Author: Michelle Yu

Title: Cultural Upbringing of Multiracial (Hapa) Students: Nature Vs. Nurture

About the Author: I am a Junior in the LAS college majoring in English and Pre-law. I am full Chinese and was born and raised in the city of Chicago. Throughout most of my childhood and now into college, I have always had a predominantly Asian social network. However, I have never restricted myself to interacting with and learning more about other races and cultures. I chose to take AAS 199 "Asian Americans in Chicago" simply because I am one of those Asian Americans that the courses refers to. It seemed like an interesting class to take as an elective. I was right.

Keywords: Multiracial, Biracial, Hapa, Family, Parents, Neighborhood, Environment

Abstract: My research focuses on the subpopulation of part-Caucasian and part-Asian students at the University of Illinois because I was curious as to whether students felt they had to conform to one side or the other and whether they inevitably chose to associate themselves with one racial and cultural background over the other. My research question is: How does one spouse's racial and cultural background become dominant over the other spouse's racial and cultural background and therefore determine the cultural upbringing of their "hapa" children within a multiracial family? Some of the key research questions were whether students associated themselves with one racial and cultural background more than the other and why? Were there other multiracial families that they interacted with in their neighborhoods? What were the roles and responsibilities of their parents? Of the children in their family? Did gender affect those roles? Was there a certain racial and cultural group they associated with in the school setting? Did their parents prefer one racial and cultural background over another in their significant others? Has there been a change, over time, in the way they express the racial and cultural background they've adopted? I interviewed three male and five females ranging from freshmen to graduate students. I found that although one parent's racial and cultural background may become dominant over the other parent's, inevitably it is the students' environment (i.e. social network, extra-curricular activities and even religious affiliations) that affects the racial and cultural background that they associate themselves with and express the most.

Initial Exercises:

Question:
Plan:

Data:  **Marissa**

A junior in Food Science and Nutrition that lives off-campus.

She's Chinese/Italian/Polish. Mom is Chinese. Dad is Italian/Polish. She was born in Malaysia but moved to the northside neighborhood, Edgewater in Chicago when she was less than 1 year old. Her mother was born in China, raised in Malaysia, and came over to America in her early twenties. Her father was born into a foster family in America and occasionally worked in Malaysia because of his job as a computer programmer. She also has two older brothers who are 4 and 6 years older than her, who were born in Chicago and grew up in Malaysia.

Her definition of multiracial is more about who her parents are and less of how she was brought up. However, she felt more Asian than Italian and Polish because her dad worked out of town during the week and she spent more time with her mother who became more of the disciplinarian. Both her parents worked: her mother in her elementary school office and her father traveled to different continents as a computer programmer.

In her neighborhood, Edgewater, there were not many other multiracial families. In her elementary school, located outside of her neighborhood, were two other multiracial students but it wasn't considered a big deal. Most of the students were Anglo-Saxon or Caucasian. Her mother grew up speaking Bahasa, a Malaysian dialect, so she encouraged the interviewee and her brothers to learn Cantonese because she didn't practice that language in her own childhood. Even though she understands Cantonese and is able to partially speak it, she also took Italian language lessons for 9 years in elementary school, 2 more years in high school and 3 semesters in college. She says that taking Italian helped her appreciate being Italian and her heritage.

Most of the cultural traditions they partook in as a family consisted of American Holidays like Thanksgiving and Christmas with the exception of Chinese New Years. Her family interacted with 1 other Chinese family that allowed them to practice speaking Cantonese and celebrate Chinese cultural holidays. Her family ate dinner together and used chopsticks to eat everything, including spaghetti!
In courtship or dating, there were rules given by her brothers who became more of father figures and less rules from her parents. She preferred asian men over men of other races because she found them more attractive and her brothers preferred her to date asians as well. She currently dates a fully Japanese college student from Chicago.

In her teenageer years, her social circle consisted of mostly asian friends. The only thing that bothered her were others who did not consider her asian because of her physical appearance. One time in school, her peer in the Asian American club challenged her identity as an Asian merely because she "didn't look asian". Throughout childhood and adulthood, she was often questioned to be Mexican because of her complexion or facial features. She considers herself lucky to be multiracial or HAPA because she is not as ignorant to other cultures. She's multilingual, which she considers an advantage because it helps her understand English. She considers herself Chinese and Italian because the term "American" seems too general. She considers it pretty coincidental that she lives with 2 other multiracial students in her off-campus apartment.

Cristin

I am a senior in English major and a minor in French.

My mom is Taiwanese and immigrated from Taiwan because relationship was over mail and phone calls. My dad is Polish/irish/english/French/German. My mom immigrated in her mid-twenties to Chicago. My dad was born in Stickney, Illinois and then moved to Chicago for work. My mom and dad are both pharmacists. My dad was working with my mom’s cousin and she set them up.

I have an older sister. When they had my older sister they were still living in the city. They moved to Hinsdale before I was