the aid of Nvivo, I was able to map out a basic conceptual map for each interview transcript. By conjoining and refining the conceptual map, I identified a few major subcategories that were mostly related to the children's appropriation of *Yugioh* texts. Underneath 'Yugioh' are different aspects of the *Yugioh* phenomenon that need further categorisation. This concept can be portrayed in Figure 6.15.

Figure 6.15 Data Management of Yugioh phenomenon



Developing from this concept, I attempted to make sense of the relationship between different subcategories, and to formulate the necessary models to validate the *Yugioh* phenomenon.

6.6.1 *Yugioh* with the British Chinese Children

In the *Yugioh* interview, the British Chinese children drew attention to why they liked to watch animation and play card games. They also discussed how many cards they had collected and what their favourite cards were. During the interviews, the children were very open about why

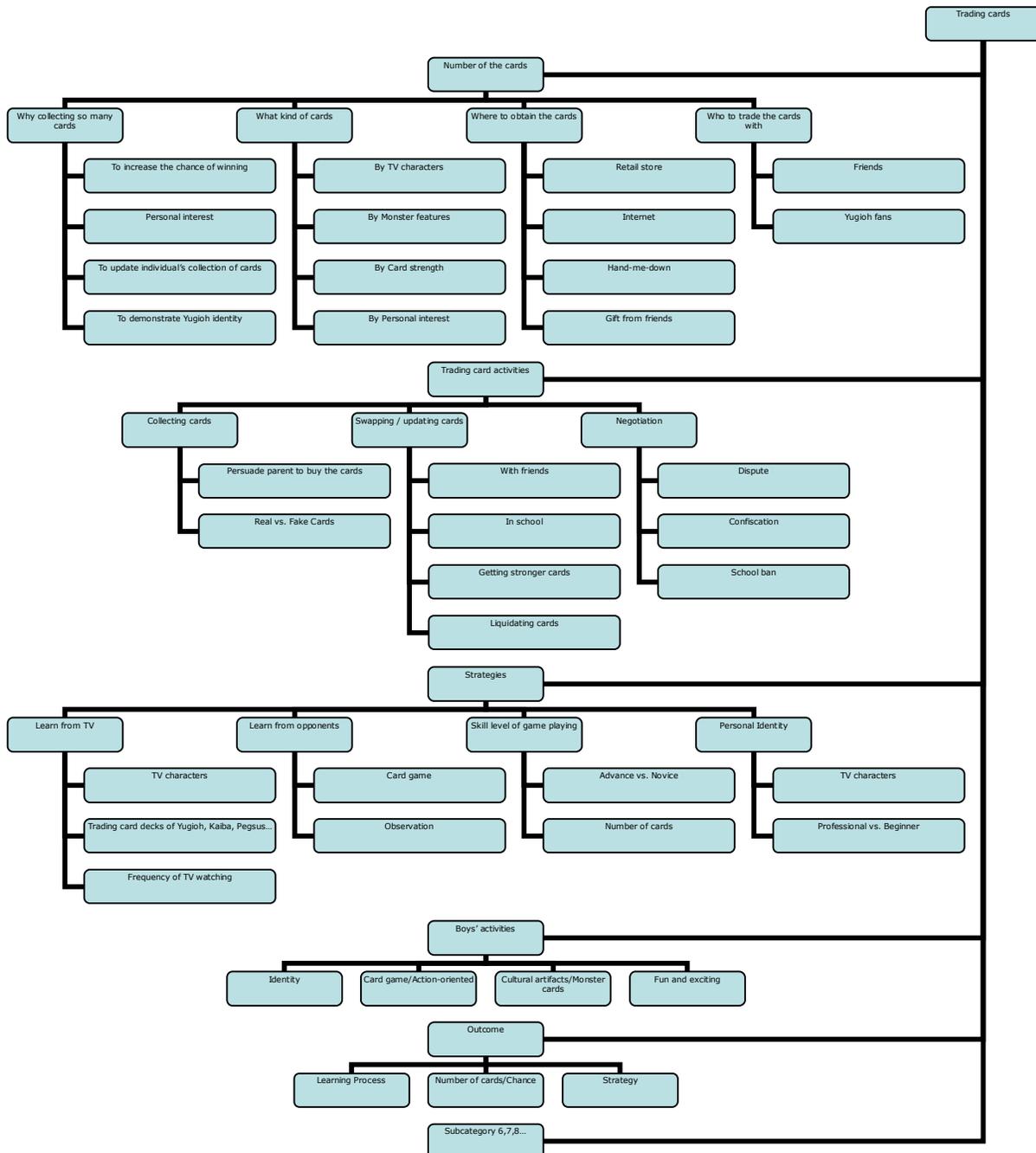
their schools prohibited them from activities surrounding the cards and why *Yugioh* was considered more fun than its predecessor, *Pokemon*. Given many of the children's interview discussions centred around the activities linked to trading cards, I started with the first attempted category 'trading cards' to explore *Yugioh* phenomenon. Also, the children mentioned repetitively about card numbers, trading card activities, strategy, boys' things and game outcome. By frequency, 'number of cards', 'trading card activities', 'strategy', 'boys' activity', 'outcome of the game' became the theme categories that needed further elaboration.

Each theme category was further developed into more dimensions by means of subcategorisation. The subcategorisation was made with reference to the children's experiences/activities with *Yugioh* texts. In many interviews, the children explained why they had to collect hundreds of cards, what kinds of cards they collected, where they obtained the cards, and who they traded the cards with. Thus, 'numbers of cards' developed into 'why', 'what', 'where', and 'who' subcategories. When asked what kinds of the cards they collected, the children categorised their collection of cards by TV characters (Yugi, Kaiba, Pegasus, etc.), by monster (Dark Magician, Obelisk the Tormentor, Slifer the Sky Dragon, etc.), by card strength (attack and defence points) and by personal interests (such as by gender and by the look of the monsters).

The children constantly demonstrated a good systematic understanding of their *Yugioh* activities by laying out the structure of their multi-dimensional but inter-connected *Yugioh* activities. This structure can be interpreted as the regular cultural practices that *Yugioh* members would normally follow. For example, in the practice of trading card activities, *Yugioh* card members were expected to trade/update/negotiate their card collections with their friends and in school. During the process of updating their card collection, different problems would occur such as card trade disputes, confiscation of their cards, and a school ban of the cards. These problems were contextualised but regarded as common experiences shared by many *Yugioh* members. For different *Yugioh* practices such as advancing their card game duelling strategies, the children learned their strategies from different sources such as from TV and from opponents, and

commented on their strategy by level of experience and by identity. We ascertained that the children performed their various *Yugioh* practices according to their knowledge base about *Yugioh* texts. To be more specific, in an example like a card game, the children might decide to use Yugi's strategy, which they learned from TV or which they learned from their card game opponents. Thus, despite the fact that the children were governed by the *Yugioh* cultural practices, their performance/agency was mediated by many relationships. By this concept, the initial structure of Figure 6.15 was developed into a multi-dimensional vertical relationship amongst the subcategories in Figure 6.16.

Figure 6.16 Multi-dimensional vertical relationships



By looking at the relationship chart in Figure 6.16, it may appear that each subcategory is a stand-alone category. In order to refine the subcategories, I have compared the subcategories and related them to the children's accounts of their *Yugioh* practices. For example, many children in the interview told me how important it was to collect a number of *Yugioh* monster cards and that they obtained the cards from different sources. The reasons that propelled the children to obtain more cards were to update their personal collections and for card duelling strategy, because the cards they had were critical to the outcome of the game. By reading into the children's accounts of their *Yugioh* card game practices, I was able to relate trading cards with trading practices, strategy and the outcome of the game. In this sense, the relationship between *Yugioh* and its subcategories was not a linear and vertical relationship. Instead, the relationship between categories was often multiple and served as a pointer towards informing me whether I had exhausted all the possible categories and relationships (data saturation). This process of constantly comparing and contrasting categories was not only to reduce the data by the key conceptualisation but also to validate an attempted concept/theory arising from the data.

In this first phase of data analysis, I pieced together a picture of cultural practices among the British Chinese children, but it was not complete because very few British Chinese girls were represented in this research. Without cross-referencing the interviews with the American Chinese children, the British Chinese girls' limited understanding of *Yugioh* can be explained by their lack of interest in cartoons meant for boys. Additionally, the British Chinese girls' peripheral position, as the bystanders to the *Yugioh* culture practised by the boys, implied that in a situated social event like *Yugioh*, different positioning subjected the children to different levels of participation and knowledge. This finding was not obvious if the girls were excluded from participating in this research.

6.6.2 *Yugioh* with the American Chinese Children

As the interviews carried out in the USA came after those conducted in the UK, the coding structure employed in the British Chinese children's data analysis can be seen as the prototype for

the American Chinese. There are two reasons why this is so. First, the same set of interview schedules were administered for both the British and American Chinese children. Therefore, their responses shared a certain degree of common ground. Second, any difference from the prototype in terms of the breadth and depth of the data illustrates the cultural differences between the British and the American Chinese children.

The American Chinese children's account of *Yugioh* practices featured a few differences from their British Chinese counterparts. For example, the American children liked different *Yugioh* monster cards, and the American Chinese girls asserted a higher level of interest in *Yugioh* trading card practices than their British counterparts. These differences have drawn my attention to the features of the monster cards and personal interest in trading cards. I had to investigate what contributed to the children's preference for different cards, including the gender division and their reading of the cards and what the cards meant to them. Also, the difference between the British and American Chinese girls showed that there was something other than gender accounting for the different practices between the two cohorts. By looking into the children's access to *Yugioh* animation, I was able to identify that the American Chinese children consumed more and newer episodes than their British Chinese counterparts and were able to obtain the newest *Yugioh* cards and update their card collection and duelling strategy. This was presumably the main reason that the British Chinese children could not articulate the strongest cards and the latest narrative development at the same level as their American counterparts. From here, we can assume that accessibility resulted in different practices of *Yugioh* between the British Chinese and the American Chinese children.

The notion of accessibility can be further categorised on a number of different levels that include country, region, school, ethnicity, family and the children themselves. Having said that, my initial understanding of accessibility was narrow in scope. Having observed that state school restricted the pupils from practising *Yugioh*, it was noticeable that the children were under much less restriction in the Chinese school, given that *Yugioh* was an obvious social practice in the Chinese

school. Presumably, different contextual environments gave rise to different cultural practices. For this reason, the contextual factor was further identified in Chapter Seven to account for the heterogeneity embedded in the children's sociocultural practices of *Yugioh*.

6.6.3 Findings for *Yugioh* Practices

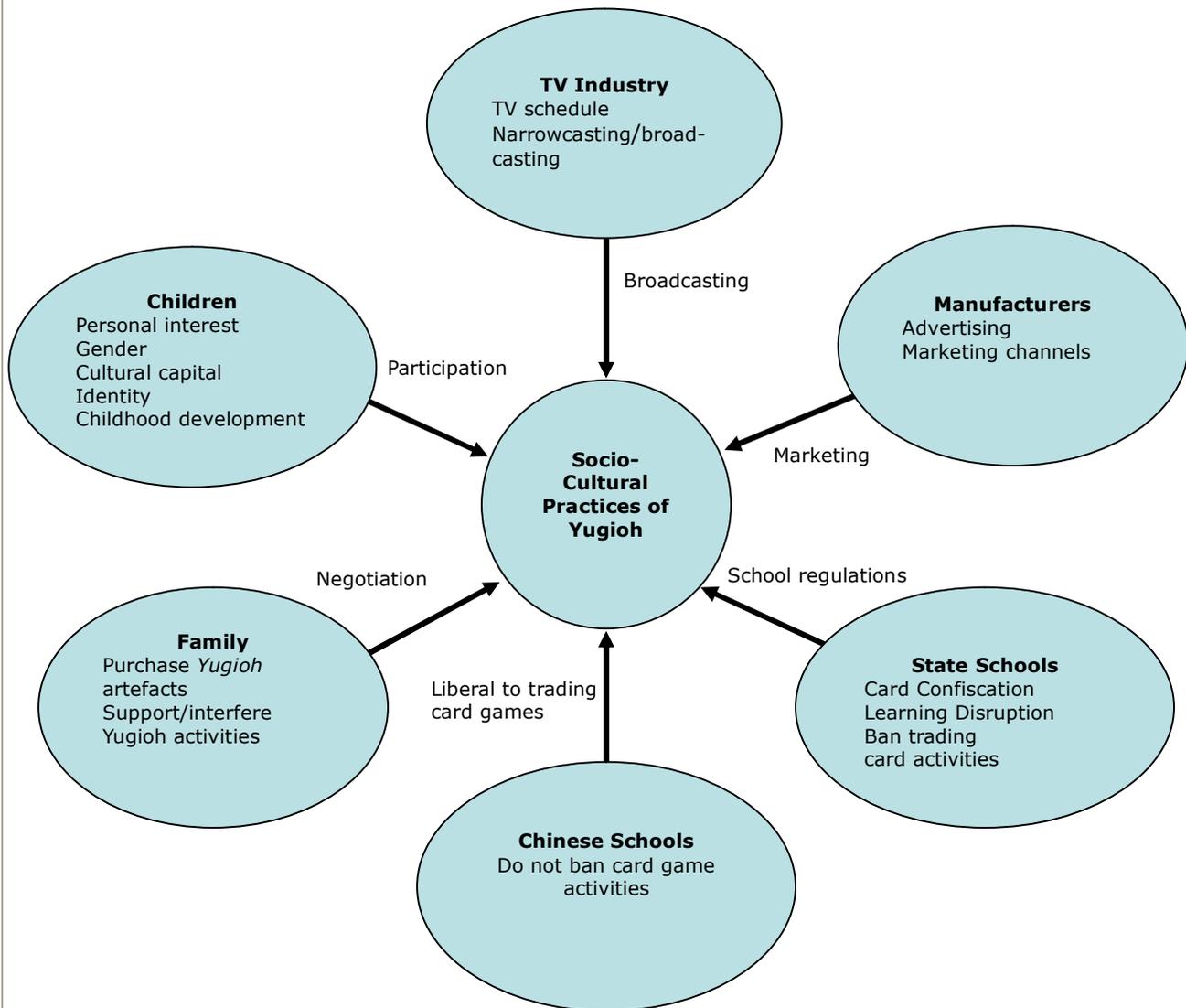
Throughout the course of my analysis of the data collected in the UK and in the USA, I started to conceptualise the variation in the cultural practices between the boys and the girls, the younger boys and the older boys, and those families which interfered in cultural practices and those which did not. A brief summary of the differences between the children in the UK and the USA can be illustrated in Figure 6.17.

Figure 6.17 Different cultural practices of the children in the UK and USA

	UK	USA
Boys	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Tended to watch more Japanese animations than girls. • Collected more digital games, action figures and monster cards • Cantonese drama fans if from Cantonese families • Participated in various <i>Yugioh</i> practices such as playing card games, collecting/updating personal collection of monster cards, swapping cards with friends and classmates, and advancing card game strategy. • Younger and older boys differed in their account of popular cultural texts. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Tended to watch more Japanese animations with sequels than their British counterparts. • Collected more digital games, action figures and monster cards like their British counterparts. • Cantonese drama fans if from Cantonese families • Assumed newer and better knowledge of <i>Yugioh</i> texts because of their easy accessibility to <i>Yugioh</i> texts. Also participated in various practices as did their British counterparts. • Age factor played an important part in mediating the boys' cultural activities.
Girls	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Collected more decorative artefacts and artefacts with feminine features (than boys). • Liked to watch more diverse TV programmes than the boys. • Liked to watch Cantonese drama series if from Cantonese families. • In the context of Chinese school, the girls tend to differentiate and distance themselves from the boys by engaging in different social activities and occupying different physical territories. • Showed little interest in <i>Yugioh</i> but demonstrated excellent understanding of <i>Pokemon</i> texts. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Collected more decorative and domestic artefacts, like their British counterparts, but shared digital game devices with their brothers. • Appeared to watch more diverse TV programmes than boys • Liked to watch Cantonese drama, like their British counterparts. • Showed high interest towards <i>Yugioh</i> practices. • In the context of Chinese school, no obvious gender split in the social activities.

Also, as I carried out more data analysis, I needed to establish the cultural practices of the Chinese children in the UK and USA. From this, I came to understand that cultural practice was contextualised and was configured by different contextual factors. By contextual factors, I meant all these mediating forces that exerted influences on the children's appropriation of *Yugioh* texts. This concept is represented in the following diagram (see Figure 6.18).

Figure 6.18 Contextual factors mediate the children’s appropriation of *Yugioh* texts



In Figure 6.18, each of the circles on the outer area represents a contextual factor influencing the children's appropriation of *Yugioh*. Each outer circle details the mediating force for the children's cultural practices. The television industry mediates the practices by broadcasting; manufacturers of *Yugioh* artefacts by marketing; state schools by regulation; Chinese schools by being liberal to the artefacts; family by negotiation; and children by personal interest and identity. The state schools, for example, banned the children from bringing *Yugioh* cards to school because such cultural artefacts had caused conflicts and disrupted the children's learning in school. In order to manage their class, school teachers often confiscated trading cards to 'interfere' with the children's trading card activities. The word 'interfere' was used in the sense of describing the events from an insider's perspective (the members of *Yugioh* activities). From the children's perspective, card confiscation was a preventive act and suggested *Yugioh* activities were not encouraged in state school. And yet, because of the children's personal interest and *Yugioh* being ubiquitous, they took the *Yugioh* practices to their neighbourhood and community Chinese school. In this sense, the existence of the contextual factors explains that the children's appropriation of *Yugioh* is contextualised and these contextual factors, presumably, will vary not only with different composition of research participants but also with temporal and spatial factors.

Despite the fact that the diagram in Figure 6.18 shows how the children's *Yugioh* practices relate to different mediating factors, this diagram does not illustrate to what extent that influence is exerted, and how the children make sense of *Yugioh* texts when those texts are subject to the interwoven impacts of the contextual factors. In addition, some factors more than others, may, presumably, affect the duration of a given cultural practice and change the relevant practices. From this emerge two issues: first, cultural practice has a life span and second, each phase of this life span corresponds to different modes of cultural practices (see Section 7.6.1).

6.7 Conclusion

Prior to the data analysis, I examined the subjectivity that I might possibly have for this research and for the research participants. On the other hand, I also explored the relationship that I developed with my research participants and the researched context. By so doing, I made the process of data interpretation transparent, in compliance with the credibility of qualitative research. The aim of the data analysis is to demonstrate how I conceptualised the research data by identifying the primary contextual factors in mediating the children's appropriation of *Yugioh* texts. Additionally, I also learned from the data that the nuances in the children's different cultural practices could be distinguished from the dimension of gender, age, language, cultural capital, family structure, nationality and so forth. Chapter Six has laid down a relationship structure between the *Yugioh* cultural practices and the identified contextual factors. And yet, I still needed to validate the presumptuous conceptualisations, and for this reason, I will elaborate the contextual factors and the heterogeneity embedded in the children's practices in Chapter Seven.

Chapter Seven

Children's Practices with *Yugioh*

7.0 Introduction

In this chapter I will discuss the research data by validating the conceptualisations constructed in Chapter Six. In the previous chapter, I have shown that bilingual children's *Yugioh* cultural practices are influenced by the contextual factors of the television industry, toy manufacturers, state school, community school, family structure and children's social peers. The configuration of all these contextual factors constitutes a particular context in which the British and American Chinese children are embedded, and to which they refer when they appropriate the meaning of *Yugioh* texts. These contextual factors, presumably, give rise to different cultural practices in the children's appropriation of *Yugioh* texts. One point of interest of this study is where the children voiced their opinions regarding their cultural practices of *Yugioh*. Their perspective was evidenced in the interview excerpts, media diary and surveys. The children were asserting active participation of *Yugioh* practices, constantly varying the ways in which they appropriated *Yugioh* texts in relation to context.

Additionally, the children were motivated to use various *Yugioh* texts to express their multiple identities and to perform *Yugioh* practices in ways that were congruent with *Yugioh* fandom culture. Because the children's cultural practices were contextualised, how the children interacted with *Yugioh* texts varied, as did the meanings that they ascribed to the texts. In order to explore how the children negotiated the meanings of *Yugioh* texts in their cultural practices, I will examine the process and the practices that took place in juxtaposition with the children's appropriation of *Yugioh* texts and identify the aspirations that motivated the children to take part in their sociocultural practices around *Yugioh*. These ambitions were central to the children because they played an important role in assisting them to construct a desirable social identity and to socialise with their peers. Because the goals were mainly socially driven, the children's sociocultural practices around *Yugioh* appeared not only to be an identifiable social phenomenon but,

presumably, also followed the product's life cycle. The life cycle of *Yugioh* cultural practices, consisting of four phases, may explain why the life span of children's sociocultural practices relating to *Yugioh* was limited and developed alongside the children's cognitive development. Each phase in the development of *Yugioh* cultural practices entailed the children arriving at numerous interpretations of the *Yugioh* texts, which can then be categorised, by the supporting data, according to the dimensions of socialisation, identity, childhood development and literacy learning.

7.1 Contextual Factors and Cultural Practices

In this research, the British and American Chinese children engaged in different cultural practices with *Yugioh* texts. Their *Yugioh* cultural practices varied with the sociocultural context, which either interfered with or supported the *Yugioh* craze. These contextual factors configure a number of situational contexts, reflecting not only the domains of the children's everyday lives but also the temporal and spatial aspects of their popular cultural practices.

The model in Figure 6.18 was designed to account for how the British and American Chinese children's sociocultural practices are affected by the situational contexts. Because the children's everyday activities are embedded in their upbringing environments, the contextual factors are significant in terms of the influences on the ways that the children appropriate *Yugioh* texts. The influences will be categorised into the dimensions of the social, the cultural and the political and discussed in the following section. Although the model is designed to systematically identify the social structures involved in the children's appropriation of *Yugioh* texts, the model does not suggest that the British and American Chinese children's involvement in their *Yugioh* activities is confined and passive. Conversely, it is to account for how the children's appropriation of popular culture texts in their social discourse is constantly contested and negotiated, and the significance of the popular culture practices in their socialisation, identity, and literacy development is established.

To demonstrate the impacts that contextual factors have on the children's cultural practices of *Yugioh*, Table 7.1 details the impacts in terms of the literacy and sociocultural practices. Each row in the table features how each contextual factor exerts impacts on the children's literacy and sociocultural practices, and how the children under such influence vary their appropriation of *Yugioh* texts accordingly.

Table 7.1 The impact of contextual factors on the children's literacy and sociocultural practices

Contextual Factors		Impacts		Literacy (meaning-making) practices	Sociocultural practices	
Television industry		a. TV station changes programme schedule and frequency b. Program sponsorship and commercial tie-in		a. Watching narratives b. Learning new cards and strategies	<i>Yugioh</i> cartoons on television	
Toy manufacturers and advertisers		Variety of <i>Yugioh</i> products to purchase in stores and on the Internet		a. Learning to read (identify) product categories and labels b. Comparing prices in the shops and on the Internet c. Joining a <i>Yugioh</i> fan forum and sharing information d. Visiting popular <i>Yugioh</i> Web sites to learn about new cards and products	a. Constant shopping for starter and booster packs of trading cards b. Novice players buy and swap cards from regular retail shops; experienced and advanced card players trade cards but tend to buy rare cards at game shops and on the Internet	
English school (State school)		Banning trading cards		a. Exchanging card information with peers secretly	a. 'Underground' card trading/playing/collection, and shift location of culture practices to neighbourhood and community school	
Community Chinese school		Allowing trading cards		a. Trading cards (negotiating) b. Playing cards (applying game rules and demonstrating personal identity and duelling strategies) c. Observing peers trading and playing cards (scaffolding)	a. Card trading/playing/collection b. Getting free and 'hand me down' cards from friends	
Family		a. Regulating TV viewing b. Negotiating buying of culture artefacts c. Family shopping, impulsive buying d. Family and relatives buy gifts for birthdays and holidays		a. Watching narratives and reading information on the cover of videos b. Reading card catalogues and browsing through personal duelling decks c. Wearing accessories and collecting cultural artefacts of cartoon characters d. Surfing on the Internet to research new cards and exchanging knowledge in forums	a. <i>Yugioh</i> cartoons on television b. Playing card games with siblings and cousins of similar age and same or opposite gender c. Collecting trading cards (real/fake) d. Video/computer games e. Card catalogues	
Children	Older Boys (aged 9 or 10 onward)	a. Older boys are less interested in playing card games (age and card game experience are two key factors)		a. Knowledgeable of copyright and card quality b. Seeking potential buyers for used cards by advertising and promotion on the Internet, in neighbourhood and at school	a. Selling cards b. Giving used cards to younger siblings, cousins and friends	
	Younger boys (aged 6 to 9)	Boy zone (speech community)		a. Learning rules and strategy from peers b. Drawing animated characters c. Decoding meaning from pictorial icons and visual representations	Intensively playing/collecting/trading cards Watching television animation	
	Girls	UK	Not interested in playing <i>Yugioh</i> card games		Selectively learning information about cards featuring female characteristics	Occasionally co-viewing with sibling of opposite sex
		USA	Interested in collecting and playing Participate in the <i>Yugioh</i> activities to avoid being left out in family gatherings		Learning the basic card game rules but not keen on advancing duelling strategies and personalizing duelling decks	a. Watching <i>Yugioh</i> cartoons occasionally b. Collecting and trading cards. To a lesser degree, playing cards with only siblings and cousins

7.1.1 Television Industry

The television industry exerts its influence on the children's *Yugioh* practices by changing programme schedules and allowing commercial sponsors to advertise their products in conjunction with the sponsored programmes. In this cross-cultural study, the British Chinese children with access to terrestrial channels were only able to watch *Yugioh* animations on ITV (Channel Three) on Sunday mornings. Conversely, the American Chinese children with access to both satellite and terrestrial channels watched *Yugioh* anime Monday through Friday in the afternoon cartoon slot, and new episodes on Saturday and Sunday mornings.

As most of the programmes had a commercial tie-in, in the commercial break of *Yugioh*, the American Chinese children learned about other inter-textual *Yugioh* texts such as *Yugioh* trading cards, action figures, and accessories. In this sense, the TV commercials provided the American child viewers with additional knowledge of *Yugioh* trading cards, further development of the narrative, and other multimodal *Yugioh* texts.

Conversely, as the British Chinese children only had access to limited *Yugioh* broadcasting on TV, they had to explore other means to obtain additional information about *Yugioh* card games. Given the wide availability of PCs and the Internet in British households (Livingstone, 2002), these children started to search information on the Internet by using a search engine such as *Google* and visiting the official *Yugioh* website, *www.Yugioh.com*, provided in the game manual in the *Yugioh* starter pack. Mike, a *Yugioh* fan, has demonstrated in Figure 7.1 how he started with a general search on the Internet and developed more sophisticated skills and experiences in exploring popular *Yugioh* websites such as *http://www.Yugiohcards.com*. Similarly, Tony, in Figure 7.1, a ten-year-old British Chinese boy, has employed the Internet to absorb knowledge about *Yugioh* and update his collection of *Yugioh* trading cards and artefacts by constantly visiting the website *http://www.pojo.com*.

Figure 7.1 *Yugioh* and the Internet

(1)

Interviewer: ... you log on to the Internet to check on those cards?

Mike (UK, 9 years old): Yeah, Yugiohcards.com.

Ken (UK, 8 years old): Yeah and you can even buy cards from the Internet.

Mike: Yeah, really rare ones.

Interviewer: But, who teaches you how to use the Internet and how do you know how to use the Internet to search?

Mike: Rule book.

(2)

Tony (UK, 10 years old): I got one really good Web site. They review new cards every day, a card for a day...The PJ, which is the best one.

Interviewer: But how do you know all those Web sites, from where?

Tony: I search Google.

Interviewer: Google.

Tony: Oh, you search from Google. It's a good idea to search from Google. That's how I found the Web site...

Through their Web site searches for information on *Yugioh* card games, narrative development and other relevant information, the children updated not only their knowledge about *Yugioh* cards but also their duelling strategies.

Through this Web surfing cultural practice, the British Chinese boys have also developed their literacy in ICT. For example, Mike, an eight-year-old British Chinese boy, demonstrated sophisticated Web searching skills. Initially, I attributed his Internet skills to his family because Mike's father, Roy, had a post-doctorate degree and was working as a professional in the pharmaceutical industry. Roy (Figure 7.2) described how he scaffolded Mike's learning of novice Internet skills when Mike was young. Since then, Mike has built up more sophisticated skills, such as downloading games and installing them into his computer, and building his knowledge base of the game sites which he found interesting.

Figure 7.2 Scaffolding of ICT skills

Interviewer: Did you teach him how to surf on the Internet before?

Roy (father, pharmaceutical professional): I told him whatever you wanted to do Internet search; you could go to *Google* [the website] because *Google* was big and powerful. Since then, he got used to searching with *Google*...he figured out everything by himself. All the Web sites he has known so far, he found them by himself. All I have told him was to use the *Google* search engine...games such as *Pokemon*, he downloaded the game CD from the Internet and he set up the rest. I am not worried that he might see porno on the Internet. He doesn't even understand it. (Laughter)

In this sense, the British Chinese boys' ICT literacy was developed and driven by their interest in the *Yugioh* card games and the television animation. They have learned to use a search engine for a general browse of the categories, and then for going from the general to the very specific *Yugioh* Web site for new cards, new episodes and the channel to get new cards. They have learned to use the hyperlinks between the texts and explore the relationships of the texts through a modality which was different from their textual experience with print material. The Web site search was interest-driven and not compulsory. Additionally, they explored the meaning of the texts with the remote and online *Yugioh* fan support in the forum.

By contrast, the American Chinese children were not as active as their British counterparts in using the Internet to advance their understanding of *Yugioh*, despite the fact that they had Internet access at home. Presumably, this could be attributable to different programme scheduling and frequency in the USA. Therefore, the American Chinese children practised and elaborated their *Yugioh* cultural practices in different ways from their British counterparts.

The difference in practising their popular culture also affected the literacy practices of the children. As for the American Chinese viewers, their literacy learning arose primarily through supportive TV broadcasting in conjunction with *Yugioh* fandom culture. Through their constant appropriation of the *Yugioh* texts by watching the TV animation and by engaging themselves in the card games,

they have established a solid understanding of *Yugioh* texts in different modalities. They learned how to associate the name, the visual representation of the monsters, the characters, the trading cards, card attributes, and duelling strategies and memorised attack and defence points of each trading card. The intertextuality of the *Yugioh* texts reinforced the children's memories of how the texts were closely related and how to incorporate them in their cultural practice. For example, in each card duel, they may repeat the use of a certain card but the meaning of the same card may vary for different card duellists each time they face different opponents, who not only demonstrate different strategies but also have different sets of trading cards.

In the following interview excerpt, Eric's younger cousin, Kevin, followed and copied whatever Eric was playing. As Kevin's card duelling strategy was not as sophisticated as Eric's, he tried to learn it as much as possible from Eric, even though this might be annoying to his cousin. This apprenticeship style of learning occurred frequently between a less experienced *Yugioh* duellist and the more experienced players. However, the meaning of a given trading card has not been quite picked up by Kevin as he has not yet realised that the meaning of the card can change in relation to the opponent, card combination and duelling strategy.

Eric (USA, 12 years old): He is 7. He usually follows me around and copies whatever I do. When I say something, after a while he says that, too. And then he tries to use my strategy against me but he doesn't ever win because he doesn't even have the same cards [same set of cards] as me.

7.1.2 Toy Manufacturers and Advertisers

Although toy manufacturers and advertisers in the U.K. and the U.S. tended to promote the children's products with the collaboration of television syndicates, the scale of promotion and marketing was different from one country to another. This suggested that the British children and American children may not have the same access to the same products. As toy manufacturers tried to expand the range of products to fully explore the children's toy market, the mass-

production was still mediated by the local consumption culture and the character of the niche market.

A. Different Television Cultures and the Children’s Historical-Cultural Experience with Multimodal Texts

In Britain, BBC 1 and 2 are non-commercial channels. This has made commercial tie-in children’s programmes less likely to appear on these channels. Although ITV, Channel Four and Channel Five are commercial channels, they do not broadcast all-day animations as do the American niche channels such as *Nickelodeon*, *Cartoon Network*, and *Toonami* on *Sky*. Given that the British Chinese children had access to only the five terrestrial channels, this reduced the chance for them to be aware of other multi-modal *Yugioh* texts as often featured in the niche channels.

During the course of the interview with my American Chinese participants, some of them shared their *Yugioh* accessories such as *Millennium Puzzle*, *Millennium Necklace*, and *Millennium Ring*, all of which are featured in the animation. With these cultural artefacts, they can transform their identity from a TV viewer and a card game player to the fictional character that they can identify with, as Eva did in Figure 7.3.

Figure 7.3 Transformation of *Yugioh* texts

Eva, one of my American research participants, showed me her collection of millennium items and how she put all these items together with a thread and turned them into a necklace. Although in *Yugioh* animation, each character is associated with one or two millennium items, she has collected all the millennium items featured in the anime and transformed the texts into an accessory that she can wear. Her transformation of *Yugioh* text represented how she articulated her view of *Yugioh* animation characters, *Yugi* versus *Marik*.

Interviewer: Which character do you like the most in *Yugioh*?

Eva (USA, 10 years old): Marik and...

Carol (USA, 9 years old): Why do you like evil? [Carol perceives that Marik is evil and

questions Eva's morality.]

Eva: I like Evil. That's why I like Evil. [Laughter]...Marik has two sides. Do you see that?
[Asking Carol] One evil side and one good... I like Yugi. I like most of them.

By contrast, *Yugioh* accessories were not particularly appealing to the British Chinese children. This may be attributable to the fact that *Yugioh* animation was featured in a children's magazine programme, GMTV on ITV1, with presenters introducing the episode of the day before the animation started, interspersed with a few advertisements. The lack of tie-in adverts to promote *Yugioh* products on TV may cause the British Chinese children to be less interested in collecting other *Yugioh* artefacts. Another way to look at this was that there were fewer multimodal *Yugioh* texts in the UK, as depicted in Figure 7.4.

**Figure 7.4 *Yugioh* multimodal texts from Amazon websites in the USA and UK
(with keyword search, *Yugioh*)**

USA, www.amazon.com, accessed 11/30/04

Books	10,399	Toys & Games	114
Video	46	DVD	37
Home & Garden	36	Computer & Video Games	21
Kitchen & Housewares	17	Tools & Hardware	17
Popular Music	7	Apparel	7
Software	3	Movie Showtimes	1
Sports & Outdoors (Beta)	1	Everything Else	1
Magazine Subscriptions	1	Health & Personal Care (Beta)	1
zShops	1,117	Auctions	428

UK, www.amazon.uk.co, accessed 11/30/04

DVD	47	BOOKS	42
TOYS	33	VIDEO	12
PC & VIDEO GAMES	12	SOFTWARE & GAMES	12
MUSIC	9	KITCHEN & HOME	4
ZSHOPS	603		

At the time this research was carried out, there were only a few interactive digital *Yugioh* products in the market. At that time, Nintendo was preparing to release a few new *Yugioh* video games, and the games were not yet a widespread practice. Unlike the card games, the essence of some *Yugioh* video games required an Internet connection and adequate capacity to keep the game running smoothly. The online game was not only privatised but also did not offer equal accessibility to those who lacked an Internet connection or knowledge of the online game. In Figure 7.5, Tony, an experienced *Yugioh* duellist, specified his frustration in taking part in online *Yugioh* games.

Figure 7.5 Lack of adequate Internet connection

Interviewer: What do you have?

Tony (UK, 10 years old): *Yugioh The Destine to Duel...Yugioh Forbidden...on PlayStation...And there is a programme on the computer, which you need the Internet for... It's an online game, where you can duel. It's called YVD... Yugioh Virtual Duel.*

Interviewer: ...Have you ever logged on the Internet and duelled against other people?

Tony: No, it doesn't work...the Internet connection is too slow I guess. Mine is only about 58 kbs and I don't have broadband.

Although Tony was prevented from engaging in online *Yugioh* games because of his slow Internet connection, his digital interactive game experience was complemented by other competing game devices such as Game Boy. *Pokemon Sapphire* was a popular game with both the British and American Chinese children and was also an everyday media activity for Tony.

Figure 7.6 'So Addictive' to *Pokemon* video games

Tuesday 23rd December 2003
 Today I played on pokémon
 Sapphire, I found Mr. Stern and delivered the
 package to him. I also battled and
 trained my Pokémon.
 Then I played with my sisters electronic
 pet. Carmen wanted to play on
 my PETZ 5 so I let her.
 I started it, go for her and
 she played with it. She chose a
 bulldog. I am getting so addictive to
 pokémon sapphire, I went to the trick
 house and beat all of the trainers.
 Then I was stuck. So later after
 lunch I checked for some walk
 throughs and checked that bit.
 So I tried but ~~could~~ could not
 find my rival.

Many *Yugioh* fans in this cross-cultural study had a cultural-historical repertoire of *Pokemon*. Their linguistic and historical cultural experience of *Pokemon* had prepared them to easily engage in *Yugioh* cultural practices, given that the two representations shared similar attributes. Gutiérrez and Rogoff (2003) have defined linguistic and cultural-historical repertoires as

the ways of engaging in activities stemming from observing and otherwise participating in cultural practices. Individuals' background experiences, together with their interests, may prepare them for knowing how to engage in particular forms of language and literacy activities... (p.22).

Because of the resemblance between *Yugioh* and *Pokemon*, the children applied their repertoire of *Pokemon* skills on *Yugioh* when they initially tried out *Yugioh* games. However, different group composition and interaction, and the children's perceptions regarding the multimodal text

contributed to different cultural practices. In this sense, two implications can be drawn in this regard. First, each popular cultural narrative had different orientations, which affected the way the culture was practised. For example, seizing and training all the *Pokemon* creatures was the main object for *Pokemon*, and card game duelling was the main interest for *Yugioh*. The former activity appeared to be a solo and private activity, while the latter required collaboration from two players to complete the game. Second, *Pokemon* video game culture may appear full-blown in relation to *Yugioh*. As *Pokemon* was a predecessor to *Yugioh*, the distinction of the children's popular cultural activities between these two multimodal texts can show how the children replaced their old cultural practice (*Pokemon*) with the new one (*Yugioh*) and how the older children declined to play *Yugioh* again as soon as they found *Yugioh* was old and out of fashion. In this sense, popular cultural practices have a limited life span (see Figure 7.40).

B. Where to Purchase

As *Yugioh* products were distributed through different marketing channels, depending on the retail chain system in a country, the British and American children obtained their *Yugioh* cultural artefacts from different retailers. The British Chinese children, apart from getting their *Yugioh* cards and products from retail supermarkets and newsagents, also relied on catalogues of the major retailers such as Argos. Conversely, the American Chinese children, given that the physical distance from their home to supermarket was usually not within walking distance, had to rely on their parents to take them to buy *Yugioh* cards at Wal-Mart, Toys R Us and department stores or supermarket chains. The contrasting shopping experience for the British and American Chinese children is illustrated in Figure 7.7.

Figure 7.7 Different shopping experiences

(UK)

Andy (UK, 9 years old): Duellist Edition [*Yugioh* catalogue book]... Something like that.

Interviewer: Where do you buy it?

Andy: News agent...

Interviewer: ...Are you saying that you can get Yugi's deck at a cheaper price?

Tony: 6.99, 6.99. Yeah, I got it for 6.99 at Argos.

(USA)

Jeff (USA, 7 years old): He has weak cards.

Danny (USA, 7 years old): Yeah.

Jeff: He doesn't have as many strong cards as weak cards.

Interviewer: So why don't you buy more cards then?

Danny: I can't. Because I can't drive or walk.

Jeff: The walking takes too long... Because the walking will take too long and you have to be older.

Additionally, some of the working class Chinese immigrant families in America tended to go to local dollar store franchises, such as *Family Dollar* and *Dollar Tree* (in Figure 7.8), and other independent dollar businesses in the neighbourhood to shop for groceries and daily commodities. These dollar stores often feature everything at one dollar. Taking a regular starter pack of *Yugioh* cards for example, the listed price in *Wal-Mart* was 14.99 US dollars. Given that collecting numerous cards was a common practice for *Yugioh* card players, this explains why some children from working-class families cannot afford to buy the cards at their regular retail price.

Figure 7.8 Dollar Stores in Salt Lake City



Working class parents purchased *Yugioh* cards at their children's request without knowing that the cards were counterfeit. Because the culture of the retail business and family consumption behaviour in the UK and USA were different, the American Chinese children seemed to have more counterfeit *Yugioh* cards than their British Chinese counterparts. The point of how families' social economic class mediated the practices of *Yugioh* will be elaborated on in Section 7.1.5.

C. Real versus Counterfeit

From the perspective of literacy development, experienced *Yugioh* players could differentiate the real from the counterfeit cards in several ways. The logo on the card not only represented copyright but also authenticity. On the fake cards there were always "typos" and the name for the monsters were often spelt incorrectly. Furthermore, the fake cards looked shinier and the paper quality was inferior to that of the real cards.

Yugioh card players were sensitive to the issues of real versus fake cards because the cards bore social, cultural and political implications. They perceived that real *Yugioh* cards were for the serious, mature and experienced card players and for those who cherished friendship. Fake cards

represented cheating and disrespect of their friends. Gary in Figure 7.9 accounted for the detrimental effect of fake cards to the credibility of the game and friendship.

Figure 7.9 The implications for fake *Yugioh* cards

Gary (USA, 11 years old): It's fake.

Interviewer: But so what?

Gary: The quality is less. You lose money and you lose good cards so the guy is basically ripping you off or cheating on you... but then they [friends] will get really mad at you.

Interviewer: Mad at you for what?

Gary: For cheating.

The older and more experienced card game players rarely collected or used fake cards in the card games. This may be due to their advanced knowledge of *Yugioh* texts and experiences with identifying counterfeit cards. Additionally, they perceived that fake cards were only for the younger kids who were easily deceived.

As younger children were still developing their knowledge of *Yugioh* games and trying to figure out the rules of the games and learn the strategy, a fake card was as good as an authentic card. James, a six-year-old, and a young and inexperienced *Yugioh* fan, traded his real and rare card for a shiny fake card. This trading behaviour was upsetting the experienced *Yugioh* card duellist, Tony, but was understandable to him.

Tony (UK, 10 years old):... it's no point in this content.

Interviewer: Yeah, why do you want this card then?

Tony: Because it's shiny, I guess.

James (UK, 6 years old): I like shiny ones.

Younger viewers can hardly comprehend the abstract and fabricated spoken texts used in *Yugioh* TV animation, nor can they recognize the written texts on the monster cards. In Figure 7.10 is a script of a TV trailer in episode 432. In this TV script, the exchange between Yugi and Yugi's

opponent draws substantially on the card features and card players' strategy.

Figure 7.10 *Yugioh* TV script for episode 432

Rafaela (Yugi's opponent): Attack Dark Magician now.

Yugi: Not so fast, Rafaela, activate Geo Gravity. Thanks to the power of my trap card, every monster on the field in the attack mode automatically switches to defence mode.

Tristan (Yugi's friend, observing the card duel): Hey, he just stops that Zombie thing dead in his trap, you guys.

Yugi's opponent: I don't think so.

Yugi: No, what now?

Yugi's opponent: I activate my trap card, Spyrotontine. This card switches my Guard Dread Site back to attack mode. Now it can pick up where it left off.

Mokuba (Yugi's friend, observing the card duel): Oh, man.

In order to fully understand the exchange, *Yugioh* viewers had to decode the meaning in the exchange not only at the textual level but also to comprehend the reasoning behind the use of a card game strategy. As reasoning, deduction and problem solving were often introduced in higher grades of primary education, younger viewers did not rely on the spoken texts in the animation or written texts in the card to add to their knowledge base of *Yugioh*. Instead, they tended to decode the meaning of a card from the iconic character, for example, from the salient features of the monsters on the card in addition to the numeral figures of the attack and defence points to differentiate one monster from another and update their card collection accordingly.

These younger children have learned to explore the meaning of *Yugioh* cards through the visual representation of the texts and the scaffolding¹⁰ of the older children. Even though the fake cards carried mistakes, lacked the *Yugioh* logo and used lower-quality paper, younger children were attracted to the visual representation of the monsters per se rather than the written texts. In addition, they were particularly attracted to the appearance of the monsters. They broadened their *Yugioh* experience by engaging in a series of drawings of the monsters before their

¹⁰ Scaffolding was introduced by Wood, Bruner and Rose (1976) in the tutoring context between an adult and a child. The formulation of this concept is based on Vygotsky's Zone of Proximal Development and aims to explore the nature of support that an adult renders to a child when the child is performing a task.

knowledge of *Yugioh* was sufficient for them to engage in a card game or to differentiate the card attributes from the written texts. This transduction process (Kress, 2003a) indicated that younger children like James were capable of exploring the text through the resources to which they had access and about which they were knowledgeable.

The following interview excerpt illustrated how James was motivated to draw *Yugioh* characters and attempted to send a drawing to a TV station. He had to not only draw his favourite *Yugioh* characters but also paint the drawings.

Figure 7.11 Transduction of *Yugioh* texts

Interviewer: Do you draw those *Yugioh* things?

James (UK, 6 years old): Yeah, but I want to send this thing off and then you have to paint it for every week. If you draw a picture on the paperwork and send it off ...and then I was going to draw it but it wasn't very good. My mother, my older sister could draw them and then she gave me some [drawings of *Yugioh* characters] but I don't know where I put it.

7.1.3 State School

State school was often referred to as English school as the children from the Chinese school learned to differentiate the two schools by the language of instruction. From the perspective of the children, the teachers in the English school frequently interfered with their *Yugioh* sociocultural practices by taking their cards away and stopping the card trading activities. Presumably, this was because popular culture artefacts remained a controversial issue in the formal school setting.

Popular culture artefacts were often perceived as commercially oriented because of their close relationship with television adverts (Kline, 2003; Marsh, 2003b). Commercial property was more a perspective than an inherent feature in the cultural artefacts. Behaviourists have often drawn on the influence of television and TV adverts to suggest children's vulnerability. However, such claims could be seen as outdated, as many contemporary new literacy researchers have called for

educational practitioners to value children's sociocultural capital derived from their experiences with popular culture texts (Dyson, 1997; Kress, 2003a; Marsh, 2003b; 2004). What this suggests is that educational practitioners should acknowledge the literacy learning that children have developed with popular culture texts.

School has traditionally been perceived as a social institution to educate children in social order, literacy, discipline, values and attitudes (Lankshear and McLaren, 1993; Barton, 1994), and to protect children from the contamination of commercial products (Kline, 2003). Following this line of argument, *Yugioh* trading cards, in the view of the school, can result in conflict and disorder among pupils, and distract them from learning. This view was widely acknowledged by the pupils in Figure 7.12. Banning trading cards was a widespread practice at the school level, and this rule was made widely known to the pupils. Furthermore, the card ban in state schools was not only operated at the regional level but also at an international level, given that both the British and American Chinese children assumed common knowledge of this issue.

Figure 7.12 The implications of card ban

Interference with school order

Daniel (UK, 11 years old): In our school... especially...about Year 5, I think, like stealing *Yugioh* cards, so that's why our head teacher might ban.

Interviewer: But why do schools want to ban the cards?

Daniel: Because people get into fights about them and then, I didn't lose or you cheated and people are stealing them.

Disruption in learning

Carol (USA, 9 years old): Because some of them, they trade it [a monster card] and then they want it back.

Eva (USA 10 years old): No, see... you trade it and they just keep on talking about it and talking, they can't concentrate on their work. They don't even allow us to talk about it, at my school.

Troublemaking

Sandy (USA, 10): My school, they bring *Yugioh* cards, they get into trouble...Because you are not supposed to bring the cards to school.

As a result, taking cards away was a measure frequently used by the teachers to resolve card game conflicts and the issue of stolen cards, as demonstrated in Figure 7.13.

Figure 7.13 Teachers' strategy to restore the order in school

Tom (USA, 11 years old): They don't let us bring any trading cards to school.

Interviewer: Either *Pokemon* or *Yugioh* cards?

Tom: Yeah, but some kids still sneak them in.

Interviewer: What happens if you bring them to school?

Justin: It will be taken away.

Interviewer: Just like that?

Tom: Not, if you hide it... If they catch it, they will take it away.

Interviewer: So if they catch it, they will take it away, right?

Tom: And then you need to get your parents...if you want your cards back. Your parents can get them back.

The restriction of card games discouraged the practice of trading cards and made *Yugioh* card fans sneak the cards into the school and trade the cards secretly. Thus, trading cards became illegal at school and the players could no longer play the game openly and freely. The fun and excitement of the game was spoiled because the players had to risk the cards being confiscated. In this sense, the children's passion for the card game was suppressed by the school. Consequently, the practice of the card game was considerably reduced in the school ground. This phenomenon led some of the British Chinese children to interpret that *Yugioh* was out of style.

However, a long school break provided children with the opportunity to re-engage in the *Yugioh* card game practices at a time and a place that they found more convenient and more conducive, so this social phenomenon was often revived at home, on the street, or in the neighbourhood. In Figure 7.14, Andy judged the trend based on his school context. By contrast, Tony still remained close to his *Yugioh* fan group despite the fact that he was aware of the card game restriction in his school.

Figure 7.14 Fashion roller-coaster

Interviewer: Andy told me *Yugioh* was out of fashion for a while and going up again.

Tony (UK, 10): It's never been out of fashion, I think. [Smiling]

Interviewer: Really?

Andy (9): Maybe, maybe in his school but,

Interviewer (Talking to Andy): In your school it has been out of fashion for a while...but it's coming back after Easter break.

Tony: Oh, yeah, it's banned so...no one plays it but we [Tony and his street friends] still bring it to school.

7.1.4 Community Chinese School

Unlike English schools, community Chinese schools in both the UK and USA took an open and liberal attitude towards the children's culture practices of *Yugioh*. There was paucity of other play areas and sports facilities available for the children in the Chinese school to utilise during break time. Joanna and Lucy, in the following interview excerpt, indicated that their English school was better because of the facilities it provided.

Joann (UK, 6): I like my other school better than Chinese school because there is no play area [here].

Lucy (7): Yeah and there are more activities in my school.

Joann: Yeah, because in my school, we got train track because on the train track, it's like, you go around and on the tyre, you can park, you jump on to some tyres and we got...in the playground and you play football. There is a football place in the ground.

To sort out this situation, community Chinese schools allowed the children to bring their games to school and did not impose a ban on the children's popular culture practices. Eric in Figure 7.15 interpreted the 'silence' from his Chinese school as a 'yes' to the *Yugioh* phenomenon.

Figure 7.15 They did not say anything

Eric (USA 12): I have a lot of friends in my English school over there and they collect *Yugioh* cards. Even my best friends collect *Yugioh* cards.

Interviewer: But you guys are not allowed to bring the cards to school?

Eric: I know. That's because it is a public school. It's public.

Interviewer: How can you duel, if you are not allowed to bring the cards to school?

Eric: In Chinese school, we have a break. They didn't say anything about bringing cards. Lots of people bring their cards.

One can then conclude that community Chinese schools offered both the British and American Chinese children a non-interruptive public milieu to further negotiate popular culture texts in a way which complied not only with *Yugioh* fandom culture but also with the school agenda.

The social discourse of *Yugioh* in the public domain was different from that in the domestic context in terms of the purpose, the interlocutors and the context. In the public domain, card trading and the card games were omnipresent and the purpose was to socialize and conform to the group norm. When in a game, players followed the game rules closely as they were surrounded by a group of supporters and onlookers. In parallel, in the domestic context, without the presence of supporting groups and observers, the main purposes of card games were for diversion and for becoming a more sophisticated card game duellist. In addition to the card game, the co-viewing of *Yugioh* television animation with siblings and cousins was a common practice in the domestic context.

As community Chinese school remained open to the children's discursive practices of *Yugioh*, it was interpreted by the Chinese immigrant parents that trading cards, video games and other accessories were allowed in school. In addition, the parents also learned that not to provide their children with the prevailing popular cultural artefacts may possibly affect their children's social identity and make them different from their peers, as a US parent, Megan, explained in Figure 7.16.

Figure 7.16 Social identity in danger

Interviewer: If you don't buy the cards, what reaction does he have?

Megan: I guess he will be a little bit disappointed. Because in school other kids have the cards too and if he doesn't have them, he will feel that he can't catch up with others or if his cousin has something and he doesn't have it, they won't be able to play together. He will feel a little bit disappointed, won't you? (Asking her son)

Kevin: Nnnnnn. [Nodding his head]

The American Chinese parents have tried to reconcile the differences between their children and their peers by meeting the material desires of their children. Failure to meet such needs may result in family conflict and affect the children's social life. Jeff pointed out how his mother lied about the game he desired.

Danny (USA, 7 years old): And I have a game, a *Pokemon* game...

Interviewer: Jeff, you have something like this [*Pokemon* game], right?

Jeff (USA, 7 years old): No... My mother doesn't want to get me one.

Interviewer: But your mother said that you have a Game Boy as well?

Jeff: Well, she [said she] gave me one but she lied.

Without the cultural artefacts, the children could not actively participate in a variety of social discourse. Their social life was affected accordingly. Popular cultural artefacts were not only a cultural symbol for a certain group, but also showed how much a child would like to fit into the social group he/she was aspired to. The number of popular cultural artefacts possessed also showed how much support the child had for his/her interpretive community. Eric, a serious *Yugioh* card player, justified his endless card collection in Figure 7.17.

Figure 7.17 Supporting fandom culture

Interviewer: How do you feel about having so many cards? How do you feel?

Eric (USA, 12): I feel good about it...I feel good about myself...I feel happy that I have all those cards...

Interviewer: You say that *Yugioh* duellists never have enough *Yugioh* cards, is that exactly how you feel? You feel like 200 (cards) is not enough for you to win?

Eric: Like I say, most of the duellists, such as people who like *Yugioh* cards, they don't have enough. They have to keep on collecting them.

7.1.5 Family

A. Implications of Deprived Childhood and Fluid Identity

The British and American Chinese parents often perceived children's animations and popular culture artefacts as entertainment. They considered that cartoons and toys nourished the entertainment aspect of a 'normal' childhood. Many of the parents had experienced a deprived childhood so they tried to provide their children with not only their material needs, but also the symbolic materials that were significant for their children's socialisation and social identity.

The implication of the symbolic materials was to reduce the difference marked by skin colour in relation to the dominant group in the host country. The parents were hoping that the future of their children in the host country would not be influenced by their skin colour. This skin issue, in the language of white versus yellow, suggested the dominant and the subordinate. It was constantly used by the parents to define their identity. Underlying their skin colour was the Chinese culture and language, as Jason indicates in Figure 7.18. He perceived that his children's Chinese identity should not be diluted by their English proficiency. Safeguarding Chinese identity, however, connoted inferiority to the dominant group in the host country. Larry used the term 'secondary citizen' to highlight the subordinate position he and his fellow American Chinese held.

Figure 7.18 Skin issue and second class citizen

(1)

Jason (UK, Dad): We watch Chinese satellite TV so the children can know about our culture and they can learn the language and something back home as well. [Even though] we are living in England, our skin is not white. Even they [Jason's children] feel English but deep down they are still Chinese. It's better if they know something about our [Chinese] culture. That's the main thing and they can learn how to speak Chinese and learn something from the Chinese TV.

(2)

Larry (USA, Dad): No, I can't communicate with them [Caucasian Americans]. We have different cultures and different backgrounds. Even though we live here too, I think we still have black hair and we are the second class citizens.

Interviewer: Why do you think like this? You are American, too.

Larry: It's very simple because India, Russia, Taiwan, they won't choose an American to be their president of the country. Indians will not choose a Russian to be their president, 'No'... I am American only on citizenship certificate but actually I am not American. They [Caucasian Americans] still feel us, if there is something important, they won't allow us to decide and be part of it.

Despite the fact that national identity remained a sensitive issue to the Chinese parents because of their immigrant history, it had less effect on their children. Through the effect of popular media culture and English language education in state school, the children from the minority background were assimilated with the children in the mainstream culture. The message of 'sameness' was reinforced by the mass media because the media was often targeting children nationwide as if the child-audience was homogenous and spoke the same language of popular media culture. In this regard, participating in the popular culture and having the same popular culture artefacts seemed to offer an alternative for the children of Chinese ancestry to be the same as their white peers.

B. Trip to Home Country

Chapter Five reported the impact of the parents' immigrant history on their children's consumption of popular culture texts. Apart from the historical background of the parents, the trip to the home country was equally influential. Trips to China and Hong Kong remained a routine event to many of the British Chinese immigrants because some of their families still lived in those places. On the other hand, a trip to Vietnam was rarely arranged by the American Chinese parents as that land was devoid of Chineseness. The home trip experience generated different results for the British Chinese parents and their American counterparts. The former purchased more children's popular culture artefacts from Asia, whilst the latter, particularly the working class, opted to shop more at local retail and dollar stores.

During the trip to their homeland, the British Chinese parents purchased a number of children's popular culture artefacts in the Chinese language for their children. The parents considered that the culture artefacts in the Chinese language were as good as in English in terms of entertainment. They took advantage of the low price and the variety there. Maria in Figure 7.19, a British Chinese mother, used the price advantage in Hong Kong and bought her son many artefacts that she could not possibly afford in the UK.

Figure 7.19 Price advantage in the home country

Interviewer: He told me at the interview that he bought all his games in Hong Kong but they are in Japanese....

Maria: Yes, *Pokemon*. We only buy it [a video game] when it is available.

Interviewer: Why do you guys buy those games in Hong Kong? We have them here, too, don't we? Plus, he doesn't understand Japanese, either.

Maria: No, because they have the games in English... the English version... in Hong Kong, each game costs \$200 (Hong Kong dollars) and inside the box, there are hundreds of games... But in England if you buy one game, there is only one game inside...Each game costs around 20 to 30 pounds so it is a lot cheaper in Hong Kong.

C. Social Economic Status

The family's socioeconomic status played an important role in the children's cultural practices of *Yugioh*. For example, some working-class Chinese families were not able to afford to provide their children with the popular culture artefacts, so they found alternatives to offset the unaffordable prices. They either waited until the artefacts were on sale or purchased a counterfeit in the dollar store instead. Nevertheless, the parents did not intentionally buy a counterfeit item, as they were incapable of identifying the difference. The dollar store was a common shopping experience for the working-class Chinese families. The stores usually stocked a variety of imported products such as fake *Yugioh* cards from China. Fake cards from the dollar store offered the children a learning experience to pay attention to language issues and copyright. Although the working-class children knew the cards from the dollar store were counterfeit, they were still quite happy to obtain them.

Jeff, in Figure 7.20, stated that his membership to *Yugioh* card games was confirmed by the cards per se rather than the authenticity of the cards. In this sense, to have *Yugioh* cards was more important than the quality of the cards per se because *Yugioh* membership was validated by the ownership of the cards.

Figure 7.20 It does not matter if it is fake

Jeff (USA, 7 years old): Most of them are fake...

Interviewer: How can you tell?

Jeff: Because the box is shiny.

Danny (USA, 7): Because the cards inside are shiny.

Jeff: That's what I have... I don't care if they are fake cards or not...Because even though they are fake, you can still battle with them.

The children with counterfeit *Yugioh* cards often browsed through their collection of trading cards because counterfeit cards were not allowed in legal card games. Conversely, the children with authentic *Yugioh* cards but in Chinese had more opportunities to explore the meaning of the cards.

They not only traded and browsed, but also used them in card games. Even though a card was in Chinese, this did not stop the children from understanding it. This was attributed to the universal features of a card: the visual representation of the monster and its power level. Trading cards in Chinese were not only rare but also powerful. This has made *Yugioh* cards in Chinese as popular as the English ones. Ken, in the following interview excerpt, obtained some of his *Yugioh* cards in Chinese. Most important of all, the value of the cards was also acknowledged by his playmate.

Ken (UK, 8 year old): I got some in Chinese... my best cards are Chinese...

Interviewer: Are they real or fake?

Ken: Real! Like the Sky Dragon.

Mike (UK, 9): It's your best.

Ken: Yeah, the best card. It gets 1000 attack points for every card in your hand.

In contrast to the working class, middle-class families appeared reluctant to buy their children popular culture artefacts. They perceive the products were devoid of educational value and detrimental to their children's physical fitness. In Figure 7.21, Megan, a pharmacist, was a middle-class mother worried about the negative effects of video games on her son's vision. However, her concern about video games was about more than just her son's vision, but the game itself.

Figure 7.21 To buy or not to buy

Megan (USA, mother): I feel that PlayStation might not hurt his eyes as bad as Game Boy because Game Boy is very small and that might hurt his eyes if he plays it for a while. That's why I do not allow him to have Game Boy. Maybe after he moves up to 4th grade and his eyes are getting stronger, [I will consider buying him one]. Now I am thinking to delay the purchase of Game Boy so that Kevin's eyes will not be hurt too much given he is still very young. If I buy him Game Boy now, he will take control of it right away and he might play it in his bedroom and bring it to school, then I will not know how much and where he is playing Game Boy...

For this reason, they frequently negotiated a deal with their children for the sake of the artefacts. Moral and scholarship advancement were the two areas in which parents frequently spelt out the terms, such as 'you have to be good or get a good mark, then I will buy you...' Furthermore, middle-class families tried to reduce the time for entertainment by sending their children to different skill classes after school. As a result, their children would not 'waste' their time in playing games, as expressed by Lucy in Figure 7.22, who was actively mediating her son's media activities.

Figure 7.22 Intentionally keeping the children busy learning

(1)

Lucy (UK, Mother): The reason he wants it (the game) so much is that he sees other kids playing it [Yugioh card game], because sometimes he is watching other kids playing...and yet, Ken [her son] is not like other kids. Take Mike for example, he is very interested in all different kinds of games... Ken is learning piano now. He also needs to do his homework and he also has to go to his tennis lessons three times in a week...and he has to go to swimming lessons, so he is busy. He particularly likes to watch cartoons [if he has time] but I won't allow him to watch TV for more than one or two hours.

(2)

Lucy's son, Ken, is 8 years old. Following is his media diary of 29 February, 2004.

His Sunday schedule was to watch twenty minutes of *Yugioh*, attend Chinese school, do homework, play tennis and practise piano.

29th February 2004 Sunday

In the morning when I woke up I watched Yu-gi-oh on TV because I always do every Sunday. Yu-gi-oh lasts 20 minutes. Today's show is about Yugi dueling Pegasus and Yugi found out how to block Pegasus Millennium eye.

I went to Chinese school in the middle I had an interview.

When I came back I wrote an essay about Jeremy with my dad. Jeremy is my three year old brother he is about one metre tall, he is cute and naughty.

Then I went to tennis with three other boys, I won with a rally of 26 and earned a chocolate bar, my mum and dad were very happy.

After dinner I practised piano, the tune I practised was called Children at play which I was going to play at a piano festival on the 20th March 2004 which is a Saturday.

I have been playing piano for two years now and I am on grade two.

Then I brushed my teeth and went to bed.

The attitude towards educational products for both middle- and working-class Chinese parents was substantially more positive. They often purchased what they considered was

necessary for their children's learning. Learning in this regard was parent-driven and associated with educational materials. Such a view can also be found in Figure 5.24 and the section on the middle-class parents' attitudes towards the Chinese literacy education of their children.

Middle-class parents, in contrast to their working-class counterparts, purchased more educational games for their children. This may be owing to the fact that middle-class parents were more actively engaging in their children's learning. An educational game, from the perspective of a Chinese middle-class family, was a game which could improve their children's performance in content subjects. Henry, in Figure 7.23, indicated that both of his daughters liked to watch *Disney* movies and had a large collection of *Disney* products. However, he preferred to buy his daughters many educational games to help them with their school work and learning. From his perspective, he seemed to indicate that the educational games would increase his children's learning in school.

Figure 7.23 More is better

Henry (UK, father): Most of the times they like to watch animations...I like to buy them stuff related to education...they like to watch animations, especially *Disney's Lion King, Bug's life, Snow White*... they have loads of these...I also bought them a lot of educational software... they are not necessarily in Chinese...science in English and we buy more in particular subjects such as math and science...their use of the computer can be viewed from two aspects. One is to surf on the net and the other one is to do their coursework... some educational software can help them, too.

Figure 7.22 and 7.23 indicated middle-class parents being active in mediating their children's extracurricular activities but supporting their children's school learning. Their deliberate 'interference' with non-educational media activities contributed to their children having fewer digital interactive games on non-PC devices. The PC is widely perceived as beneficial for education whereas non-PC digital game devices are considered for entertainment only (Roberts, 1999; Livingstone, 2002). This explained why the digital

game section, except 'PC', in Beth's survey remained fairly blank in Figure 7.24. Beth, a ten-year-old, is the oldest daughter of Henry.

Figure 7.24 Beth's collection of popular culture artefacts

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Characters	Toys					Video Games & PC Games					Music		Books			Miscellaneous							
	Action Figures and Dolls	Beplades	Playsets & Board Games	Soft Toys	Trading Cards	Comixes	Gameboy Color & GB Advance	Gamecube	Playstation One	Playstation Two	X Box	PC	CD and Cassettes	VCD/DVD	MP3	Comics	Magazines and Catalogues	Story Books	Accessories	Clothing and Footings	Stationery	Others	
Action Man																							
Barbie																							
Beanie Toy																							
Bionicles																							
Buffy the Vampire Slayer																							
BoyBlade																							
Cat in the Hat																							
Collin McRae																							
Crash Bandicoot																							
Disney			X																				
Dragon Ball (Z)																							
Final Fantasy																							
Finding the Nemo																							
G. I. Joe																							
Grand Theft Auto Vice-City																							
Harry Potter												X					X	X	X	X	X		
Hello Kitty																							
Hulk																							
James Bond																							
Jax and Daxter																							
Jackie Chan's Adventures																							

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Characters	Toys					Video Games & PC Games					Movies & Music		Books			Miscellaneous							
	Action Figures and Dolls	Beplades	Playsets & Board Games	Soft Toys	Trading Cards	Comixes	Gameboy Color & GB Advance	Gamecube	Playstation One	Playstation Two	X Box	PC	CD and Cassettes	VCD/DVD	MP3	Comics	Magazines and Catalogues	Story Books	Accessories	Clothing and Footings	Stationery	Others	
Sonic																							
South Park																							
Spide-man																							
Splinter Cell																							
Sponge Bob SquarePants																							
Spyro																							
Star Wars																							
Teenage Mutant Ninja Turtles																							
Teletubbies																							
Terminator																							
The Lord of the Rings																							
The Sims											X												
Thunderbirds																							
Tomb Raider																							
Tony Hawkes																							
Toy Story																							
Transformers																							
Winnie the Pooh			X																				
X-Men																		X	X	X	X		
Yu-Gi-Oh																							
Others	X	X	X								X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X		

In conclusion, both middle- and working-class Chinese parents did not consider that TV animations or card games could improve their children's learning. They defined learning as either school-related or school-bound. This view also explained why the parents felt that popular culture artefacts were for entertainment and why they purchased a number of educational software packages for their children; the former were for play and the latter were for learning.

7.1.6 Children

Watching *Yugioh* cartoons and playing *Yugioh* card games were not necessarily boys' activities. However, this research indicated that *Yugioh* animations were perceived by both boys and girls as boys' cartoons rather than universal cartoons. *Yugioh* was oriented towards boy viewers because of its predominately male characters. In addition, the narrative and content centred around 'ugly' monsters, action, fighting, and card games, which were the characteristics that boys were mostly associated with (Dyson, 1997).

Boys were particularly attracted to animation and cultural artefacts featuring masculine traits (Roberts, 1999), and their interest and preference in a particular activity were value-laden. This was testified by the children in Figure 7.25. Jeff and Danny perceived *Yugioh* as boys' stuff. *Yugioh* in this sense referred to the card game. They did not consider that girls were interested in card games. From their perspective, girls' lack of interest in *Yugioh* was because *Yugioh* has been defined as boys' stuff. Carol, on the other hand, provided the additional features to define boys' stuff, the antonym of "cute". In this sense, it could be ugly, and scary, which was further elaborated on in Section 7.4.1.

Figure 7.25 *Yugioh* as boys' stuff

(1)

Jeff (USA, 7 years old): Boys' stuff are better than girls...**Danny (USA, 7):** Because boys like boys' stuff more.**Interviewer:** Is *Pokemon* boys' stuff or girls' stuff?**Danny:** Girls and boys'.**Jeff:** Boys.**Interviewer:** How about *Yugioh*?**Danny:** Boys... Because boys play cards more than girls.**Jeff:** And girls play cards less than boys.

(2)

Interviewer: Do you feel that *Yugioh* is for boys, girls or for both?**Carol (USA, 9 years old):** Boys.**Interviewer:** How about *Pokemon*?**Carol:** For both...People kind of like *Pokemon* is because some *Pokemon(s)* are cute. I used to like *Digimon* because they are cute.

Pokemon animation has been considered as a universal cartoon because the monsters featured in the animation were attractive to both boys and girls. However, the attraction of *Pokemon* monsters as "cute" faded as the boys aged. When the boys grew older, they tended to consume popular cultural texts in accordance with their masculine character and moved on to more advanced popular cultural texts in terms of narrative and modality. *Yugioh* monsters were ugly but this did not bother the boys as much as it did the girls. This salient characteristic was well acknowledged within *Yugioh* fandom groups. Such a characteristic is compatible with power, action, and strategy, and has been widely adopted in *Yugioh* monster cards. Most important, these characteristics were the foundation for the boys' liking of the monsters. In Figure 7.26, Mike, Ken and Danny, ex-*Pokemon* fans, indicated that they liked *Yugioh* because of the monsters.

Figure 7.26 Attracted to *Yugioh* monsters

(1)

Mike (UK, 9 years old): I always watch it [*Yugioh* animation] because I like the monsters.

Ken (UK, 8 years old): Yeah, me too.

(2)

Interviewer: What is so fun about *Yugioh*?

Danny (USA, 7 years old): There are a lot of monsters.

Interviewer: There are a lot of monsters...So that's why you like *Yugioh*? Compare *Yugioh* to *Pokemon*, which one do you prefer?

Danny: I prefer *Yugioh*.

This does not imply that liking ugly monsters was necessarily part of the boys' nature. Instead, by association with ugly monsters, the boys tended to 'demonstrate' and 'construct' masculine qualities in their social play and to differentiate their group identity from others.

Huizinga (2000, p.13) characterised play as

an activity connected with no material interest, and no profit can be gained by it. It proceeds within its own proper boundaries of time and space according to fixed rules and in an orderly manner. It promotes the formation of social groups which tend to surround themselves with secrecy and to stress their difference from the common world by disguise or other means.

Consistent with Huizinga's claim, the ugly and powerful fighting monsters in the card game were a secret preference that the boys commonly shared, and a cultural tool that set them apart from other groups in society.

It appeared that boys were more actively interested in taking part in *Yugioh* card games, and their initial reason for taking part in such a cultural practice was different from the girls'. The boys perceived that *Yugioh* card games were a fun social practice and a means to secure friendship and social inclusion. Matt, in the following interview excerpt, explained why he found it appealing to consume *Yugioh* texts. Many people in his school engaged in *Yugioh* card game activities, and this seemed to justify his motivation for participating in

Yugioh card games.

Interviewer: Can you tell me why you like to watch *Yugioh*?

Matt (USA, 6 years old): Because a lot of people play them [*Yugioh* cards].

Interviewer: Who plays them?

Matt: Some kids.

Interviewer: From where? From school or from the street?

Matt: From school.

Interviewer: They play *Yugioh* cards?

Matt: (Nodding his head)

Yugioh card games were a platform on which each participant could elaborate his identity as a boy, a fictional animated character, a card duellist, and a mature being. Through the context of *Yugioh* card games, the children explored their identities beyond their gender and age. This implied that the children learned something other than the card game, and the card game was not the only factor that drew the children into the practices of *Yugioh*. In the context of *Yugioh* activities, the children were motivated to participate in the game for different purposes, and constructed their knowledge of *Yugioh* texts in relation to the contextual situations, and learned how *Yugioh* was critical to their socialisation and childhood development. In this sense, the meaning that the children arrived at with *Yugioh* texts extended beyond the textual level.

In the following, the children's meaning making of *Yugioh* cultural artefacts is examined in detail in terms of textuality, identity, childhood development and literacy learning. This is to suggest that the children were attracted to explore *Yugioh* texts not only for learning how to read monster cards and playing card games. They participated in *Yugioh* cultural activities to make sense of who they were, what they wanted to do, and how to achieve their goals in their process of socialisation, identity formation and childhood development.

7.2 Textuality

Yugioh narratives featured many powerful and ferocious monsters that could be activated in a fictional world. This fictional world was compatible in some way to the children's imagination and creativity. Additionally, it empowered them to explore their imagination in a domain without adult supervision. The dramatic effects and salient features of animation appealed to younger children (Roberts, 1999). This explained why the group aged six to nine was particularly attracted to the visual representation of *Yugioh* monsters.

Older boys (aged ten onwards), in contrast to the younger boys, found it appealing to advance their card duelling strategy. For those still remaining in the game, they tended to be experienced *Yugioh* card game players. In parallel, they focused more on the narrative development in the animation and the written text on the trading cards. Their attention to the narrative development and written text served two purposes: to update their card collections and to skilfully vary duelling strategy. Within the *Yugioh* narrative, new and rare cards were frequently introduced. This information was used for the card players to keep their card collection up to date and vary the card game strategy accordingly.

However, many older boys perceived that *Yugioh* was out of fashion at the time of the interview, in the spring of 2004. Their history of trading cards dated back to when they were only six or seven years old. They experienced the trends of *Pokemon* and *Yugioh* consecutively. Both *Pokemon* and *Yugioh* integrated the themes of 'monsters' and 'trading cards' in the narrative presentation; as a result of this, the children built a wide range of experience with monster trading cards. Although the older children (now *Yugioh* players) benefited from their previous *Pokemon* card experience, it also brought about an adverse effect. Given that their maturing, advanced cognition, competing leisure activities and heavy school workload were all in play, card games may not have been as interesting to them as they initially appeared. Instead, the older children started to explore more

advanced multimodal texts. This shift of game play indicated not only the children's cognitive development but also their working social identities. This will be further explored in Section 7.4.

The boys were attracted to *Yugioh* card monsters in the light of their card power level, attributes, function and rarity. The significance of these card features can be viewed from the symbolic meaning pertaining to the cards attributed by the *Yugioh* fan group. Symbolically, to own a rare and powerful monster card immediately upgraded a card player to a strong and preferred status. On the other hand, it also implied that the card player's opponent was facing a potential threat and needed to react quickly. In this regard, the meaning-making of *Yugioh* texts was not as static as book reading. It was a social practice and proceeded with constant negotiations and collaborations within the group. The meaning at the textual level informed *Yugioh* players to comply with the game rules and the narrative as well as the trading cards. On the symbolic level, the meaning was appropriated to define one's identity and secure socialisation.

The textual meaning and symbolic meaning of *Yugioh* texts were barely recognized by the parents. Neither were they able to accurately articulate what *Yugioh* was. The value of *Yugioh* to the parents was negligible except that it could be used as a reward to motivate their children to advance their school performance. Kline (2003) indicated that contemporary parents with declining authority

were forced to substitute force with new psychological instruments for rewarding appropriate conduct—toys and television viewing privileges become the tangible negotiated rewards—the reasons for channelling immediate desires into parentally accepted conduct (p63).

Lee, in Figure 7.27, used *Yugioh* trading cards as a reward to negotiate with her children for their academic performance, disciplinary behaviour and obedience to parents.

Figure 7.27 *Yugioh* cards as a reward

Lee (USA, mother): I roughly view the cards but I hardly look into the details of the cards... initially they asked for the cards... If they didn't ask me to buy the cards, I wouldn't know the cards at all... They told me that, 'Mother, all our classmates have the cards... now our classmates don't play *Pokemon* anymore'. They showed me the stuff [*Yugioh*] they were playing in school...they said, 'We will take you to buy the stuff for us'... Instead, I told them that 'you have to behave yourself in school and at home, listen to dad and mother.. when I ask you to do homework, you have to finish it and you can not say 'no, no, no'... you have to get several As in your schoolwork. If you follow my rules, I will get you more *Yugioh* cards at the end of the semester'.

Parents' reluctance to purchase *Yugioh* cultural artefacts contrasted with the attitudes of *Yugioh* card fans. *Yugioh* fans were in the pursuit of 'more': more cards and more games. More powerful cards were helpful to the outcome of a card game and a necessity to enable one to skilfully vary the duelling strategy with different combinations of cards. Eric, in Figure 7.28, considered that having more cards was critical to the outcome of a game, whilst Ken perceived it as adding strength to the card player. This can explain why a collection of a few hundred cards was a common practice among *Yugioh* fans.

Figure 7.28 The advantage of more cards

(1)

Eric (USA, 12 years old): There is a friend over there, a condo over there. That's where my friend lives. He always beats me and never uses the same strategy.

Interviewer: You have never figured out what kind of strategy he is going to use, right?

Eric: (Shaking his head) No, he has more cards than I do.

(2)

Interviewer: But if you guys duel against each other, who wins always?

Ken (UK, 8 years old): We are quite even with it because Mike is good with strategy and I am good with winning good cards.

7.3 Numeracy

Apart from the quantity and quality of cards, strategy and luck were two critical elements to win a card game. The Opies (1969, cited in Bergen, 1988) indicated that “middle-childhood games often involve a large element of luck so that the competitive element is blunted” (p.57). Victory in a card game may make a card player happy with the result, but failure does not necessarily spoil the fun of the game or discourage the player who loses. Tony in Figure 7.29 stated how he could learn from his mistakes. The mistake was not judged from a moral viewpoint but was the result of trial and error, a process incorporated in Tony’s learning experience.

Figure 7.29 Learn from mistakes

Tony (UK, 10): If he always loses, he learns from his mistakes.

Interviewer: In your past experience, do you lose more or win more?

Tony: Win more, lose about 10 times in loads of time.

Interviewer: How do you guys feel if you lose the game?

Tony: Happy actually—it’s fun even though you lose.

Andy (UK, 9): If you lose, you can like...next time, don’t do that little bit, and then you might use another strategy at the end and you will win.

The *Yugioh* card game was perceived more as a fun game than a race. The outcome of the game did not matter much. However, experienced *Yugioh* card duellists have worked on how to increase their chances of winning. They have found that the outcome of a card game was also determined by the number of cards. In each turn, a player was only allowed to draw one card in his/her hands. One single card in relation to the entire card deck was referred to as ‘luck’ or ‘chance’. This concept was the same as the probability learned in mathematics. Eric in Figure 7.30 demonstrated how to improve the chance of drawing the desired card, which significantly affected the outcome of a game.

Figure 7.30 'Luck' by reducing the number of the cards

Eric (USA, 12): Sometimes you have luck but there is one secret that you can draw the card you want.

Interviewer: What is the secret?

Eric: If you cut it [the duelling deck] down smaller, smaller and smaller, up to 30 cards only. You have higher chance of getting the cards you want.

Probability was not the only mathematics skill embedded in *Yugioh* cultural practices. Each *Yugioh* monster card was associated with 3- to 4-digit attack and defence points. Card game players had to remember the power level of each card and do the addition and subtraction during the course of the card game. Matt (Figure 7.31), a then 6 year old American Chinese boy, recollected the attack point of a *Yugioh* card randomly named by the interviewer in the following interview.

Figure 7.31 Four-digit attack and defence points

Interviewer: Do you know the attack point of Dark Magician?

Matt (USA, 6 years old): [Nodding his head] 2,500 and 2,100...

Interviewer: Oh, this card is very strong. Blue Eyes, how many points is this card?

Matt: 5,500 and 3,800.

He not only accurately recalled the attack points, but also the defence points, even though the latter was not asked. His impulsive response of the defence points indicated the close relationship between the attack points and the defence. The co-occurrence of attack and defence points can be interpreted as 'collocation' in applied linguistics terms (Sinclair, 1991). Collocation is defined as a sequence of words or terms which co-occur more often than would be expected by chance (ibid).

The concept of collocation was well incorporated into the card game. When a *Yugioh* card player placed his/her card on the duelling field, he/she could choose to put the card in

attack or defence mode, in whichever way he desired. The choices for placing a card were two and depended on a game context. Presumably, it was this association which made Matt able to articulate easily both attack and defence points without prompting from the interviewer.

Numeracy skills were critical, as a player's life points in a card game were determined by the operation of addition and subtraction. This skill was embedded in the card game context and was practised in such a way as to keep the game proceeding. It was not treated as a de-contextualised mathematics question, such as those the pupils always encountered in the school context and found problematic. Rogoff (2003, p.262-263) indicated,

The rule-bound solutions traditionally taught in schools seem to provide people with procedures that are not always understood and become useless in generating appropriate solutions to problems out of school contexts. In contrast, the strategies developed by individuals as tools to solve problems out of school are characterized by their flexibility and by constant monitoring of the meaning of the situation...

During my field observation of the British Chinese boys, they always demonstrated their mental calculation of the game score. The game score was rarely ever recorded manually. Apart from addition and subtraction, *Yugioh* card players developed another mathematics skill, which was to compare the numbers. Most *Yugioh* card players had a varying degree of *Pokemon* experience and *Yugioh* had replaced *Pokemon* as a new emerging fashion among young children. This could be attributed to the fact that *Yugioh* cards were more powerful than *Pokemon* in terms of the number of digits. The latter had two- or three-digit numbers in the power level, which was far less than the four-digit numbers in *Yugioh* cards.

Mathematics learning was never a motivation for the children who played the *Yugioh* card game. Instead, their mathematical skills were embedded in the *Yugioh* game context with considerable group support. These skills were unconsciously developed, repetitively practised and refined in their social practices. However, they went un-detected by the

parents, not to mention school teachers who banned the card game practice for the sake of 'order' and 'learning'.

7.4 Identity

By engaging in *Yugioh* activities in a social context, the British and American Chinese children defined their identity in the dimensions of gender, professionalism, maturity and fandom culture. The gender issue has been discussed in section 7.1.6. In this section, the gender identity is further elaborated by considering the aesthetics of *Yugioh* trading cards. Other identities that the children developed in terms of professionalism in *Yugioh* card games, childhood development and fandom culture will also be explored below. In the participation of *Yugioh* cultural activities, the children were able to assume multiple identities. This suggested the children's active role in appropriating *Yugioh* texts in relation to their social positioning.

7.4.1 Aesthetics and Identity

Although the British Chinese girls in this research explicitly stated how unpleasant the appearance of *Yugioh* monsters was, they still gathered knowledge of a few monster cards. Their *Yugioh* knowledge derived primarily from the boys in their class. These girls paid more attention to the appearance of the monsters than the card attributes given that the monster card game bore masculine connotations. The girls might object to the idea of card game but not to the art form of the card. They preferred the cards which appeared to be neutral and feminine. Beth in Figure 7.32 was not interested in engaging in a 'boyish' activity. And yet, both Beth and her best friend, Christina, had still acquired some knowledge about *Yugioh* cards. Take the card, 'Hungry Burger' for example: Christina was able to name it when interviewed. Although the monster card was defined as a monster game in the sense of the *Yugioh* card game, it was perceived more as a card with a funny appearance, and worthwhile to add to the collection for Christina.

Figure 7.32 No offence to boys' stuff

Christina (UK, 10 years old): ... Hungry Burger is really cool. It's this burger and it's called Hungry Burger. It's got these teeth and that look really funny and I am trying to trade for the whole pack with Luke but he won't... I only like Hungry Burger.

Beth (UK, 10 years old): Hungry Burger is funny but I don't like it.

Interviewer: Which means you are watching the *Yugioh* show then? [Looking at Christina]

Christina: No, I don't watch it...I have seen the cards. I like the cards...I have seen some cards because all the boys in my class...they play with it in the class time until they are told to stop so....

Beth: I got bored of *Pokemon* after a while because there wasn't much to it and I think *Yugioh* is just about the same as *Pokemon* and it's quite boyish. No offence.

The British Chinese girls, in contrast to the American Chinese girls in this study, demonstrated little knowledge of *Yugioh*. The former's lack of interest to negotiate *Yugioh* texts can be identified from two perspectives: family structure and the age gap between siblings. The American Chinese girls did not perceive *Yugioh* as a male activity to the same degree as their British counterparts. The American Chinese girls often played with their boy cousins at their grandparents' place, so that the family context mitigated gender differences. They developed familiarity with *Yugioh* texts from their cousins and watched the anime with their brothers. However, the American Chinese girls' knowledge of the *Yugioh* text was only enough to gain entry to the provisional membership of the *Yugioh* card games, as indicated by Carol and Eva, who admitted their limited knowledge of *Yugioh* game rules.

Figure 7.33 Kind of

Interviewer: Do you know how to play *Yugioh*?

Carol (USA, 9 years old): No.

Eva (USA, 10 years old): I know kind of... kind of... because I don't actually read the manual.

Interviewer: Ok, Eva, if you don't read the manual, how do you know how to play *Yugioh*?

Eva: My friends taught me...They just taught me some of it, like Nathan, Trevor, Deland and Sean and my cousins.

The American Chinese girls were particularly interested in the visual representation of *Yugioh* cards. Eric in Figure 7.34 stated that the girls in his Chinese school traded the cards by the appearance of the monster cards. In this respect, the American Chinese girls were very similar to their British counterparts in collecting monster cards by aesthetics. The power level and the attribute in a card was not a significant element to them as much as to the boys.

Figure 7.34 The appearance of a card matters

Eric (USA, 12 years old): Well, it doesn't matter how they look. Usually some of the duellists even care about how they look.

Interviewer: Do you care?

Eric: You know that girl that I sometimes trade with in Chinese school. She wants to collect dragon and magician type of monsters...any dragon type of monsters I have... she wants... even though it's fake.

The American Chinese girls negotiated *Yugioh* texts by means of collecting what they perceived as 'neutral' and 'girlish' cards whilst the boys chose to actively play card games. This distinction reflected their fandom position in relation to *Yugioh* card games. The former's pseudo-fandom position was evidenced in their limited knowledge of the card games and the concern of social exclusion. Lina, twelve years old, when asked her reason for taking part in the game stated, 'because it seems like I was so left out'. This concern of social exclusion was an important aspect of childhood development (Sutton-Smith, 1997) and was experienced by both the boys and girls, to different degrees.

7.4.2 Social Boundaries and Identity

Playing a card game and collecting/trading cards were different practices and involved different negotiation and power. The American Chinese girls were more interested in

collecting cards than playing card games, given that playing a *Yugioh* card game was not a universal practice among their peers of the same gender. For this reason, playing card games was an 'underground' activity and the only place for these girls to trespass boys' boundary was to play cards at home, at a cousin's place or grandparents' place. Millard (2003, p.23) indicated that 'in western cultures, boys appear to resist any activity that might be deemed girl-appropriate and constantly seek to define themselves as both not girls and not feminine'.

Accordingly, The American Chinese girls did not seek to expand this game to their English school (state school), given this could affect their identity as a girl in the social sphere and for fear of being considered a tomboy (see Figure 7.35).

Figure 7.35 Designated social boundary

(1)

Nancy (USA, 9 years old): Because usually girls don't play with cards.

Sandy (USA, 8 years old): And don't duel.

Nancy: They usually go like shopping and stuff.

(2)

Interviewer: Why do those girls like *Yugioh*?

Andy (UK, 9 years old): Because they are tomboys.

7.4.3 Animation Characters

When *Yugioh* fans were asked to justify their fandom position in relation to the anime characters, they tended to identify with the cards that the anime characters had rather than with the character's qualities. Each character in *Yugioh* anime had a duelling card deck, featuring a combination of cards. Every card player collected a number of cards which may feature Yugi's, Kaiba's, Marik's and some other characters' duelling decks. A Yugi's starter card deck would not only draw a fan to the game but also serve as a common attribute to identify with the anime characters. In this sense, trading cards narrowed the gap between a fan and the anime characters and provided a space for the fan to creatively transform

his/her fictional identities. Additionally, it became a marker for fictional identity, as Mike and Ken in Figure 7.36 demonstrated when discussing how much they were like the anime characters.

Figure 7.36 'I am quite like Pegasus'

Mike (UK, 9 years old): I like Marik...Because I got this really good card that he's got. I got his best card.

Interviewer: So you like him because you guys got the same card?

Mike: I got load of the same cards.

Interviewer: So you are like him, right? It's because you have pretty much the same cards?

Ken: I am quite like Pegasus...because I got a lot of his cards.

7.4.4 Historical-Cultural Experience with Trading Cards

To find out how children negotiate their identity as a professional duellist or a novice duellist, it was important to look into children's history with trading cards. Prior to *Yugioh*, the majority of the children in this research had played *Pokemon* since they were five or six years old. By the time *Yugioh* was released, they were aged eight or nine, with a few at age ten and above. In Figure 7.37, Justin and Tom were ex-*Yugioh* fans. They recollected their history with *Yugioh* and *Pokemon*. By recollecting their experience in chronological order, they also pointed out that a fashion had its age, proceeding in juxtaposition to their childhood development (see Section 7.6.1).

Figure 7.37 Children's memories of *Pokemon* and *Yugioh*

Interviewer: So a few years ago, both of you guys used to like *Pokemon* and *Yugioh*?

Justin (USA, 12 years old): I don't like them that much [Justin speaks from his current situation].

Tom (USA, 11 years old): Yeah, they are old.

Interviewer: How old are they right now? Like how long have they been out?

Tom: About 6 years or so.

Justin: No. Look, it started like in 1995... [He is counting] 1995, 1996, 1997, 1998, 1999

and etc. So it's about 9 years old [The history of *Pokemon*].

Justin: Yeah, *Yugioh* is only a few years old...*Pokemon* was really popular. It started to get really popular when I was in 3rd grade.

Like *Pokemon*, *Yugioh* released many monster cards featured on the animation so that the pursuit of collecting power cards might appear similar. However, *Yugioh* card players did not perceive *Pokemon* as a real card game, given that the narrative of *Pokemon* was about being trained as the world's greatest *Pokemon* master, rather than the king of card games as featured in *Yugioh*. Tony, a ten-year-old British Chinese boy, argued that the definition of a card game lay in trading cards, as he stated, 'All cartoons may get trading cards and *Yugioh* is definitely a trading card'. *Yugioh* card players tended to classify themselves as duellists, given that 'duelling' connoted fighting and was a proof of their witty and accumulated strategy to trading cards. Eric, a twelve-year-old American Chinese boy, stated how he initiated a battle with his opponent: 'I go over to them and I say "I challenge you to a duel".'

Following this statement was the enactment of a serious card duel between a card duellist and his/her opponent, and this social exchange transformed the boys' identities from pupils in Chinese school to duellists.

7.4.5 Childhood Development

When ex-*Yugioh* fans retrospectively accounted their previous experience with *Yugioh* trading cards, they attributed the fad to their childish and irrational behaviour. Their irrationality was based on their passion in collecting hundreds of trading cards although their parents had frequently tried to mediate it. Ex-*Yugioh* fans realised how childish they used to be when they saw young children pick up the 'old' fad that they abandoned. They also realised how much money they wasted on trading cards.

To mark an end to their immaturity, they liquidated their *Yugioh* cards by selling the used cards to the younger children. The transaction between the ex-*Yugioh* fans and the younger children was to recover the economic loss, as Lina in Figure 7.38 explained when she pointed out how much she wasted her allowance on *Yugioh* cards. Additionally, this move was to break from his/her past, a childish past and to claim newfound 'maturity' and assert more control. Both Steve and Lina in Figure 7.38 critiqued their past *Yugioh* experience in terms of maturity. The sense of maturity according to them can only be asserted by disassociation with *Yugioh*.

Figure 7.38 Post-*Yugioh* phenomenon—stepping into maturity

(1)

Steve (UK, 12 years old): They are standing there and swapping them around. You get a little bit... So when you are younger, you don't know what you are doing. You just like, you just feel, even asking your mother to get anything. I can get older, you know what, you can control, and you're like yourself.

(2)

Lina (USA, 12 years old): Because I used to be immature. I don't know. I just liked them. They were cool, I guess. I don't know why I liked them (the monster cards)...It got boring. It got kiddish... It's like, I am wasting money in cards...

Interviewer: How long does it take you to find out that it's boring and wastes money?

Lina: After everyone bought our [Lina and her cousin] cards.

Interviewer: Are you saying that no one plays *Yugioh* cards in school?

Lina: No, not in 6th grade.

In this sense, the symbolic meaning of ex-*Yugioh* was for maturity. Yet, it was not the same symbolic meaning which drew the ex-*Yugioh* fans to the trading card games before. Initially, they were attracted to the game for the sake of trend and social inclusion. However, this symbolic meaning disappeared as the sociocultural activities around *Yugioh* were no longer supported. This implied that the symbolic meaning was embedded in the cultural practice, and culture is a signification process. Without the embedding culture, the perception of a trading card was subject to its iconic meaning, an ordinary card. Similarly, without being part of *Yugioh* fandom culture, the ex-*Yugioh* fans were judging the value of trading cards

from an outsider's perspective. In this regard, older children, just like their parents, perceived *Yugioh* trading cards were just cards and wasted a lot of money.

Following this line of argument, the dichotomy between 'mature' versus 'immature' was based on the discontinuity of an 'outdated' cultural practice. The term 'outdated' suggested something old was replaced by something new. This was similar to the relationship between *Pokemon* and *Yugioh*. When *Yugioh* replaced *Pokemon* and emerged as a new fad, only the younger and more immature children would favour *Pokemon* from the perspective of the older children. Only by distinguishing themselves from the younger children and childish plays could the older children claim their maturity. Maturity in this sense was not an absolute term and was achieved by comparison.

7.5 Popular Cultural Texts

Throughout the data discussion, I have placed an emphasis on how contextual factors mediate the children's cultural practices of *Yugioh*. I have also pointed out the differences between *Yugioh* and *Pokemon* in terms of their textuality and the children's interaction with the texts. In this following section, I will be looking at the property of *Yugioh* texts and how the texts per se influenced the children's cultural practices of *Yugioh* and their appropriation of the meaning of the texts. This can be examined from three different perspectives: popular culture texts, modality and children.

The meaning of popular cultural texts is changed as they are presented in different modalities and material forms (Kress, 1997). This is evidenced, for example, when the characters of *Yugioh* animation are printed on cards. They become trading cards rather than a TV animation. The change of modality not only changes the iconic meaning but also the interface between the texts and the reader. In Figure 7.39, Tony, a ten-year-old British Chinese boy, indicated how he wanted to scan *Yugioh* trading cards and turn them into Christmas cards so that he could send the cards off to his friends and show off his creativity.

This creativity is in tandem with what Dyson (2001) means by 'playful' in the following,

children's potential to adapt cultural resources in response to changing conditions—to be playful—seems key, not only to furthering literacy development, but also to furthering sociocultural lives on a fragile, ever changing planet (p.36).

However, Tony's attempt to be playful failed as his father did not agree to buy him a scanner. As Kress (1997) indicates, "certain of the child's sign-making practices are noticed by adults around them...many are not noticed, and not valued, or are relegated to the category of play" (p.13).

Figure 7.39 Transforming *Yugioh* trading cards to Christmas cards

30 November 2003
 Today well I did something quite fun, I never knew I could even do it, scan some yu-gi-oh! cards and made them into Christmas cards!! I did want to print them out but my dad said "No".

Popular cultural texts are multimodal texts and have multiple meanings. The children in this study were fairly aware of this property as they frequently consumed a wide range of popular cultural texts. Danny, an eleven-year-old British Chinese boy, when asked 'Why do you play *Yugioh*?' answered 'It's just a fun card game.' A *Yugioh* game, in the interview, invited an open interpretation. It could be a card game, a video game on PlayStation, or an online game. However, Danny narrowed down the category to a card game, given that the card game was the most familiar sociocultural practice to *Yugioh* fans.

Each modality and material has its sociocultural connotation. This sociocultural connotation is often reflected in gendered activity, age and social economic class. This can explain why

the boys and girls in this research perceived that trading card games was a boy's activity (see Figure 7.25). In terms of age, older boys preferred authentic *Yugioh* cards to fake cards to demonstrate their sophistication in identifying the logo, typos and card quality. They also considered that trading cards was kids' stuff and out of fashion. In terms of social economic class, middle-class children had more educational games than their working-class counterparts. Apart from material and modality, children's consumption of a certain narrative and modality depends on their gender, age, identity, personal character, allowance, literacy, family structure, cultural capital, motivation and purpose. When these elements are in contact, a fluid meaning of popular culture text is produced that is based on the symbolic significance of the popular culture texts to the children in their interpretive community.

In this study, the children were driven to appropriate *Yugioh* texts in their social discourse for pleasure, for social inclusion, for friendship and for identity. This can explain why *Yugioh* was not perceived as a simple TV animation but a strategic and enjoyable card game and more. Also, it explains why this fun card game was interpreted in different ways by the British and American Chinese children, and on different dimensions.

Lastly, the children's appropriation of *Yugioh* texts was temporal and transitional. The temporal aspect of *Yugioh* texts was another interpretation that both the British and the American Chinese children arrived at. The short-lived aspect of *Yugioh* texts can be examined from two aspects. From the commercial perspective, it can be regarded as exploring the children's toy market. When a product reaches its market saturation and starts to decline in terms of sale (demand) growth, it implies that the product loses its appeal to the consumer (children). This concept of product life cycle (Levitt, 1965) will be further elaborated in Section 7.6, the development of *Yugioh* fad. From the older and 'mature' children's perspective, *Yugioh* was something old and out of fashion and needed replacement. Accordingly, 'old' or 'out of fashion' was an additional symbolic meaning to

Yugioh texts.

7.6 The Development of the *Yugioh* Fad

The *Yugioh* fad can be divided into four phases: introduction, growth, maturity and decline (see Figure 7.40 and 7.41). Underlying the four phases of *Yugioh* fad is the concept of product cycle (Levitt, 1965) prevalent in marketing. As each product has its life cycle, the rise and fall of the cycle indicates the demand of the product. Product demand also implies consumers' attitudes and preferences, and the changes in the product life cycle indicate that consumers' attitudes and preferences for the product are constantly changing.

In the situation of the children's cultural practices of *Yugioh*, a few of the children developed an initial interest in *Yugioh* texts and this initial interest spread out as more people were joining *Yugioh* activities. As a result of this, the demand for *Yugioh* artefacts increased and this was in congruent with the rise in the product cycle of *Yugioh* products. The growth for *Yugioh* products not only indicated a growing interest in joining in the *Yugioh* cultural practices but also the fandom position of the cultural practitioners and the characteristics of cultural activities. Although the demand for *Yugioh* products decreased as a result of school ban, family mediation and the children's aging process, this shows that the nature of the children's *Yugioh* practices was dynamic and constantly changing.

To carry this concept one step further, the pattern of the children's popular cultural practices is not universal nor does the meaning of *Yugioh* texts remain unchanged. This explains why the children of different age, gender, and sociocultural background appropriated *Yugioh* texts in different ways and why the children at different participating positions produced different meanings for *Yugioh* texts. Figure 7.40 shows how *Yugioh* fad was developed initially and how the children carried the fad in their *Yugioh* cultural activities.

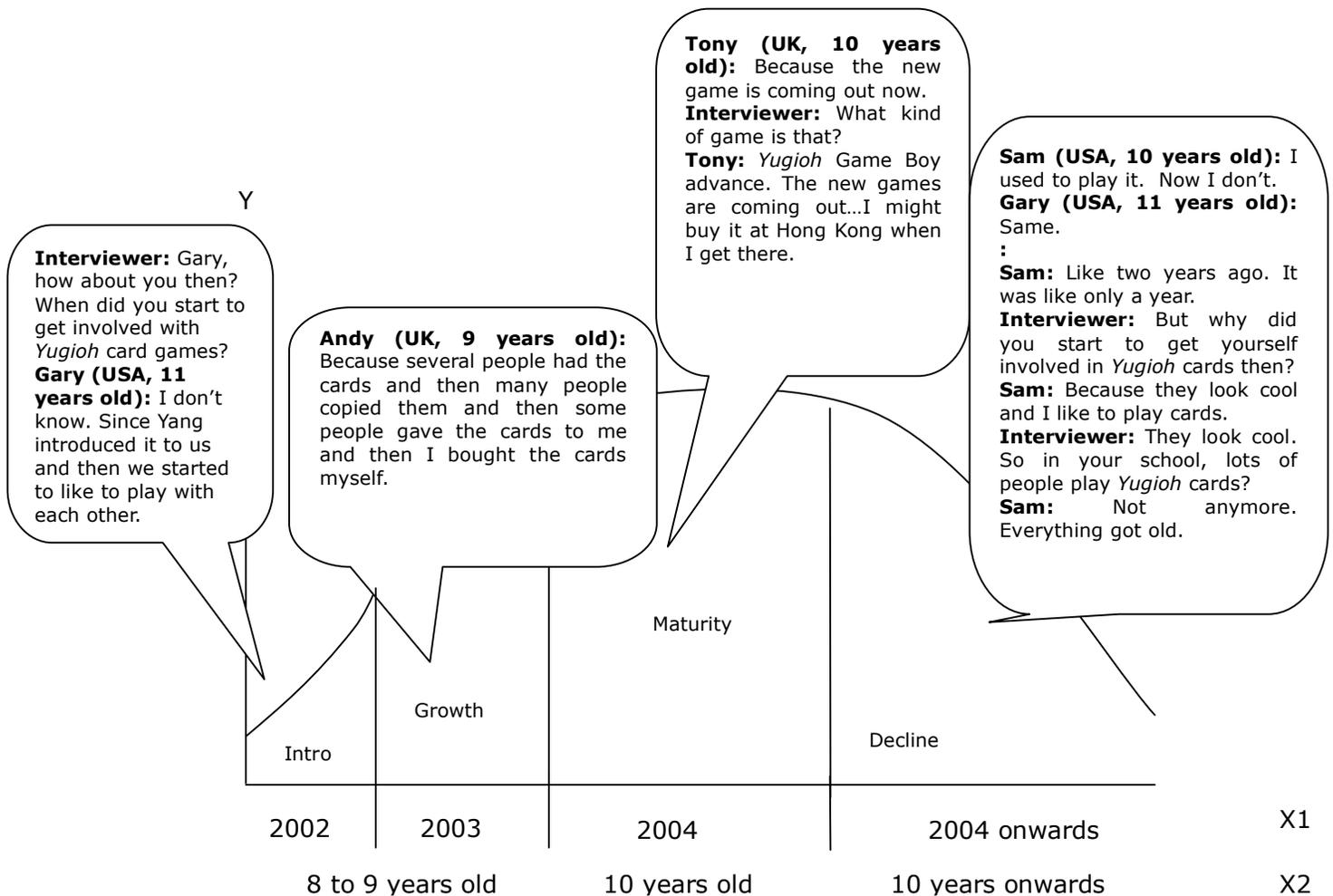
Figure 7.40 The development of *Yugioh* fad

Introductory	<p>Initially when the children started to learn about <i>Yugioh</i>, they were about 8 or 9 years old. At this stage, <i>Yugioh</i> animation and card games were still new. They only attracted a limited number of children. These few children were innovators of <i>Yugioh</i> and started to bring the cards to school and share the information with more kids. In order to introduce the new game to their friends, these children gave away their 'rubbish' cards to their friends so that the friends were motivated to join <i>Yugioh</i> card games. Rubbish cards meant weak cards and would affect the card player's winning position in a card game. Andy, in interview excerpt (A), mentioned how he was motivated to buy and collect cards and become part of <i>Yugioh</i> social discourse.</p>	<p>(A) <i>Andy (UK, 9): my friends... gave me something like... rubbish cards, starter cards and then I bought some by myself... because I wanted to collect.</i></p>
Growth	<p>By the time <i>Yugioh</i> were socially discussed in English school, the older children started to explore different facets of <i>Yugioh</i> social activities whilst the younger were practising the peripheral <i>Yugioh</i> activities such as drawing, copying <i>Yugioh</i> characters and observing card games.</p> <p>The growth of <i>Yugioh</i> fashion influenced a rising number of children to watch the animation; to buy, collect and trade the cards; and to actively engage in the card games. This increasing fashion attracted a number of children to participate in <i>Yugioh</i> fandom culture and changed their role from an outsider to a <i>Yugioh</i> fan. In support of this fandom culture, they frequently watched <i>Yugioh</i> animation to familiarise themselves with the features of each card and the rules of games so that they could assert a membership in their social discourse. Also, they collected more cards (see interview excerpt B) to update their knowledge base of <i>Yugioh</i> texts and card game strategy.</p>	<p>(B) <i>Ken (UK, 8): I forced my parents to buy loads and loads of cards for me and now I got over five hundred.</i> <i>Interviewer: Five hundred cards?</i> <i>Ken (UK, 9): Yeah.</i> <i>Mike: I started with 30 cards but now I got a hundred.</i> <i>Interviewer: A hundred?</i> <i>Ken: I got about 500.</i></p>

Maturity	<p>As soon as the practices of <i>Yugioh</i> activities were prevailing and saturating public domains, card players and fans started to personalise their individual practices. This was attributable to their growing card game skills and familiarity with the narrative and card game texts. As a result, they chose to either specialize or to explore more <i>Yugioh</i> multimodal texts, which were compatible to their personal interests and character. In parallel, the state school banned <i>Yugioh</i> activities on campus, so the spread of <i>Yugioh</i> fashion slowed. Because the practices for <i>Yugioh</i> became scattered and individualised and only involved serious game players, the growth for <i>Yugioh</i> multimodal products was not obvious. In a sense, for the product life cycle, it appeared levelled off. Interview excerpt (C) demonstrates how a serious <i>Yugioh</i> card collector was willing to spend his allowance on a 40 dollar card which he found worthwhile.</p>	<p>(C) <i>Interviewer: You said that it's really hard to get the three Egyptian God cards?</i> <i>Eric (USA, 12): I don't think that you can get them. I think you can only find them at certain store.</i> <i>Interviewer: I saw it on Thursday, three of them from a kid... he has three Egyptian God cards. Do you know the unit price of one Egyptian God card?</i> <i>Eric: How much?</i> <i>Interviewer: Like 40 dollars for one card.</i> <i>Eric: I could buy one. I got 400 dollars.</i></p>
Decline	<p>When each modality of <i>Yugioh</i> texts had been explored and the children had exhausted their creativity and interest with <i>Yugioh</i> multimodal texts, the craze for <i>Yugioh</i> activities began to decline. What this implied was that the children were losing interest in <i>Yugioh</i> and they were giving up their fandom positions in the <i>Yugioh</i> activities. Concurrently, the children started to seek something new and cool, which they could enjoy with their peers and be included in the social discourse. In order to mark a new social boundary for their new activity and to recover their investment with <i>Yugioh</i> products, many children advertised their cards and sold the cards to the younger children on the Internet, at school and in the neighbourhood.</p> <p>Alternatively, some chose to keep the cards for a better price in the future. Most boys presumed that the value of trading cards would grow in proportion to time because of their experience with <i>Pokemon</i> (see interview excerpt D). This was because their cards would become rare cards in 50 or 100 years of time. By then, they would make a lot of money by keeping the cards.</p>	<p>(D) <i>Interviewer: I know you sold your Pokemon cards for 20 quits.</i> <i>Peter (UK,12): Why did you do that?</i> <i>Steve: I sold all to my friends...</i> <i>Peter: You can wait until like 50 years. It costs like 100 quits...because I got all my Pokemon shiny ones and I got some Japanese ones.</i> <i>Andy (UK, 9): Maybe there is no more the same...design...</i> <i>Steve (UK, 12): Give it to your son...</i> <i>Interviewer: Will you still keep your cards, like 50 or 60 years...</i> <i>Andy: Maybe it will [The price of the cards will increase].</i> <i>Peter: Yes, yes.</i> <i>Andy: Maybe.</i></p>

Having shown the development pattern of *Yugioh* fad, I have applied the concept of product cycle into the children's *Yugioh* cultural practices in Figure 7.41. Figure 7.41 is to describe in detail how the children shift their fandom positions and their *Yugioh* practices in relation to different phases of its life cycle. To map out the life cycle of *Yugioh* cultural practices, each phase of *Yugioh* fad is supported by the children's interview excerpt. The children in Figure 7.41 showed how they started this fad, how the *Yugioh* cultural practice grew until everybody in the school joined the bandwagon, and finally how *Yugioh* became out of fashion.

Figure 7.41 The life cycle of *Yugioh* cultural practices



Y axis: Level of interest and attitude towards *Yugioh*
 X1 axis: The progression of field research (by year)
 X2 axis: Ex-*Yugioh* fans' ages (in retrospective fashion)

This life cycle diagram is based on the ex-*Yugioh* fans' (aged 10 and above) historical-cultural experience with *Yugioh*. By looking retrospectively at these children's trading card history, I have identified a consistent pattern embedded in their *Yugioh* cultural practices. This pattern shows how the children were motivated and got interested in *Yugioh* when they were younger. Then, their attitude and interest towards *Yugioh* levelled off, until finally they

perceived that *Yugioh* card games were out of fashion and ceased to take part in such practice. This finding was also congruent with my field observations. In 2002, *Yugioh* was still a fairly new concept and did not appear to be an identifiable social phenomenon. By the year 2003, it started to become a prevailing social phenomenon in Chinese school and replaced *Pokemon* and *Bayblade*. After that, *Yugioh* emerged to be a new topic in the social discourse. By the year 2004, when the focus interview was conducted, the older children expressed that they had left *Yugioh* behind them because they were no longer interested in a 'childish' game.

7.7 The Link between Cultural Practices and Meaning Making

Within the framework of an ideological model of literacy (Street, 1995), literacy practice and its sociocultural context are inseparable. In each sociocultural context, there is a sharing of understanding and belief about how to appropriate the meaning of cultural activities (Rogoff and Lave, 1984). Vygotsky (1978; 1981) argues in the following quotation that children develop their internal thoughts out of external social interaction with others, and all thinking and learning are social and historical.

Any function in the child's cultural development appears twice, or on two planes. First, it appears on the social plane and then on the psychological plane. First it appears between people as an interpsychological (interpersonal) activity and then within the child as an intrapsychological (intrapersonal) activity. This is equally true with regard to voluntary attention, logical memory, the formation of concepts and the development of volition (Vygotsky 1981:163).

In Vygotsky's sense (1981), culture cognition is developed from historical sociocultural activities rather than being an innate quality. People engaging in different cultural activities have developed different senses of literacy. This is attributable to the fact that different practices and contexts determine the set of skills for literacy development. Literacy, as Scribner and Cole (1981, p236) claim, is

not simply knowing how to read and write a particular script but applying its knowledge for specific purposes in specific contexts of use. The nature of these practices, including, of course, their technological aspects, will determine the kinds of skills "consequences" associated with literacy.

Following this line of argument, sociocultural practices in different domains can develop into different literacies.

In this research, the children learned to explore the meaning of *Yugioh* cultural artefacts on two levels; one was textual meaning and the other one was symbolic meaning. The latter has already been explored in this study in terms of the significance of popular cultural texts in relation to the children's socialisation, identity formation, literacy and childhood development. With respect to the textual meaning of *Yugioh*, it was learned to facilitate the operation of a card game. In the vein of NLS, the method of making sense of texts is critical and this can be translated as literacy practices. Figure 7.42 illustrates the methods the children in this research used to make sense of the textual meaning of *Yugioh* in relation to the development of the *Yugioh* fad. As literacy practices are context-bound and vary in relation to different contexts, Figure 7.42 distinguishes the contexts by the development of *Yugioh* fashion. As each phase serves as a different context, the children use different means (literacy practices) to explore the literal meaning of *Yugioh* text. Furthermore, each phase represents the participation position that *Yugioh* cultural practitioners hold and the knowledge and skills they have acquired: from a newcomer to a *Yugioh* group through to full participation of the practices within the group. This concept is in accordance with Lave and Wenger's 'Legitimate peripheral participation'.

Learners inevitably participate in communities of practitioners and...the mastery of knowledge and skill requires newcomers to move toward full participation in the sociocultural practices of a community...A person's intentions to learn are engaged and the meaning of learning is configured through the process of becoming a full participant in a sociocultural practice. This social process, includes, indeed it subsumes, the learning of knowledgeable skills (Lave and Wenger, 1991, p.29).

Figure 7.42 The link between Yugioh cultural practices and meaning-making

Fashion Develop-ment	Introductory	Growth	Maturity	Decline
Socio-cultural Practices	Occasionally watching animation on TV Observing others playing card games	Regular TV viewing Buying, trading and collecting cards Tentatively engaging in card games	Exploring <i>Yugioh</i> texts on different modalities a. Playing video games b. Surfing on the Internet c. Collecting some cultural artefacts in compatible with personal character (INDIVIDUAL LEVEL)	Selling cards or keeping cards and moving on to the next popular culture practice
Textual meaning making	'Reading' the narrative on TV 'Associating' names with visual representation (Anchoring texts) Learning card features and game rules by observing Copying and drawing animation characters	Memorising cards and features Reading the texts on the cards Negotiating rules of trading Developing duelling strategies (trial and error, scaffolding) Learning to differentiate real versus fake products by company logos, the typos and the language Engaging in numeracy literacy practices Practicing addition and subtraction Drawing monsters	Reading less on the two dimensional texts and practising literacy on three dimensional texts— more advanced level of texts combined with picture, sound, motion. Relying less on game rules and skilfully incorporating personal style Personalising popular culture texts Reducing the number of cards in a duelling deck to increase the chance of winning	Referring to card catalogue and Internet for price Personalise advertisement to draw potential buyers' attention
Symbolic Meanings	The emergence of a fad	Social inclusion (to join <i>Yugioh</i> linguistic community) Friendship (via card games and trading cards) Fad (everyone else is playing the game) Identity (<i>Yugioh</i> fans, duellists, collectors, boys and girls, etc)	Continuously supporting fandom culture group, Friendship Advanced knowledge base of <i>Yugioh</i> (trading cards, Internet, video games, copyright, numeracy), Identity (advanced card player vs. novice card player, collector, etc)	Post- <i>Yugioh</i> phenomenon: 'immature', 'childish'. Deliberately distance themselves from it to differentiate themselves from 'kids' Out of fashion

7.8 Literacy Practices and Multimodal Texts

Because the children perceived *Yugioh* as a multimodal text and practised it in different ways and different contexts to fulfil different purposes, they developed all sorts of literacy regarding *Yugioh* texts (see Table 7.1). At present, there is no common ground established to assess literacy learning associated with sociocultural activities (New London Group, 1996), but only suggestions to view literacy development in broader sociocultural contexts (Lankshear and McLaren, 1993; Barton, 1994; Street, 1995; 2003; New London Group, 1996; Marsh, 2003b; 2004). To carry this argument one step further, as literacy practices are contextual and used for particular purposes, particular meanings and with particular people (Barton, 1994), evaluation of literacy practices should be made in light of the character and the relationship among texts, readers and context. Accordingly, I have decided to explore the concept of literacy development from the viewpoint of the relationship among multimodal texts, children and their social learning style.

7.8.1 Learning Style in *Yugioh* Cultural Practices

Yugioh animation and its derivative products are highly related in terms of intertextuality. This intertextual feature led the *Yugioh* fans to build on what they already knew about *Yugioh* and extend it to other multimodal *Yugioh* texts. Because of this, the children's schema of *Yugioh* knowledge was flexible, transferable and based on the contextual situation. William Hank, in his writing to the introduction of 'Situated Learning' by Lave and Wenger (1991), stated,

Learning is a process that takes place in a participation framework, not in an individual mind. This means, among other things, that it is mediated by the differences of perspective among the co-participants. It is the community, or at least those participating in the learning context, who learn under this definition. Learning is, as it were, distributed among co-participants, not a one-person act.

Because card games were a prevailing cultural practice within *Yugioh* fandom groups,

learning occurring in this context was multiple. The children learned to collect cards by their features and strength, to trade cards with negotiable terms, to update their duelling strategy, and to challenge their card game opponents. All these activities can explain why the children's appropriation of *Yugioh* texts can be easily carried forward to the context of card games, card trading, and card collection and so forth.

Multimodal texts draw on children's schemata of a given text and offer different interactive alternatives so that children can transform and elaborate the meaning in different contexts (Dyson, 2001; Kress, 2000a, b; 2003a). As each modality can be used alone or in combination with other modalities to serve their sociocultural needs, the meaning of multimodal texts is multi-faced. Because there is no prescribed way to explore the meaning of multimodal texts, the children of different genders, ages and cognitive ability appropriate the text in ways which are compatible with their schemata and social constructed identity. For instance, the younger children in this research, as new learners to a *Yugioh* cultural group, initially learned to be observers of the game, learning the rules, language and culture before they comprehended how the activity within the *Yugioh* fandom group operated. Their legitimate peripheral participation (ibid.) as not directly taking part in the particular activity was important for the younger children to learn what they needed to learn before they could advance to the next level of *Yugioh* cultural practices. Such communities of practice, as Gee (2002, p.37), indicates, 'reproduce themselves through apprenticing newcomers, in thought, word and deed, to their characteristic social languages, social models and cultural practices.'

In parallel, the younger children also relied on the cultural tools (trading cards) to build on their knowledge of *Yugioh* and the guided participation (Rogoff, 1995) of the older children to lead them into familiarity with the written text features of *Yugioh* and to comprehend the difficult narrative between the characters in the TV animation.

Not being able to read the written text on *Yugioh* cards did not hinder the younger children from participating in the card games, as *Yugioh* gaming culture could nourish friendship, socialisation and entertainment. In Figure 7.43 (1), Eva's 7-year-old brother did not know how to read the written text of *Yugioh* cards and he relied on Eva to read for him so that he could comprehend the language and negotiate the meaning collectively with his sister. Apart from reading out loud, reading repetitively was another learning strategy *Yugioh* fans, like Eric in Figure 7.43 (2), frequently applied. Through this reading out loud and repetition of oral reading, a practice maintained by *Yugioh* card game players, both players in a game were building more and more knowledge of *Yugioh* cards and games.

Figure 7.43 Reading strategies

(1)

Eva (USA, 10 years old): Well, I just read it.

Interviewer: You just read it. So every time you play and you read,

Eva: When my brother has this Pegasus, he doesn't want to read it and he just let me read it. So we know what it is. I have a bad memory. [Laughter of the interviewer] Really, I do.

(2)

Interviewer: Suppose I draw one card from your deck, 'Falling Wind', what can this card do?

Eric (USA, 12): 'Falling Wind'? Increase the wind type and won't be tied by 300 by attack or defence points.

Interviewer: Yeah, exactly, but how can you remember it so correctly?

Eric: Read it over and over again and use it against my opponent a lot.

Oral reading, repetition, and Vygotsky's concept of scaffolding were by no means the only ways that the children learned to appropriate the meaning of *Yugioh*. They also learned how to negotiate card trading, and design their persuasive language to advertise their used cards. Their learning was interest-driven and motivated by the sociocultural practices. In this sense, literacy learning in out-of-school context did not progress in a linear manner (Barton, 1994), given there was no set agenda to govern how a culture should be practiced.

7.9 Conclusion

In this chapter, I have discussed how the British and the American Chinese children's appropriation of *Yugioh* texts was influenced by the contextual factors. I have also shown the social, cultural and political implications of *Yugioh* texts on the children's socialisation, identity formation, childhood development and literacy learning. The children, regardless their gender, age, family's socioeconomic status, cognitive ability, or historical cultural experiences with popular cultural texts, all occupied different participatory positions to express what *Yugioh* texts meant to them, either at the social level or their individual level. Because the children's participatory positions were constantly changing, the meanings for the *Yugioh* sociocultural activities are fluid and multiple. The dynamic nature of *Yugioh* cultural practice can be portrayed by the concept of product life cycle, following the phases of introduction, growth, maturity and decline. In juxtaposition to each phase of the life cycle, the children interpreted the meaning of *Yugioh* texts in their cultural practices at two levels, the textual level and the symbolic level. It was the meaning at the symbolic level that drew the children to take part in the cultural practices of *Yugioh* for the purpose of socialisation and identity construction, whilst the meaning at the textual level was the literacy that the children had to learn to be able to function successfully in their social discourse of *Yugioh*. The nuances of the meanings for *Yugioh* sociocultural practices remained foreign to non-members of *Yugioh* activities such as parents and school teachers. The split of viewpoints between insider (the children) and outsider (the parents and school teachers) perspectives reflects a participatory or non-participatory position that needs to be taken before a meaning can be made.

Lastly, popular culture texts per se and the modality also exerted significant influences on the children's *Yugioh* practices and their meaning making of the texts. The meaning of *Yugioh* texts changed as the texts were presented with different modalities and used in different sociocultural practices. Because each *Yugioh* multimodal text was used in different contexts for different purposes and required different sets of literacy skills from the children,

this is why the meaning of *Yugioh* texts is multiple, depending on who uses it, how it is used, where it is used and what it is for. Additionally, this can explain why the children could develop sophisticated literacy skills as each *Yugioh* activity was not only interconnected but could also assist the children to refine their knowledge base of popular cultural texts.

Chapter Eight

Summary and Implications of the Research

8.0 Introduction

This research has investigated the British and the American Chinese children's popular culture practices. In Chapters Four and Chapter Five of this thesis, I explored the bilingual contexts in terms of the British and the American Chinese families' immigrant history, the domestic context of the ethnic media consumption, and the sociocultural implications of community Chinese school. The emphasis on the bilingual context was not to investigate the children's bilingualism and their language proficiency, but to highlight the close relationship between the development of the children's cultural capital and the bilingual context. Furthermore, it was to characterise the idiosyncratic contexts of these bilingual children in relation to their popular culture practices. In Chapter Six, I reviewed the contextual environment of the community Chinese schools and explored how the children's popular culture practices differed from one school to another. In addition, the investigation of the children's domestic context showed that the children with different media access acquired differed cultural capital about popular culture texts. Both community Chinese school and the children's home context, to some extent, affected the way the children appropriated *Yugioh* texts. Also, this showed how important it was to explore the bilingual children's upbringing environment and identify the possible factors which could explain the children's popular culture practices .

In investigating the bilingual context, I did not intend to generalise for the entire population of the Chinese immigrant families in the UK and the USA, but to characterise the degree of bilingualism of the participants and the characteristics of their bilingual contexts in their communities. The bilingual contexts were significant, given that they were present in different domains of everyday life for the British and American Chinese children under study.

Chapter Seven explored how the children's cultural practices of *Yugioh* were mediated by the situational contexts and how the development of cultural practices around *Yugioh* followed the pattern of product life cycle. Also, it explored how the narrative of popular culture texts was negotiated with respect to the children's identity, childhood development, socialisation and literacy learning. Furthermore, the political implications pertaining to cultural practices were explored on the dimensions of institutional structure, community, family, and fandom group.

Throughout this thesis, I have deliberately emphasised how contextual factors influenced the children's cultural and literacy practices of *Yugioh*. These contextual factors were constantly changing and as a result, the children's appropriation of *Yugioh* texts changed accordingly. For this reason, the research findings for the children's appropriation of *Yugioh* texts can only be perceived as a snapshot of the observable social phenomenon rather than as portraying the entirety of the phenomenon.

I have explored how both the British and the American Chinese children negotiated additional spaces for their popular cultural practices based on the situational context and their creativity. The additional spaces that the children created and negotiated within the situational context bore several implications. Firstly, the children were active in interpreting the meaning of popular cultural texts by using available resources. Their active attitude towards their cultural practices was very evident, particularly when their cultural practices were disrupted by structural contexts such as the television industry, retail distribution channels and public school. Secondly, the meanings that the children appropriated for the popular cultural contexts occurred at different levels: at the textual level and at the symbolic level. The meanings produced at different levels were based on the interaction among the modality of the text, the situational context and the cultural practitioners.

Each multimodal text is interrelated in terms of intertextuality (Kress, 2000b; 2003a). In this study, each text was used in different contexts but in complementary manners, depending on the children's cultural historical experience of the texts (Bourdieu 1986; Vygotsky, 1978), personal interests (New London Group, 1996) and creativity (Dyson, 1997; 2001; Marsh, 2003b). Thus we saw, in Figure 7.38, Tony attempting to create his Christmas cards of *Yugioh*. Although his attempt was not appreciated by his father, his creativity in appropriating *Yugioh* texts changed with the temporal and spatial factors. In this context, *Yugioh* texts were no longer just an animation or a trading card, but a potential seasonal greeting card as well. In this sense, modality was value-laden and was used according to the children's creativity, and linguistic and sociocultural capital.

The value that the children attributed to the texts depended on the symbolic meaning of the texts in the sociocultural context. The symbolic meanings were not only to spread the cultural practices of *Yugioh* but also to help the children to improve their socialisation and identity formation. As the symbolic meanings arose in the cultural activities, they remained exclusive to the group members and were 'inherited and transformed' by successive cultural practitioners (Rogoff, 2003). This culture exclusiveness formed a social boundary and created an insider versus outsider role for the cultural practices. For example, the ex-*Yugioh* fan's perspective about *Yugioh* was congruent with their parents', but in contrast with that of the children who still remained in the *Yugioh* society. These ex-fans of *Yugioh* aligned towards an outsider's perspective when they no longer maintained the cultural practices of *Yugioh*, and abandoned the cultural exclusiveness which was once meaningful to them.

Because cultural practice is a signification process, the children identified themselves in relation to different roles emerging in the course of social participation (Lave and Wenger,

1991). The multiple identities developed were meaningful and purposeful for the children because they informed the stage of the children's childhood development, socialisation and literacy development. Because of this, we came to understand that the children's negotiation of *Yugioh* texts was life-cycled, and their cognitive and literacy development was progressing in parallel to the life cycle of the cultural practice. When the children had experienced the life cycle of *Yugioh* cultural practices, what they left behind was a cultural capital for the newcomers to inherit, but what they carried forward was a knowledge base for more diverse and advanced cultural practices.

8.1 Research Summary

To further elaborate the above arguments, I would like to summarise the research findings in the following categories: situational contexts, purposes of the popular culture texts, meaning making of the texts, identity, childhood development and literacy learning.

8.1.1 Situational Contexts

Chapter Seven explored the character of the British and the American Chinese children's culture practices of *Yugioh*. The cultural practices were not only value-laden but also subjected to the interwoven influences of situational contexts. Each of these contexts served a particular milieu and they collectively configured a variety of contexts to influence the children's sociocultural practices in different ways. Each situational context seemed equally influential, but served as a different domain of the everyday life of the children under study, and contributed to variable cultural practices. The disparities of popular culture practices can be assessed on the dimensions of age, gender, language and cultural capital, literacy learning, family, socioeconomic status, ethnicity, and nation-state. These variations implied that the children's appropriation of popular culture texts was not universal.

The children in this study not only read the texts, but also played with and appropriated the

texts to identify and transform the meaning of the texts in their literacy practices. Transformation of the texts in different contexts ('recontextualisation' according to Dyson 2001) required knowledge, access and personal interest (Kress, 2000a; 2003a). The knowledge here refers to the children's knowledge base about the property of different modalities and their ability to identify the inter-textuality between texts. The text transformation often took place when the children not only had access to but also were interested in advancing their textual experience in other modalities. Regardless of which mode of meaning-making practice was utilised, their meaning making of popular culture texts was still subject to the multifaceted influences of the situational context and the group culture.

In addition, the children developed an understanding that their appropriation of popular culture texts was grounded on a few dimensions: the availability of the animation and the relevant cultural artefacts (Section 7.1.1, 7.1.2), school regulations (Section 7.1.3, 7.1.4), their parents' attitude towards their popular culture practices (Section 7.1.5) and the influence of their peer groups (Section 7.1.6). These structures mediated the children's cultural practices of *Yugioh* but were not perceived by the children as oppressive. Instead, the children's sociocultural practices were driven by their personal interests, language and cultural capital, entertainment and popular trend, and were practised in such a way to as to fulfil different purposes. In this sense, the structures were perceived as different spaces that were available to the children to explore cultural practices in different ways. The exploration of these situational factors shed light on the disparity embedded in the children's popular culture practices and on how the children negotiated more spaces to sustain their fandom culture.

To summarise the relationship between situational influences and children's sociocultural practices, I will consider the disparity of the cultural practices between the American

Chinese children and their British Chinese counterparts. Additionally, I will consider how cultural practices differed in parallel to gender lines. Although the girls' cultural practices of *Yugioh* were not obvious, as compared to the boys', in the public context, this difference was attributed to the boys and girls appropriating *Yugioh* texts differently and with different goals. To look at the divide between the American Chinese children and the British Chinese children pertaining to *Yugioh* practices is not to generalise the findings between these two cohorts of children. Instead, it is to illuminate the disparity of sociocultural practices in a wider context and to highlight the degree of interwoven influence on the dimensions of gender, age, family structure, socioeconomic status, and the children's historical-cultural experiences with popular culture texts.

A. The American Chinese Children's Cultural Practices of *Yugioh* versus those of the British Chinese Children

In this study, the American Chinese children demonstrated more sophisticated knowledge of *Yugioh* texts than their British Chinese counterparts. Particularly with the American boys, their advanced knowledge stemmed from the frequent consumption of *Yugioh* animation and the availability of the latest *Yugioh* derivatives in the market. These two factors not only supported the narrative development on television but also reinforced the intertextuality. The American Chinese boys' relatively easy access to the episodic narratives and the new cards gave them an advantageous position in card games. They were able, in contrast to the British Chinese boys, to incorporate new information into the card games, re-organise their card deck, and update their duelling strategy.

By contrast, the British Chinese boys developed additional spaces to counteract the limited access to *Yugioh* texts. They relied on the Internet to supplement their knowledge base of *Yugioh*, and developed a systematic knowledge about *Yugioh* information. They knew which Web site to search for new cards and new *Yugioh* games, and to participate in *Yugioh*

forums. Accordingly, they appeared to be more knowledgeable about Web-based *Yugioh* information. The British Chinese boys' use of Web sites to support the *Yugioh* craze was also supported by information about the official Web site printed in the user manual of the trading card game.

Because the release pattern of new cards by the company followed the broadcasted episodes on television, this meant that the British Chinese boys had more deferred information about *Yugioh* than their American Chinese counterparts. Despite the fact that the British Chinese boys could access the new card information on the Internet, they still could not obtain the new cards and update their duelling strategy, given that the television company in Britain did not broadcast the new episode to support the use of new cards. This can explain why the American Chinese boys were able to spell out the names of the latest *Yugioh* cards used in their card games, whilst the British Chinese boys lagged behind in this respect.

The disparity of *Yugioh* cultural practices can be further divided by state school, community Chinese school, family, gender and age. The universal restriction of popular culture practices in state school interrupted the children's *Yugioh* cultural practices. By contrast, community Chinese schools were supportive of the popular culture practices. Yet, this did not mean that *Yugioh* popular culture practice in the setting of community Chinese school was universal. The physical setting and the agenda of the school curriculum contributed to the variation of cultural practices among the community Chinese schools. This variation was further compounded when different factors came into play, such as the family's immigrant history, family structure, home language, social economic status, the connection with host and heritage culture, parents' attitude towards their children's popular culture consumption, and children's characteristics and gender. This has therefore explained why the American Chinese girls, unlike the British Chinese girls, engaged in the seemingly 'boys' popular

culture practices, and why the British Chinese girls appeared 'passive' about engaging in *Yugioh* cultural practices, which were oriented towards masculine representations (see Section 7.4.1). Furthermore, the cross-factor influences also explored why the American Chinese children from working class families had more fake *Yugioh* cards than their British Chinese counterparts and why the British Chinese children had more access to *Yugioh* cultural artefacts in the Chinese language (see Section 7.1.5).

Finally, factors such as the children's language and cultural capital of popular culture texts, aesthetic taste, age, gender, peer group and cognitive development widened the disparity of popular culture practices between the boys and the girls, older and younger children, and *Yugioh* fans and ex-*Yugioh* fans. Because of the children's characteristics and different situational contexts, the children appropriated popular culture texts according to their motives and mediated by the sociocultural context and the perceived social function of the popular culture texts. Furthermore, this concept implied that the children participated in cultural practices about *Yugioh* to achieve different goals, which will be explored in the following.

8.1.2 Purposes of Popular Culture Texts and Cultural Activities

The children's participation in their popular culture practices cannot simply be reduced to pleasure (Lowen, 2004). Also, their presence in their sociocultural practices should not, necessarily, be taken for granted (Lave and Wenger, 1991). From here, I intend to raise a question of why the children were practising a social activity with cultural tools that seemed to make sense to them, but not to an outsider. Rogoff (1984), in her studies of children's cognitive development in sociocultural contexts, claims that researchers should look at 'the goal of the activity and the interpersonal and cultural context in which the activity is embedded' (p.4). Although the aim of this research was not to explore the children's cognitive performance, Rogoff's proposal serves as a guideline for me to explore the next

question: the purpose of cultural activities.

A. Fad and Pleasure

Yugioh was seen by children as a fad with a range of compatible cultural artefacts to support the spread of the fad. It was something with which the children could collectively create pleasure and improve their socialisation. This pleasure was based on the card game, not only as enacted in the social context but also as a salient feature within the narrative. The card game can be described as a playable text, and the pleasure of the card game was derived from social enactment (Lauteren, 2002). Because the *Yugioh* anime was about a strategic card game, both the British and the American Chinese boys expanded their options of pleasurable activities by engaging in the card game and the associated peripheral activities.

The *Yugioh* narrative drew on the children's imagination, fetishism of fictional characters, fantasy of power and role play (Dyson, 1997), and desire for pleasure (Sutton-Smith, 1997). It emerged as a new fad and replaced *Pokemon*. Also, because *Pokemon* had pioneered the craze of monster cards (Buckingham and Sefton-Green, 2003), the creators of *Yugioh* were able to draw on the concept of monster cards and develop this into a trading card game. Central to trading card games were the different aspects of *Yugioh* cultural practices that card game players could freely explore. The players could produce the meaning of this open text with their social partners, through engagement in a variety of *Yugioh* cultural practices. In this respect, the meanings produced not only carried social implications but also reflected the children's cultural and linguistic repertoires.

B. Socialisation and Social Identity

Yugioh card games were perceived as fun by many of the boys in this research because this gaming culture was not only a fad but also a sociocultural activity highly regarded by *Yugioh*

fans. The *Yugioh* card game appeared to be a boy-dominated activity because the graphic and narrative representation of *Yugioh* texts appealed to the boys more than the girls. Many boys admitted that they passionately collected the cards and engaged in the card game so that they could play with their friends and distinguish themselves from the girls. 'Trading cards' therefore became a medium for socialisation, whilst the card game appeared to be a marker for friendship and gender. Both the British and the American Chinese boys purchased, traded and collected hundreds and thousands of trading cards so that they could demonstrate their powerful duelling strategy and cultural capital of *Yugioh* texts, and support the fandom culture. The desire to solidify their social identities was strong, given that their knowledge base of *Yugioh* texts could be appreciated and recognised by their peers.

C. Childhood Development

Fads may vary significantly within a society, according to age, gender, social economic class, generation and geography, as well as over time. Fads are provisional and transitional. In this research, age appeared to be a salient factor for differentiating the style of cultural practices, as the children at different age groups engaged in contrasting *Yugioh* cultural practices. The *Yugioh* craze evolved in terms of practices and meaning production in parallel to childhood development. The *Yugioh* craze can be categorised into four phases, where each phase is supported by a successive age group. Each phase of the fad development reflected the children's different interpretations of *Yugioh* texts and the social purposes. The perceived social functions of *Yugioh* texts changed as the children explored them at different phases of the fad. For those children who perceived that *Yugioh* was outdated, the social function of this popular culture text disappeared because it was no longer maintained and practised within their sociocultural context.

Following the cease of the *Yugioh* cultural activities, there was a split of viewpoints amongst the children: the outsider's versus the insider's. The 'past' fashion was then inherited by the newcomers, who tended to be the younger children and who were about to explore *Yugioh* texts at a more advanced level. From the perspective of the ex-*Yugioh* fans, the newcomers were immature and childish, given that they were incapable of differentiating a childish act. Still, the meanings about *Yugioh* texts were maintained within the practising group (the insiders) and were meaningful to them. Although the meanings about *Yugioh* for the newcomers would be different from their predecessors, the meanings were still made from an insider's perspective and presumably, could not be comprehended at the same level by an outsider.

8.1.3 Different Ways of Meaning Making

The British Chinese and the American Chinese children in this research engaged in the popular cultural texts relating to *Yugioh* in their everyday life. They 'did' *Yugioh* in their sociocultural practices. Instead of reading the texts to decode the meaning pertaining to these popular culture texts, they engaged in a variety of activities to make sense of the texts. They read, drew, played, traded, collected, and made something with the texts in their social discourse. Also, when dealing with the texts, they needed to abide to the *Yugioh* customs such as no fake cards in a card game and respect for their opponents.

Each multimodal text of *Yugioh* was used differently and for different purposes in different contexts, subject to the interwoven influences of situational factors. In this sense, the meaning of *Yugioh* texts was multi-faceted and context bound. The meaning-making process was also mediated by the affordance of the modality (Kress, 2003a), the children's schemata of the modalities at their disposal (ibid) and the context (Dyson 1997; 2001). Tony in Figure 7.39 wanted to use his creativity to scan *Yugioh* monster cards and transform the cards into Christmas greeting cards. When the modality was a monster card, Tony used

the card in a card game, or maybe collected the card for his personal collection. However, when the modality became a Christmas card, Tony wanted to use it to express his seasonal wishes and to facilitate friendship with his friends. Therefore, the children not only used different modalities to express the meanings they produced in different contexts but also were able to explore the affordance of the modality with their creativity.

The children in this research elaborated the meaning of *Yugioh* texts at different levels: at a surface level (literal textual level) and at a deeper level (symbolic level). On the textual level, *Yugioh* was interpreted both as an animation and a card game. The sociocultural practices taking place at the textual level were to lubricate the progress of fandom culture. To name a few sociocultural practices at this level, the children had to follow the development of *Yugioh* narratives on television, remember the card attributes, and learn the game rules to establish a base knowledge of *Yugioh* texts and form a fandom group. They read and identified the texts in the trading cards so that they could learn the game rules, and they varied their duelling strategies. They learned to differentiate a real card from a fake card so that they could comply with the game rules and the accepted norms of the group culture. They learned to keep score so that they knew how much game life points they had at their disposal and could predict the outcome of a card game. They followed the narrative on television so that they could know which newer and stronger cards to acquire to update their card deck and build up their strategy accordingly. The interpretation of *Yugioh* texts at the textual level was to continually support the gaming culture of *Yugioh*.

The social practices associated with the card game were multiple, given that card players had to watch the animation, learn the narrative, collect/trade cards from different sources, organise a duelling/swapping/collection deck, develop duelling strategies and comply with card game rules and the group norms. These practices went hand in hand and developed into entire *Yugioh* culture practices. In this sense, the meaning of the trading cards was

not subject to the textual features of the cards but to the social functions of the cards in different *Yugioh* practices.

In the practice of collecting and trading cards, the boys, irrespective of their nationality or family background, placed emphasis on the acquisition of the strongest and most powerful cards so that the utility of their trading card deck and the chances of defeating their card game opponents could be improved. Power level, the rarity of a card and masculine features of the monster remained the three significant criteria for the boys to collect and trade the cards. Conversely, the American Chinese girls collected the cards based on the feminine aesthetic features. Unlike the boys, the strength of the cards remained an irrelevant factor to the girls because they collected the cards with the intention of being included by their social peers. Because *Yugioh* trading cards remained the primary symbol for a *Yugioh* fandom group, the girls only collected a few cards to claim their provisional *Yugioh* membership, with no intention to advance their knowledge base of *Yugioh* texts. Therefore, the number of cards, the kind of cards and the knowledge level about *Yugioh* texts did not affect the girls' membership status but remained significant for the boys to negotiate their multiple and fluid identities in the public sphere.

In the practice of organising, duelling, swapping and collecting their decks, the older boys and more experienced *Yugioh* card players divided the trading cards into three categories: for card games, for trading and for personal collection. By contrast, the girls, primarily the American Chinese girls, only had a deck of trading cards and it was mainly for personal browsing and for reminiscence. A player's duelling deck normally included the strongest cards and represented how powerful a card player was. In this sense, the meaning underlying the duelling deck was strength. The swapping deck was used to trade off either a stronger card or 'rubbish' cards. In this sense, the implication for the swapping deck was to negotiate. The collection deck was normally based on individual aesthetic taste and was

for browsing. In this sense, the collection deck was to show one's interest and taste in monster cards. These different symbolic meanings could not have been identified if the trading cards were analysed based solely on the textual level, and no attention had been paid to the associated sociocultural context.

In the practice of the *Yugioh* card games, the symbolic meanings at this level were for the boys to be accepted by their peer group, to maintain their cultural activity, to demonstrate personal card duelling strategies, and to create an admired role model within the cultural group. The boys collected the cards mainly to duel, while the girls collected the cards to socialise. These different intentions meant that the boys become more sophisticated card game players in terms of duelling strategy, language and cultural capital with respect to other multi-modal *Yugioh* texts. Conversely, the American Chinese girls could not accurately articulate the game rules and card features, and appeared to be less interested in accessing *Yugioh* texts in other modalities. Additionally, the girls undertook this trading card activity only in the domain of community Chinese school and their domestic context, given that the *Yugioh* card game remained primarily as a boys' activity and to cross the gender boundary would cause damage to their public identity as a girl in state school and among their peer groups. The American Chinese girls' dilemma about taking part in *Yugioh* social activities indicated that the children asserted different and sometimes conflicting identities in relation to different social contexts.

8.1.4 Multiple Identities

As the children appropriated the meaning of *Yugioh* in their sociocultural practices, they were also developing a variety of identities. The boys asserted more identities than the girls, given that their *Yugioh* cultural practices were multiple and diversified. They claimed their identities in relation to the animated fictional characters and their own experience of the card game, aesthetic taste, maturity and gender. On the other hand, the girls claimed their

identity on the grounds of gender and aesthetic taste. The discrepancy between the boys and the girls was attributable to the male-dominated representation of *Yugioh* texts, which forced the girls to align their identity in relation to perceived feminine characteristics. As *Yugioh* texts favoured the boys in terms of narrative, modality and representations, this enabled the boys to explore multiple aspects of their identities across different discourse practices. As the children used cultural tools such as languages and cultural artefacts to represent their knowledge about the world around them, they were not only expressing their understanding of the world but also their social identities in relation to the context and the people. This view is consistent with Gee's characterisation of literacy studies:

Literacy is seen as a set of discourse practices, that is, as ways of using language and making sense both in speech and writing. These discourse practices are tied to the particular world views (beliefs and values) of particular social or cultural groups. Such discourse practices are integrally connected with the identity or sense of self of the people who practice them; a change of discourse practices is a change of identity (Gee, 1994, p.168-169).

8.1.5 Childhood Development

Yugioh cultural practices can be categorised into four phases: introduction, growth, maturity and decline. In this study, each phase designated different literacy practices and the spread of *Yugioh* fashion. It also implied the cultural and linguistic repertoire of the children in different age groups. In this research, *Yugioh* fandom groups were composed of the British Chinese boys, the American Chinese boys and the American Chinese girls. In the strict sense, the American Chinese girls were pseudo-fans of *Yugioh* texts because their aim in participating in *Yugioh* activities was for social inclusion rather than to explore the pleasure afforded by the card game.

Within each of the fandom groups, the degree of *Yugioh* sociocultural practice was variable. Nevertheless, each phase of *Yugioh* sociocultural practices was supported by different age

groups of *Yugioh* fans. In contrast to Piaget's claim (1962), age was by no means a valid indicator to assess one's cognitive ability. As for as this research is concerned, age appeared to be a guideline to assess the children's historical cultural experiences with popular culture texts. For example, the older British and American Chinese boys expressed their inertia about re-engaging in *Yugioh* activities because they had progressed to pre-adolescence. This maturing stage of childhood gave them more choices to explore a variety of entertainment such as video games, music, Internet and mobile phones. This was attributable to their having more autonomy and their parents exerting a lesser degree of mediation in their consumption of media activities (Livingstone, 2002). On the other hand, their school workload was increasing as they aged. This implied that they had less time to engage in the physical game play in out-of-school settings, and their consumption of popular media texts was oriented towards personalisation and virtual contexts (ibid).

These older boys relinquished their collection of *Yugioh* cards because they perceived that *Yugioh* cultural artefacts were childish and were in conflict with their mature identity. They sold the cards to the 'kids' in the neighbourhood or school, or gave the cards as 'hand-me-downs' to their cousins and close friends. In addition to the card relinquishment, they started to engage in different fads and activities, which were more compatible with their maturity and cognitive level. The older children's cultural capital of different multimedia texts was developing, and carried forward to other fads which were more connected to their social, cultural and psycho-cognitive development. Alongside the rejection of *Yugioh* at a textual level, the symbolic meaning pertaining to *Yugioh* cultural artefacts for friendship, for social inclusion and for identity formation was discharged. The meaning that was carried forward by these ex-*Yugioh* fans was that they were 'just cards', a meaning pertaining to the iconic features of the text. Although the symbolic meanings of *Yugioh* texts disappeared as the older children moved on to the next fad, they still remained significant to the younger children, who were still working their way through different phases of cultural practices and

were refining their cultural heritage in relation to their sociocultural development (Rogoff, 2003).

8.1.6 Literacy Learning

Consistent with new literacy studies, learning is viewed as mediated through social and cultural activities dealing with situated changes in social cognitive actions in children's ways of participating in the world (Vygotsky, 1978; Lave and Wenger, 1991; Rogoff, 2003). The development of literacy is multi-faceted and is embedded in different social-cultural contexts. Because literacy practices vary in relation to the context, the ways that the children make sense of popular culture texts in their social-cultural practices and in relation to their social peers are central to investigating how they develop their literacies. Literacy learning in this research is perceived as the change in the discourse of making sense of texts; the following section will summarise the literacy development of the children under study.

Yugioh gaming culture arose as a result of the trading, sharing and negotiation of card game information, and was supported by a *Yugioh* cultural community in a variety of social practices so that the children developed varying degrees of literacy with the support of their peer groups. Because of the older children's accumulated knowledge base of popular culture texts, they developed advanced levels of *Yugioh* knowledge. Although the older children could exercise their power in terms of an advanced knowledge of *Yugioh* texts, putting the younger and less experienced children at a disadvantage position in card trading, such practice was considered unethical and unsupportive of genuine friendship. Within the *Yugioh* cultural community, the older children were used to sharing their experiences of multimodal *Yugioh* texts with the less experienced *Yugioh* card players, scaffolding their varying duelling strategies, and imparting card game knowledge. Through this collaboration, both parties of the card game could further elaborate their diversity of card game activities. The interaction between the older and the younger children within the *Yugioh* cultural

community can be illustrated by Rogoff's view of cultural community:

to shift from an emphasis on categorical identity as a property of individuals to a focus on people's participation in cultural processes that form the common practices of particular communities...participants do not have precisely the same points of view, practices, backgrounds, or goals. Rather, they are part of a somewhat coordinated organisation. They often are in complementary roles, playing parts that fit together rather than being identical or in contested relationships with each other..It is the common ways that participants in a community share (2003, p.80-81).

Although the younger children were not able to read the written texts on the cards, they were not prevented from participating in a card game because of their reading ability. Instead they relied on the older children to orally narrate the information in a card and calculate the life points of each card game player. This play culture situated in the zone of proximal development (Vygotsky, 1978) and through guided participation (Rogoff, 1995) was crucial to the novice learners, enabling them to internalise their social knowledge and to advance their cognitive skills. The oral narration of card information allowed the younger children to associate the iconic features of the cards with the narrated information and to reinforce their knowledge base of *Yugioh* texts from the television animation. Thus, the learning of the younger children was embedded in the cultural way of *Yugioh* practices.

In addition, the linguistic feature of *Yugioh* texts supported linguistic collocation (Sinclair, 1991), enabling the children to learn the words and phrases by association and cultural convention. Because the *Yugioh* card attributes were written in 'Kanji' (Japanese pictographs, meaning Chinese writing), the children learned to associate the Chinese writing with *Yugioh* card attribute and function. This development of biliteracy was significant, given that the development of Chinese literacy was embedded in the *Yugioh* game culture.

In the process of practising a variety of *Yugioh* card game activities, the children constantly built their knowledge base of *Yugioh* texts. These cultural practices were iterative and

necessary to maintain the card game culture and the existence of the fandom group. The repetitive cultural practices, combined with the intertextuality between *Yugioh* texts in different modalities, enabled the children to learn how to differentiate real from fake cards (in terms of linguistic features, copyright and paper quality), to develop language awareness between English and Chinese, to understand the affordance of the modalities, to do four-digit number addition and subtraction, and to increase the probability of drawing the card they desired in a card game. These literacy learning skills were developed unintentionally alongside *Yugioh* popular culture practices, but served as a benchmark for the different phases of popular culture practices and of childhood development.

8.2 Limitations

Given that this cross-cultural research study by its nature was fairly large scale, for an ethnographic study, in terms of the number of community Chinese schools, children and families involved, this posed a challenge to coordination between the researcher and research participants in the cross-cultural context. Furthermore, as both the British and the American Chinese children's sociocultural practices with popular cultural texts were embedded in wider contexts, such as family, community, retail-marketing and nation-state, this required me to thoroughly understand the culture of the researched, not only at the individual level but also at the family and community levels. Failing to acknowledge the culture of the researched can affect the research design and, in the worst situation, can lose the support of the research participants. The case with School O in Salt Lake City, USA, was the best illustration of this cultural dilemma.

The limitation of this research can also be attributed to my limited empirical research experience. Given that grounded theory was employed for the research methodology, it was necessary to constantly refine data collection and theoretical sampling throughout the entire research process. Sometimes some of the research questions had to be revised to match

the data. Although this situation is not uncommon during the implementation of grounded theory and inductive research, it still posed a dilemma to a novice qualitative researcher like me.

Additionally, as the meaning of *Yugioh* was constantly changing in relation to narrative development, modes of representation and retail-marketing, this could mean that the children's appropriation of these texts might have been different had the research been carried out at a different time frame. After this research was carried out, the narrative of the *Yugioh* anime evolved with different themes. Each theme was supported by different narrative development, game rules and characters. In order to keep up with the development of new narratives, *Yugioh* fans were required to learn new monster cards, new game rules and new strategies. Therefore, for those still remaining in the cultural practices of *Yugioh* or the newly joining members of such practices, their appropriation with *Yugioh* texts would, presumably, be different from that of their predecessors.

By acknowledging this, I did not intend this research to represent all British and American Chinese children given that the temporal and situational factors cannot be replicated. Additionally, given that this study was carried out qualitatively, 'generalisation', emphasised in quantitative research, was not a research focus. Although the research results cannot be applied to represent the entire population of British and American Chinese children, it demonstrated an in-depth research analysis of a social phenomenon of *Yugioh*, significant to both the British and American research participants.

8.3 Contributions and Implications of this Research

This cross-cultural research has illuminated the sociocultural practices embedded in the everyday life of a sample of British Chinese and American Chinese children. Bilingual children, their sociocultural capital, personal character, family structure, Chinese ethnicity,

situational context, identity, literacy learning process, childhood development, and multimodal texts are all interwoven, and constitute the intricacy of sociocultural practices pertaining to *Yugioh*. Additionally, like the life cycle of a product, the children's *Yugioh* cultural practices follow a similar pattern of introduction, growth, maturity and decline. Each phase of the cultural practice can be used as a point of reference for the children's childhood and literacy development. This finding is significant to the literature, as many literacy researchers such as Marsh (2003a, b; 2005) and Gee (2006) are still trying to explore the characteristics of literacy practices in out-of-school contexts. Thus, this research can be used as a reference for future research which aims to evaluate literacy development in out-of-school contexts. Additionally, this thesis has shown that the implications of popular culture texts are significant to the children's socialisation, identity, literacy and childhood development. For this reason, both educational practitioners and parents are advised to take a constructive attitude towards popular culture texts and to assist children to develop the necessary literacy skills and cognitive ability to function successfully in their journey towards socialisation.

It is hoped that this interdisciplinary and cross-cultural research can also generate some discussions in the discipline of literacy pedagogy and educational research, and motivate more scholars to look into the implications of popular culture texts, not limited to bilingual contexts and cross-cultural contexts, within school settings. The findings of this research indicate that the practices of the children's meaning-making are multiple, life-cycled and mediated by the situational context in which they are embedded. In this sense, situational context is significant to children's literacy practices and a way of conceptualising the world around them. To carry this argument further, future research in the field of New Literacy Studies should employ different research paradigms so that more aspects of meaning-making practices and skills can be explored and developed.

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Appendix A

The Breakdown of Grounded Theory Implementation

			Ethnographic Observation					
Theoretical Sampling	Conceptualization	Emerging concepts						
Ethnographic Observation	To obtain a general sense of how both the British and the American Chinese children practise their culture in the domain of community Chinese school	1. Pokemon, Beyblade and Yugioh 2. Intergration of popular media texts in their social discourse 3. Discrepancy between the boys and the girls in terms of cultural practices and space used 4. Limited understanding of how the children draw on their socio-cultural capital obtained in domestic context 5. Literacy and mathematics skills	Theoretical Sampling	Conceptualization	Emerging concepts			
			Survey: Ten favourite television programmes	To reconcile the difference between the observed cultural artefacts and the children's favourite TV programmes	1. Yugioh 2. The boys orient towards watching Japanese animations 3. The American Chinese children's TV diet is more diverse 4. Emergence of Chinese TV series in the children's TV diet			
			New Literacy Studies	1. To perceive Yugioh discursive practices as literacy practices and investigate its relevant implications 2. To account for children's learning of literacy and mathematics skills	1. Context of learning 2. Motivations [purposes] for Yugioh discursive practices 3. Symbolic meanings [and textual meanings] of Yugioh cultural practices 4. Sets of literacy skills developed in relation to different but inter-related Yugioh cultural practices			
			Media diary	1. Domestic context of appropriating popular media texts 2. To compare against parents' account of domestic media consumption	1. The children of Cantonese families also watch Chinese TV series 2. Different appropriation of popular media texts in private domestic domain 3. Access to popular media texts 4. Yugioh fans' appropriation of different multimodal Yugioh texts 5. Chinese Literacy			
			Focus group interview with children:	1. To explore why the children (boys	1. Contour of the monsters and masculine	Theoretical Sampling	Conceptualization	Emerging concepts

Appendix A

			Interview schedule of Yugioh	in particular) like to play Yugioh card games 2. Identification with Yugioh characters 3. Exploration of Yugioh texts on different modalities	<p>performance</p> <p>2. Collection of numerous cards</p> <p>3.Variety of Yugioh activities in school, community and home</p> <p>4.Issue of Fashion and development</p> <p>5.Contrast between Yugioh and Pokemon</p> <p>6.Different card decks (for duelling, collection and swapping)</p> <p>7.Real vs. fake cards</p> <p>8.Access to Yugioh multimodal texts</p> <p>9. Different appropriation of Yugioh texts between school and home</p> <p>10. Contrasting practices between British vs. American, boys vs. girls, older children vs. younger children, etc.</p> <p>11.British Chinese boys assume more web-based Yugioh knowledge</p> <p>12. Yugioh accessories</p> <p>13 Purposes of Yugioh cultural activities</p>	Survey: The children's collection of popular cultural artefacts	To investigate the children's cultural-historical knowledge of popular cultural artefacts [serving the knowledge base (cultural capital) of the children's popular media texts] The parents' support/intervention of collection of popular cultural artefacts	<p>1.The distinction between the boys and the girls' collections of popular cultural artefacts</p> <p>2.The distinction between middle and working class families</p> <p>3. The difference between the British and the American children</p>
		<p>1.Community Chinese school by language stream (Cantonese and Mandarin)</p> <p>2.School history, culture, context and physical environment,</p> <p>3.Teaching qualification</p> <p>4.Presence of the parents throughout the course of Chinese lessons</p> <p>5.Trouble with Chinese learning and children's negative feeling towards Chinese school</p>	Theoretical Sampling	Conceptualization	Emerging concepts			
			Individual interview with parents:	<p>1. To explore why the parents choose one community Chinese school over another</p> <p>2. Reasons of sending their children to Chinese school</p> <p>3. Interaction with community members [Social Capital]</p>	<p>1.Language issues—Mandarin and Cantonese</p> <p>2.Skin Issues</p> <p>3.Word of mouth and referral – way of recruiting pupils by Chinese schools</p> <p>4. Culture Conflicts between British/American and Chinese</p> <p>5.Reinforcement and maintenance of Chinese ethnicity</p> <p>6.Better future for the children</p> <p>7.Children learning the same skills</p>			
			Focus group interview with children: 1. Interview schedule [practices of Chinese cultural in out of school context and Chinese literacy learning]	<p>1. Reasons of attending Chinese school</p> <p>2. Feelings and interpretations towards Chinese school and literacy</p>	<p>1.Chinese ethnicity</p> <p>2.Dual Identities British/American and Chinese</p> <p>3.Contrast between learning in state school and Chinese school</p> <p>4.Utilities of Chinese literacy for children's future</p>			
1.Survey of domestic	1.To explore domestic	Chinese language satellite TV		Theoretical Sampling	Conceptualization	Emerging concepts		

Appendix A

<p>media consumption</p>	<p>context of media consumption in ethnic Chinese families</p> <p>2.To explore social and cultural capital that the British and the American Chinese children have developed in domestic context</p> <p>3 To explore the extent of bilingual and bi-cultural practices</p>	<p>Average number of children per household : 2 children aged from 6 to 12</p> <p>Duration of residence is correlated with country of origin (suggesting family structure is related to immigration history)</p> <p>Implications for the use of Chinese language media, use of Chinese language and community Chinese school</p>	<p>Individual Interview:</p> <p>Interview schedules with both the British and the American Chinese families</p>	<p>1.To explore the history of immigration</p> <p>2.Implications of Chinese language satellite TV, home language practice, and community Chinese school within familial context</p>	<p>1.Poor childhood in the UK and in the USA</p> <p>2.Chinese restaurant</p> <p>3.Occupations</p> <p>4.Social economic class</p> <p>5.Discrepancy between Cantonese and Mandarin Chinese families in terms of media use, school chosen and family structure</p> <p>6.Immigration history</p> <p>7.Maintenance of Chinese ethnicity</p> <p>8.Trip to hometown</p> <p>9.Parents’ attitude towards popular media texts</p>
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Appendix B

Research Documents and Surveys

Introduction

Lin, Fang-Chi (Tiffany)
 Postgraduate research student
 School of Education
 University of Nottingham
 Telephone: 07734440362
 E-mail: texfcl1@nottingham.ac.uk
 Date: 22/2/04

Dear Mr./Mrs. _____

Research on media and popular culture

I am a postgraduate research student in the School of Education at the University of Nottingham, and am conducting my doctoral research on the media and popular culture consumption of American Chinese children. I am particularly interested in including aged 7 to 12 American Chinese children as well as their parents in this study and would therefore like to arrange to interview you and your child.

I will be conducting two group interview sessions with the children in the sample and plan to videotape these to aid data analysis. The interviews will take place in Chinese school and each session will last about an hour. The objective is for me to be able to explore American Chinese children's interpretation of cartoons on TV, their domestic context of TV viewing and media and popular culture consumption and their families' attitudes towards popular culture.

I will interview parents individually, in a single session of about half an hour, which will be recorded on audiotape.

I would like to stress that the participants in the research will remain anonymous. Any recordings made will be used solely for data analysis for my own research project, and any transcripts made will be anonymised. No presentation of recorded information will be made without your written consent.

Refreshments will be provided during the interviews and a small gift will be presented to research participants in recognition of their support of this research project.

I do hope you will give agreement to participate in this study, and would be happy to have you telephone or email me to discuss the matter further. My contact number is 07734440362 and email address is texfcl1@nottingham.ac.uk.

Yours sincerely,

 Lin, Fang-Chi

Research Consent Form

[Participant's Name/Title]

During the course of the above research project it will be necessary to collect data of various types. The study will focus on how American Chinese children aged 7 to 12 interpret the meaning of cartoons and will explore their consumption of media and popular culture. Some of the issues of concern are American Chinese children's media use and preference, the extent to which they assume ideology through the consumption of media and popular culture products, and their family context of TV viewing. With respect to the family context of TV viewing, parents are invited to participate in the individual interview to comment on the general context of TV viewing and their attitudes towards of popular culture and Chinese literacy development.

The researcher will share the data collected with you for your approval before final inclusion in any publication. All information will be kept confidential and participants referred to in transcribed data will be anonymous.

Please indicate your consent to involvement in the research by deleting as appropriate below to show the forms in which we may collect data from your child to assist in the completion of this study:

Audio tape	YES/NO
Video tape	YES/NO
In class interview	YES/NO
Out of class interviews	YES/NO

Name of child _____ Class _____

Are you willing to be interviewed about your child's media consumption? YES/NO

Parent/carer's Signature _____ Date _____

Contact details:

Lin, Fang-Chi (Tiffany)

Postgraduate Research Student

School of Education

University of Nottingham

Wollaton Road

Nottingham NG8 1BB

Telephone: 07734440362

E-mail: texfcl1@nottingham.ac.uk

Thank you

Additional Information of Survey Implementation

Family media survey was central to the knowledge of socio-cultural context that British Chinese and American Chinese children were immersed in. It was conducted in summer 2003 in the UK and fall 2003 in the USA. In the UK, apart from the two schools studied, approximately five hundred copies of the survey were posted to the Chinese schools, chosen randomly based on the directory of Chinese schools listed on the internet in the UK and which agreed to take part in this survey. This large scale of survey with British Chinese families in the UK was to reflect the lack of literature of media consumption and media use pattern of British Chinese families. Additionally, the scale of survey took into account of the general low survey response rate. In the USA, the survey was conducted with three local community Chinese schools and implemented by my American co-researcher. The number of survey distributed was based on the number of immigrant families, estimated by the head of the schools. The difference in surveying method was based on the geographical location in each country and the available resources at the disposal by the researcher. The response rate for mail-in survey in the UK was 13.6% (68/500) for the British Chinese participants.



The University of
Nottingham

Family Media Use Survey

This survey is designed to support my academic research, at the University of Nottingham, into British Chinese children’s media literacy. It aims to examine what media technology is used in British Chinese households and what purpose this serves in the family. Your participation in this survey will help educational practitioners to incorporate awareness of British Chinese family contexts of media use into the media studies and English [language arts instead of English for USA] curricula.

If you encounter any difficulties in filling out this questionnaire, please contact me. Thank you for your support of this research.

Researcher: Lin, Fang-Chi (Tiffany)

Tel: 07734440362; Email:texfcl1@nottingham.ac.uk

About you and your family (Please tick the relevant boxes)

Gender: Male Female
 Age: 21 to 30 31 to 40 41 to 50 51 or over
 Your partner’s age: 21 to 30 31 to 40 41 to 50 51 or over

Your highest level of education: High School College University Postgraduate

Your partner’s highest level of education: High School College University Postgraduate

Where is your family originally from? China Hong Kong Taiwan Other (Please specify) _____

Where is your partner’s family originally from? China Hong Kong Taiwan Other (Please specify) _____

Number of years of living in the U.K: _____

Your occupation: _____ Your partner’s occupation: _____

Do you have children aged between 5 to 12? Please write each boy’s/girl’s age in a separate box.

	Ages of children					
Boys						
Girls						

What languages are used between you and your children? (Tick all that apply)

Mandarin Cantonese Taiwanese English Other _____

Why do you send your children to Chinese School? (Tick all that apply)

To be Chinese literate To maintain Chinese identity To have better opportunities in the future Other (please specify)

About your family's media use

1. Do you have any of the following media technology at home? Please tick the relevant items.

Network Channels Sky TV Cable TV VCR/VCD/DVD player Internet

If you did not tick Sky and Cable, please skip question 2 and go straight to question 3.

2. If you subscribe Sky/Cable TV, please state your reason(s)?

Now go to question 4.

3. Why don't you subscribe to Sky/Cable TV?

4. Do you subscribe to, or regularly buy, any Chinese newspaper(s) including free newspaper(s)?

Yes No

If no, go straight to question 5.

If yes, please specify the name(s) of the newspaper(s)

What sections of newspaper are you particularly interested in?

Please rank them in order, 5 as the most favourable to 1 as least favourable:

____ News ____ Sports ____ Entertainment ____ Advertisement ____ Business ____ Other (please state) _____

5. Do you read Chinese news on the Internet?

Yes No

If no, go straight to question 6.

If yes, please specify the website(s) you visit

What kinds of news items are you particularly interested in?

Please rank them in order: 5 as the most favourable, 1 as least favourable:

____ News ____ Sports ____ Entertainment ____ Advertisement ____ Business ____ Other (please state) _____

6. How often do you (or your family) rent VHS, VCD or DVD of Chinese shows?

Tick one that best suit your history of Chinese rentals and specify what types of shows they are:

1 to 2 times a week 3 to 5 times a week 3 to 5 times every two weeks

3 to 5 times every month never rent any of the Chinese shows

What types of shows do you rent (if you do)?

7. Please give the name of the most recent show you watched on television:

Thank you for completing this questionnaire.



(Family Media Use Chinese Version)

家庭媒體使用調查

家庭媒體使用調查

這份問卷是用來協助我在諾丁漢大學的華裔英籍雙語小孩媒體知識的學術研究。此份問卷最主要的目的是了解媒體科技在華裔英籍的家庭裡是如何的被使用，以及它們在這些家庭裡扮演什麼樣的功能。您對此問卷的參與，將幫助教育學者把華裔英籍家庭在使用媒體的情況融入媒體研讀及英語語言的課程裡。倘若您對此問卷有任何的疑問，麻煩請用以下的聯絡方式來聯絡我。

感謝您對此學術研究的支持。

學術研究者：林芳琪

電話：07734440362; Email: texfcl1@nottingham.ac.uk

關於您以及您的家庭 (請勾選 適當的選項)

- 性別： 男性 女性
- 年紀： 21 至 30 歲 31 至 40 歲 41 至 50 歲 51 或以上
- 您配偶的年紀： 21 至 30 歲 31 至 40 歲 41 至 50 歲 51 或以上
- 您的最高學歷： 高中 專科 大學 研究所
- 您配偶的最高學歷： 高中 專科 大學 研究所

您最初是來自哪裡： 中國 香港 台灣 其他 (請指明) _____

您配偶最初是來自哪裡： 中國 香港 台灣 其他 (請指明) _____

在英國居住的年數： _____

您的職業： _____ 您配偶的職業： _____

您有孩子介於五至十二歲的嗎？請分別列示男孩以及女孩的年紀在不同的表格裡。

	孩子的年紀					
男孩						
女孩						

您以及您的孩子都用什麼語言溝通？ (可複選 請勾選適用的項目)

- 國語 廣東話 閩南語 英語 其他 (請指) _____

為何您送您的小孩上中文學校？可複選 請勾選適用的項目)

- 能閱讀及書寫中文 維持中華民族的認同 有更好的未來 其他 (請指明)

關於您家庭的媒體使用程度

1. 您的家庭裡有以下的媒體科技嗎？（可複選 請勾選適用的項目）

無線頻道 衛星電視 有線頻道 VCR/VCD/DVD 機 網際網路

假如您沒有勾選衛星電視或是有線頻道, 請略過問題 2, 直接作答問題 3

2. 假如您有定購衛星電視 / 有線電視, 請說明您的原因。

請直接作答問題 4

3. 您為何不訂購衛星電視 / 有線頻道？

4. 您有定購或定期的購買（索取）任何的中文報紙（包括免費的報紙）？

有 沒有

如果沒有, 請直接作答問題 5

如果有的話, 請指明報紙的名稱。

您感興趣的報紙版面為何？

請依照您喜愛的版面程度來排列以下的項目。用 5 表示最喜愛的版面, 4 · 3 · 2 · 1 以此類推, 而 1 為最不喜愛的版面。

_____ 新聞 _____ 體育 _____ 娛樂 _____ 廣告 _____ 商業 _____ 其他 (請指明) _____

5. 您有在網路上閱讀中文新聞嗎？

有 沒有

如果沒有, 請直接作答問題 6

如果有的話, 請指出網址。_____

您感興趣的新聞為何？

請依照您喜愛的版面程度來排列以下的項目。用 5 表示最喜愛的版面, 4 · 3 · 2 · 1 以此類推, 而 1 為最不喜愛的版面。

_____ 新聞 _____ 體育 _____ 娛樂 _____ 廣告 _____ 商業 _____ 其他 (請指明) _____

6. 您或您的家庭多常租借中文節目的錄影帶, VCD 或 DVD？

請勾選最適合您家庭的中文節目租借狀況, 以及請指出他們是屬於哪一類型的節目。

一星期 1 至 2 次

一星期 3 至 5 次

每兩星期 3 至 5 次

每個月 3 至 5 次

從未租借任何的中文影帶

所租借的中文影帶為哪一類型的節目？（如果您有租借的話）_____

7. 請寫出您最近在電視上所看的節目名稱為何？

感謝您填寫此問卷

Additional Information of Interview Implementation

Interview was the last phase of this research design. It was conducted with the British Chinese participants in late February 2004 to early May 2004 and with American Chinese participants from middle May 2004 to late June. This consecutive interview arrangement was to narrow down the gap of time delay, which may yield different results. Additionally, as popular culture was constantly changing, it suggested that a popular culture artefact of today might become an out-of-dated object tomorrow.

Interview was further divided into the interview with ethnic Chinese parents individually and the focus interview with ethnic Chinese children. This arrangement was to reflect that the property of the children's discursive cultural practices. The social discourse group was often composed by the classmate-ship, friendship and kinship. The companionship was the primary criterion to organize a focus group interview.

Each group was composed by two to three children and each interview lasted for thirty minutes to an hour, depending on the time allowance. The interview time had to accommodate to children's availability, depending on their family and the school agenda of the day. It may appear that the size of focus group for this research was fairly small compared to an average size of focus group. One thing needed to be bear in mind was that children under study often formed in a group of two or three when engaging in their social discourse of popular culture texts. In addition, their social discourse was subject to the short break so that the activity they engaged had to be fairly easy and could only involve a few people.

There were two sets of interview schedule for children. One was to examine their meaning-making with Yugioh texts and the other was for their experience of media consumption in domestic context and their views on Chinese literacy education. Therefore, each group was informed a week in advance and the likely themes would be discussed in the focus group interview. Regarding the audio-visual equipment used for recording the focus group interview, digital camcorder was used to capture the vivid body language that children often expressed in their social discourse. In addition, as culture artefacts often used in their social-discourse, an audio-visual recording device became necessary to scrutinize how children incorporated culture artefacts in their social discourse and made sense of them.

As with respect to individual interview with parent, it was aimed to explore domestic media consumption of each ethnic Chinese family, their ethnic affiliation and their perspective of their children's media consumption and Chinese literacy learning. Parents' account of their children's media consumption and Chinese literacy education could inject a different perspective from children's and increased the breath of data. Parent's interview lasted for an hour and was open to their spouse and other family members to join in. This arrangement was to encourage active participation of parents and to consider the baby-sitting of their child may make some to excuse them from participating in the interview. Unlike children, audio equipment was used in parent's interview.

Interview Schedule with Parents

1. Why do you subscribe to cable or satellite TV?
 - How long have you been a subscriber?
2. What programmes do you like to watch on TV?
 - On what channels?
3. What time do you usually watch TV?
 - With who and where?
4. What other media besides TV do you use?
 - Why do you use it (them)?
5. What programmes do your children like to watch?
 - What do you think about the programme they watch?
 - What programmes do you want them to watch?
6. Under what circumstances will you buy media related products for your children?
 - How do you know where to buy?
7. What are your reasons of sending your children to Chinese school?

Interview Schedule with Children (Domestic Media Practices and Reasons for Chinese School)

1. What do you think that you have cable or satellite TV at home?
-Why do you have it?
2. What kinds of programmes do you like to watch on TV?
-And how do you like it?
3. What do you like to watch on Chinese channels?
-And how do you like it?
4. Who do you usually watch television with?
-And where do you watch it?
5. Besides watching television, what else do you do for fun at home?
6. Suppose you are watching TV and you see something you like on TV,
-How will you react?
-Usually what are those something(s) you like?
7. How do you feel about going to Chinese school every week?
-And why is it important to you?

Interview Schedule with Children (*Yu-Gi-Oh*)

Interview schedules for *Yu-Gi-Oh*

1. How do you like to watch *Yu-Gi-Oh*?
2. How often do you watch *Yu-Gi-Oh* and on what channels?
3. Who do you like the most in *Yu-Gi-Oh*?
 - And what makes you like him/her?
4. Who do you dislike the most in *Yu-Gi-Oh*?
 - And what makes you dislike him/her?
5. Who are you like in *Yu-Gi-Oh*?
 - In what ways?
6. How many *Yu-Gi-Oh* toys, accessories or games you have
 - And what are you doing with the *Yu-Gi-Oh* items?
 - How important is it to you to have the *Yu-Gi-Oh* items?

Survey for Ten Favourite TV Programmes

Please list the name of ten of your favourite TV programmes

1. _____
2. _____
3. _____
4. _____
5. _____
6. _____
7. _____
8. _____
9. _____
10. _____

Gender: Boy Girl

Sky TV: Yes No

Age: _____

Additional Information of Survey Implementation

This survey listed all the latest children's toys and games within the age group under study. The survey design took into account of the popular games and toys advertised on the website of Amazon, Yahoo, Nintendo and Argos until January 2004. In addition, it also took in consideration of the participants' age, gender and reading ability. It was then pilot tested in February, 2004 in the UK and USA. The aim of the pilot testing of this survey was to find out if there was any discrepancy between children's collection of popular culture products and the popular toys advertised on the website. In addition, it aimed to find out if the same set of survey could be applied with American Chinese children.

My Collection of Popular Culture Products

Name:

Gender: Boy Girl

Age:

Instruction

I would like you to tell me which popular culture product you have. Popular culture products are toys, games, movies, music and books about characters in TV programmes. In this survey, I would like you to put an 'X' for each of the product you have. To put an 'X' in the appropriate box on the grid is easy. All you need to do is to look at the list of the characters in the first column. For example, I have several **Harry Potter** storybooks. First of all, I will find **Harry Potter** in the first column and look across the row headed **Story Books**. I will put an 'X' in the box where **Harry Potter** row and the **Story Books** column cross.

See the illustration below

	Toys				Video Games & PC Games						Movies & Music		Books			Miscellaneous							
Characters	Action Figures and Dolls	Beyblades	Playsets & Board Games	Soft Toys	Trading Cards	Consoles	Gameboy Color & GB Advance	Gamecube	Playstation One	Playstation Two	X Box	PC	CD and Cassettes	VCD/DVD	VHS	Comics	Magazines and Catalogues	Story Books	Accessories	Clothings and beddings	Stationery	Others	
Action Man																							
Barbie																							
⋮																							
Grand Theft Auto Vice-City																							
Harry Potter																		X					
Hello Kitty																							

I bet you must have loads of other items as well. Why don't you take a few minutes to fill up the grid with your pencil and show me what you have. Have Fun!

	Toys				Video Games & PC Games						Movies & Music		Books			Miscellaneous							
	Action Figures and Dolls	Beyblades	Playsets & Board Games	Soft Toys	Trading Cards	Consoles	Gameboy Color & GB Advance	Gamecube	Playstation One	Playstation Two	X Box	PC	CD and Cassettes	VCD/DVD	VHS	Comics	Magazines and Catalogues	Story Books	Accessories	Clothings and beddings	Stationery	Others	
Characters																							
Action Man																							
Barbie																							
Beanie Toy																							
Bionicles																							
Buffy the Vampire Slayer																							
BeyBlade																							
Cat in the Hat																							
Colin McRae																							
Crash Bandicoot																							
Disney																							
Dragon Ball (Z)																							
Final Fantasy																							
Finding the Nemo																							
G. I. Joe																							
Grand Theft Auto Vice-City																							
Harry Potter																							
Hello Kitty																							
Hulk																							
James Bond																							
Jax and Dexter																							
Jackie Chan's Adventures																							

Characters	Toys					Video Games & PC Games					Movies & Music		Books			Miscellaneous								
	Action Figures and Dolls	Beyblades	Playsets & Board Games	Soft Toys	Trading Cards	Consoles	Gameboy Color & GB Advance	Gamecube	Playstation One	Playstation Two	X Box	PC	CD and Cassettes	VCD/DVD	VHS	Comics	Magazines and Catalogues	Story Books	Accessories	Clothings and beddings	Stationary	Others		
Lilo & Stitch																								
Lion King																								
Lord of the Rings																								
Mario																								
Marvel HeroClix																								
Matrix																								
Medal of Honor																								
Metriod																								
Miffy																								
Pokemon																								
Power Puff Girls																								
Power Rangers																								
Reader Rabbit																								
Robot Wars																								
Rugrats																								
Seaworld																								
Scooby Doo																								
Simpsons																								
Snoopy																								
Socom																								

Characters	Toys					Video Games & PC Games					Movies & Music		Books			Miscellaneous							
	Action Figures and Dolls	Beyblades	Playsets & Board Games	Soft Toys	Trading Cards	Consoles	Gameboy Color & GB Advance	Gamecube	Playstation One	Playstation Two	X Box	PC	CD and Cassettes	VCD/DVD	VHS	Comics	Magazines and Catalogues	Story Books	Accessories	Clothing and beddings	Stationery	Others	
Sonic																							
South Park																							
Spiderman																							
Splinter Cell																							
Sponge Bob SquarePants																							
Spyro																							
Star Wars																							
Teenage Mutant Ninja Turtles																							
Teletubbies																							
Terminator																							
The Lord of the Rings																							
The Sims																							
Thunderbirds																							
Tomb Raider																							
Tony Hawkes																							
Toy Story																							
Transformers																							
Winnie the Pooh																							
X-Men																							
Yu-Gi-Oh																							
Others																							

Appendix C

Survey Findings

Correlation Table

Domestic Context of Media Consumption (American Chinese Families)

	Education status	Cable TV	VCR/VCD/DVD player	Read Chinese news on the Internet
Respondent's age	.475(**)		.340(*)	
Education status				
Number of children		-.352(*)		-.339(*)
Network channels	-.509(**)		-.318(*)	
Cable TV				.728(**)
Internet	.350(*)			
Subscribe to or buy Chinese Newspaper	-.353(*)	.629(**)		.883(**)

** Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

* Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed).

Domestic Context of Media Consumption (British Chinese Families)

	Education status	Ethnic origin	Satellite TV	Internet	Read Chinese news on the Internet	# of years in the U.K.
Respondent's age		.204(*)				.229(*)
Education status					-.249(*)	-.254(*)
Ethnic origin	-.568(**)				.231(*)	.347(**)
Occupation	.362(**)					
Number of children	-.256(*)	.285(**)			.286(**)	.289(**)
Cable TV				.261(**)		
VCR/VCD/DVD player	.252(*)			.288(**)		
Subscribe to or buy Chinese Newspaper				-.223(*)		
Read Chinese news on the Internet			-.225(*)			.356(**)

* Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed).

** Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

(1) Survey Result of Ten Favourite Television Programs (British Chinese children)

ID	Gender	Age	1st Cartoon	2nd Cartoon	3rd Cartoon
4	Boy	11	Monkey Magic	Sports	Burning of Flame
14	Boy	11	Monkey Magic	The Simpsons	Matrix
30	Boy	10	Monkey Magic	Tracy Beaker	Burning of Flame
5	Boy	9	Monkey Magic	Yu-Gi-Oh	Burning of Flame
41	Boy	7	Pokemon	Kimdel	Teenage Mutant Ninja Turtles
40	Boy	10	The Simpsons	BBC 24 News	Harry Potter
31	Boy	12	The Simpsons	Futurama	Malcolm in the Middle
11	Boy	11	The Simpsons	Jackie Chan's Adventure	Up on the Roof
39	Boy	9	The Simpsons	Star Wars	CBBC
38	Boy	11	The Simpsons	The Matrix	Robot Wars
34	Boy	11	The Simpsons	Up on the Roof	Terminator (1,2,3)
29	Boy	8	The Simpsons	Yu-Gi-Oh	Dragon Ball Z
2	Boy	11	The Simpsons	Yu-Gi-Oh	Ed Edd Eddy
28	Boy	10	Yu-Gi-Oh	Ed Edd Eddy	Dragon Ball Z
3	Boy	9	Yu-Gi-Oh	The Simpsons	SM: TV Gold
1	Boy	9	Yu-Gi-Oh	The Simpsons	Teen Titans
19	Girl	10	Art Attack	Finger Tips	The Simpsons
17	Girl	8	Basil Brush	Sea Biscuit	Blue Peter
36	Girl	7	Blue Clues	Fablab	Telly Tubbies
21	Girl	9	Blue Peter	Basil Brush	Sea Biscuit
25	Girl	11	Charmed	The Simpsons	Buffy the Vampire Slayer
32	Girl	10	CITV	CBBC	Friends
23	Girl	10	CITV: Fred Flintstone	Tracy Beaker	Who Wants to be a Millionaire
33	Girl	10	CITV-Girls in Love	CITV- My Parents are Aliens	The Simpsons
18	Girl	.	Eastenders	Finding Nemo	Stitch Up
37	Girl	6	Jack and the Beesdoc	Top of the Pops	The Simpsons
8	Girl	9	MilkShake	CBBC	The Simpsons
10	Girl	12	Monkey Magic	The Simpsons	Lilo & Stitch
9	Girl	9	Monkey Magic	Yu-Gi-Oh	The Simpsons
6	Girl	12	MTV	Celebrity Cribbs (MTV channel)	Celebrities Making the Video
20	Girl	8	Sponge Bob	Fairy Odd Parents	The Simpsons
7	Girl	12	The Bill	Zhi Uan Cin Gin Gie	Chun Cin Gi
12	Girl	11	The Simpsons	Ace Lighting	Charmed
13	Girl	10	The Simpsons	Eastenders	Who Wants to be a Millionaire

24	Girl	11	The Simpsons	Malcolm in the Middle	Dick and Dom In da Bungalow
22	Girl	9	The Simpsons	Mickey Mouse (Drawing theme)	Who Wants to be a Millionaire
27	Girl	10	The Simpsons	Tracy Beaker	24 Street
35	Girl	11	The Weakest Link	Monkey Magic	Harry Potter
16	Girl	10	Tracy Beaker	Blue Peter	Finding Nemo

(2) Survey Result of Ten Favourite Television Programs (American Chinese Children)

ID	Gender	Age	1st Cartoon	2nd Cartoon	Third Cartoon
40	Boy	12	Blue Gender	Rurouni Kenshin	Fooly Cooly
3	Boy	10	Dragon Ball	Dragon Ball Z	Hack II Sign
11	Boy	12	Dragon Ball	Dragon Ball Z	Hack II Sign
36	Boy	11	Dragon Ball Z	Blue Gender	Warcraft DVD
17	Boy	10	Dragon Ball Z	Dragon Ball	Bragon Ball GT
14	Boy	11	Dragon Ball Z	Dragon Ball	Yu-Gi-Oh
12	Boy	12	Dragon Ball Z	Yu-Gi-Oh	Jackie Chan Adventures
20	Boy	9	Jackie Chan Adventures	Static Shock	Teen Titans
33	Boy	9	Pokemon	Yu-Gi-Oh	Jackie Chan Adventures
24	Boy	7	RugRats	Pokemon	na
23	Boy	8	RugRats	Pokemon the Movie	Pokemon 2
16	Boy	7	RugRats	Yu-Gi-Oh	Pokemon
34	Boy	9	Sonic	Dragon Ball Z	Statick Shock
21	Boy	10	Super Mario	Stng Crab	Star wars
28	Boy	8	Super Smash Bros.	Rugrats	Brother Bear
1	Boy	10	The Simpsons	Yu-Gi-Oh	Sahman King
9	Boy	11	Yu-Gi-Oh	Fruits Basket	Teen Titans
29	Boy	9	Yu-Gi-Oh	Pokemon	The Simpsons
39	Boy	10	Yu-Gi-Oh	Pokemon	Pokemon Joto
30	Boy	10	Yu-Gi-Oh	Pokemon	The Simpsons
18	Boy	12	Yu-Gi-Oh	Pokemon	Sonic X
6	Boy	12	Yu-Gi-Oh	Sahman King	Jackie Chan Adventures
2	Boy	11	Yu-Gi-Oh	The Simpsons	Teen Titans
15	Boy	7	Zoom	Xbox	Finding Nemo
27	Girl	7	Ed, Edd and Eddy	Power Puff Girls	Real Rice Cake
26	Girl	8	Ed, Edd and Eddy	Totally Spies	Teen Titans
41	Girl	12	Fear Factor	Monkey Magic	Sailor Moon (A Japanese Movie)
35	Girl	8	Fear Factor	Pokemon	Lizzie Mcquire
4	Girl	11	Finding Nemo	Bruce Almighty	Futurama
10	Girl	7	Finding Nemo	Teenage Ninja Turtles	Family Man
5	Girl	12	Finding Nemo	Teenage Ninja Turtles	Pokemon
42	Girl	.	Honey	Monkey Magic	Mulan
22	Girl	10	It takes Two	Finding Nemo	Shrek
8	Girl	12	Jackie Chan Adventures	St. Tail	Sprited Away
38	Girl	12	Piratos of the Carridoan	What A Girl Wants	The Challenge

43	Girl	10	Pixel Perfect	Full House	Cadet Kelly
44	Girl	.	Sailor Moon	Master Q	Everyone loves Raymond
7	Girl	7	Teenage Ninija Turtles	CSI	CIS: Miami
13	Girl	11	Teenage Ninija Turtles	Finding Nemo	Digimon Frontier
45	Girl	12	The Simpsons	Seinfeld	Jackie Chan Adventures
32	Girl	12	The Simpsons	The Simpsons	The Simpsons
31	Girl	12	The Simpsons	Yu-Gi-Oh	Shaman King
25	Girl	8	Totally Spies	Teen Titans	Sailor Moon
19	Girl	7	Twentities Show	na	na

(3) Lisa and Jenny's Collections of Popular Culture Artefacts

(A) By Lisa

Page 1

	Toys				Video Games & PC Games				Movies & Music		Books		Miscellaneous									
	Kitnet Figures and Dolls	Barbie/Dolls	Playsets & Board Games	Soft Toys	Trading Cards	Consoles	Computer Color & 3D Advance	Comics	Playstation One	X Box	PC	CD and Cassettes	VCD/DVD	MP3	Comics	Magazines and Catalogues	Story Books	Accessories	Crafting and Sewing	Stationery	Others	
Characters																						
Action Man																						
Barbie																						
Beanie Toy																						
Bionicles																						
Buffy the Vampire Slayer																						
BeYBlade																						
Cat in the Hat																						
Collin McRae																						
Crash Bandicoot																						
Disney																						
Dragon Ball (Z)																						
Final Fantasy																						
Finding the Nemo																						
G. I. Joe																						
Grand Theft Auto Vice-City																						
Harry Potter		X																				
Hello Kitty	X		X																		X	X
Hulk																						
James Bond																						
Jax and Dexter																						
Jackie Chan's Adventures																						
Lilo & Stitch																						
Lion King																						
Lord of the Rings																						
Mario																						
Marvel HeroClix																						
Matrix																						
Medal of Honor																						
Metriod																						
Miffy																						
Pokemon																						
Power Puff Girls																						
Power Rangers																						
Reader Rabbit																						
Robot Wars																						
Rugrats																						
Seaworld																						
Scooby Doo																						
Simpsons																						
Snoopy																						
Socom																						
Sonic																						
South Park																						
Spiderman																						
Splinter Cell																						
Sponge Bob SquarePants	X																					X
Spyro																						
Star Wars																						
Teenage Mutant Ninja Turtles																						
Teletubbies																						
Terminator																						
The Lord of the Rings																						
The Sims																						
Thunderbirds																						
Tomb Raider																						
Tony Hawkes																						
Toy Story																						
Transformers																						
Winnie the Pooh																						
X-Men																						
Yu-Gi-Oh																						
Others																						

(B) by Jenny

Page 1

	Toys				Video Games & PC Games				Movies & Music		Books		Miscellaneous									
	Action Figures and Dolls	Beach Balls	Playsets & Board Games	Soft Toys	Trading Cards	Consoles	Gameplay Color & 3D Advances	Gamecube	Playstation One	Playstation Two	PC	CD and Cassettes	VCD/DVD	VHS	Comics	Magazines and Catalogues	Story Books	Accessories	Clothing and Bedding	Stationery	Others	
Characters																						
Action Man																						
Barbie																						
Beanie Toy																						
Bionicles																						
Buffy the Vampire Slayer																						
BayBlade																						
Cat in the Hat																						
Colin McRae																						
Crash Bandicoot																						
Disney																						
Dragon Ball (Z)																						
Final Fantasy																						
Finding the Nemo																						
G. I. Joe																						
Grand Theft Auto Vice-City																						
Harry Potter																						
Hello Kitty																						
Hulk																						
James Bond																						
Jax and Dexter																						
Jackie Chan's Adventures																						
Lilo & Stitch																						
Lion King																						
Lord of the Rings																						
Mario																						
Marvel HeroClix																						
Matrix																						
Medal of Honor																						
Metriod																						
Miffy																						
Pokemon																						
Power Puff Girls																						
Power Rangers																						
Reader Rabbit																						
Robot Wars																						
Rugrats																						
Seaworld																						
Scooby Doo																						
Simpsons																						
Snoopy																						
Socom																						
Sonic																						
South Park																						
Spiderman																						
Splinter Cell																						
Sponge Bob SquarePants																						
Spyro																						
Star Wars																						
Teenage Mutant Ninja Turtles																						
Teletubbies																						
Terminator																						
The Lord of the Rings																						
The Sims																						
Thunderbirds																						
Tomb Raider																						
Tony Hawkes																						
Toy Story																						
Transformers																						
Winnie the Pooh																						
X-Men																						
Yu-Gi-Oh																						
Others																						

Handwritten notes in the table:

- Under 'Cat in the Hat': X in 'Magazines and Catalogues' column.
- Under 'Crash Bandicoot': X in 'Gamecube' column.
- Under 'Finding the Nemo': X in 'Playstation One' and 'PC' columns.
- Under 'Harry Potter': X in 'Magazines and Catalogues' column.
- Under 'Hello Kitty': X in 'Soft Toys' column.
- Under 'Hello Kitty': X in 'Accessories' column.
- Under 'Hello Kitty': X in 'Clothing and Bedding' column.
- Under 'Hello Kitty': X in 'Stationery' column.
- Under 'Hello Kitty': X in 'Others' column.
- Under 'Hello Kitty': Handwritten note "Bed Sheets" next to the X in the 'Others' column.
- Under 'Lion King': X in 'VCD/DVD' column.
- Under 'Sponge Bob SquarePants': X in 'Soft Toys' column.

(4) Sally's Collection of Popular culture Artefacts

Page 1

Characters	Toys					Video Games & PC Games					Movies & Music		Books		Miscellaneous								
	Action Figures and Dolls	Playsets	Plurals & Board Games	Soft Toys	Trading Cards	Comics	Gameboy Color & GB Advance	Gamecube	Playstation One	Playstation Two	X-Box	PC	CD and Cassettes	VCD/DVD	VHS	Comics	Magazines and Catalogues	Story Books	Reference	Clothing and Accessories	Stationery	Others	
Action Men																							
Barbie																							
Beanie Toy			X																				
Bionicles																							
Buffy the Vampire Slayer																							
BayBlade																							
Cat in the Hat																							
Colin McRae																							
Crash Bandicoot																							
Disney																							
Dragon Ball (Z)																							
Final Fantasy																							
Finding the Nemo													X										
G. I. Joe																							
Grand Theft Auto Vice-City																							
Harry Potter																							
Hello Kitty			X																				
Hulk																							
James Bond																							
Jax and Dexter																							
Jackie Chan's Adventures													X										

Page 2

Characters	Toys					Video Games & PC Games					Movies & Music		Books		Miscellaneous								
	Action Figures and Dolls	Playsets	Plurals & Board Games	Soft Toys	Trading Cards	Comics	Gameboy Color & GB Advance	Gamecube	Playstation One	Playstation Two	X-Box	PC	CD and Cassettes	VCD/DVD	VHS	Comics	Magazines and Catalogues	Story Books	Reference	Clothing and Accessories	Stationery	Others	
Lilo & Stitch																							
Lion King																							
Lord of the Rings																							
Mario																							
Marvel HeroClix																							
Matrix																							
Medal of Honor																							
Metroid																							
Miffy																							
Pokemon					X		X																
Power Puff Girls																							
Power Rangers																							
Reader Rabbit																							
Robot Wars																							
Rugrats																							
Seaworld																							
Scooby Doo																							X questions
Simpsons																							
Snoopy																							
Scoom																							

Page 3

Characters	Toys					Video Games & PC Games					Movies & Music		Books		Miscellaneous								
	Action Figures and Dolls	Playsets	Plurals & Board Games	Soft Toys	Trading Cards	Comics	Gameboy Color & GB Advance	Gamecube	Playstation One	Playstation Two	X-Box	PC	CD and Cassettes	VCD/DVD	VHS	Comics	Magazines and Catalogues	Story Books	Reference	Clothing and Accessories	Stationery	Others	
Sonic																							
South Park																							
Spiderman																							
Splinter Cell																							
Sponge Bob SquarePants																							
Spyro																							
Star Wars																							
Teenage Mutant Ninja Turtles																							
Teletubbies																							
Terminator																							
The Lord of the Rings																							
The Sims																							
Thunderbirds																							
Tomb Raider																							
Tony Hawkes																							
Toy Story																							
Transformers																							
Winnie the Pooh																							
X-Men																							
Yu-Gi-Oh																							
Others																							

(5) UK, Danny's Collection of Cultural Artefacts, Age 11

Page 1

Characters	Toys				Video Games & PC Games				Movies & Music		Books		Miscellaneous						
	Action Figures and Dolls	Bricksets	Playsets & Board Games	Soft Toys	Trading Cards	Consoles	Gaming Cds & DVD	Playstation One	Playstation Two	PC	CD and Cassettes	MP3	Comics	Magazines and Catalogues	Story Books	Accessories	Gifts and Handings	Stationery	Others
Characters																			
Action Man																			
Barbie																			
Beanie Toy																			
Bionicles																			
Buffy the Vampire Slayer																			
BeysBlade																			
Cat in the Hat																			
Colin McRae																			
Crash Bandicoot																			
Disney			X																
Dragon Ball (Z)																			
Final Fantasy																			
Finding the Nemo																			
G. I. Joe																			
Grand Theft Auto Vice-City																			
Harry Potter		X	X						X		X				X				
Hello Kitty																			
Hulk																			
James Bond											X								
Jax and Dexter																			
Jackie Chan's Adventures											X								
Lilo & Stitch																			
Lion King			X																
Lord of the Rings									X		X				X				
Mario						X													
Marvel HeroClix																			
Matrix											X								
Medal of Honor																			
Metriod																			
Miffy																			
Pokemon			X		X														
Power Puff Girls																			
Power Rangers																			
Reader Rabbit																			
Robot Wars																			X
Rugrats																			
Seaworld																			
Scooby Doo																			
Simpsons			X		X		X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Snoopy																			
Socom																			
Sonic																			
South Park									X		X								
Spiderman																			
Spinter Cell																			
Sponge Bob SquarePants																			
Spyro												X							
Star Wars																			
Teenage Mutant Ninja Turtles																			
Telotubbies																			
Terminator																			
The Lord of the Rings									X		X				X				
The Sims									X										
Thunderbirds																			
Tomb Raider									X										
Tony Hawkes									X										
Toy Story																			
Transformers																			
Winnie the Pooh																			
X-Men																			
Yu-Gi-Oh			X	X	X														
Others		X							X		X					X			

(6) USA, Jeff's Collection of Popular Culture Artefacts, Aged 12

	Toys				Video Games & PC Games				Movies & Music		Books		Miscellaneous											
	Action Figures and Dolls	Knickknacks	Figurines & Board Games	Soft Toys	Trading Cards	Consoles	GBA Games	Gamecube Games	PS One Games	PS2 Games	X-Box Games	PC		CD and Cassette	KCDVD	VHS	Comics	Magazines and Calendars	Short Books	Academic	Cooking and Gardening	Magazines	Others	
Characters																								
Action Man																								
Barbie																								
Beanie Toy																								
Bionicles	X																							
Buffy the Vampire Slayer																								
BoyBleed		X																						
Cat in the Hat																								
Colin McRae																								
Crash Bandicoot																								
DHney												X												
Dragon Ball (Z)																								
Final Fantasy																								
Finding the Nemo																								
G. I. Joe																								
Grand Theft Auto Vice-City																								
Harry Potter																								
Hello Kitty																								
Hulk																								
James Bond																								
Jax and Dexter																								
Lilo & Stitch																								
Lion King																								
Lord of the Rings																								
Mario																								
Marvel HeroClix																								
Matrix																								
Medal of Honor																								
Metroid																								
Miffy																								
Pokemon				X								X												
Power Puff Girls																								
Power Rangers																								
Reader Rabbit																								
Robot Wars																								
Rugrats																								
Seaworld																								
Scooby Doo																								
Simpsons																								
Snoopy														X										
Socom																								
Sonic												X												
South Park																								
Spiderman																								
Splinter Cell																								
Sponge Bob SquarePants																								
Spyo																								
Star Wars																								
Teenage Mutant Ninja Turtles																								
Telstubbies																								
Terminator																								
The Lord of the Rings																								
The Sims																								
Thunderbirds																								
Tomb Raider																								
Tony Hawkes																								
Toy Story																								
Transformers																								
Winnie the Pooh																								
X-Men																								
Yu-Gi-Oh																								
Others																								

Appendix D

Interview Data
(See the attached CD)

Profile of the British Chinese Parents (Children) Interviewed

Parents	Occupation	Children Interviewed
Lucy	Nursing Professional	Ken (8)
Roy	Pharmaceutical Professional	Mike (9)
Frank	University Lecturer	Lucy (7)
Henry	Graphic Design Professional	Joann (6) and Beth (10)
Jason	Chinese Take-Away Owner	Steve (12), Anna (9) and James (6)
Maria	(Previous Chinese Take-Away Owner)	Ray (10)
Cynthia	(Previous Chinese Take-Away Owner)	Vivian (11)
Mandy	Chinese Take-Away Owner	Wendy (10)
Pete	Chinese Take-Away Owner	Peter (12)
Shawn	Chinese Take-Away Owner	Winnie (11) and Bryce (8)
Charlie	Chinese Take-Away Owner (and computer freelancer)	Sue (11)
Linda and Doug	Chinese Take-Away Owner	Alex (10)
Lillian	Chinese Restaurant	Cindy (8)
N/A	Chinese Take-Away	Tony (10)
N/A	Chinese Take-Away	Andy (9)
N/A	N/A	Christina (10)
N/A	Professional	Daniel (11)
N/A	Accountant	Zoe (7)

Profile of the American Chinese Parents (Children) Interviewed

Parents	Occupation	Children Interviewed
Mandy	Chinese Restaurant Owner	Gary (11)
Sally	Post Office Supervisor	N/A
Tim	Assembly Worker	Lina (12) and Brian (6, stepson)
Karen	Assembly Worker	Eric (12)
Larry	Chinese Restaurant Owner	Danny (7) and Eva (10)
Vanessa	Home-maker	Vickie (11)
Alan	Subcontractor	Lily (11) and Matt (6)
Megan	Pharmacist	Kevin (7)
Lee	Home-maker	N/A
Jessica	Piano Teacher	Vincent (9)
Samuel	Chinese Take-Away	Sandy (8) and Sam (10)
Louis	Chinese Teacher	N/A
N/A	Chinese Restaurant	Nancy (9)
N/A	Assembly Worker	Jeff (7) and Carol (9)
N/A	N/A	Lisa (12) and Jenny (12)
N/A	N/A	Tom (11) and Justin (12)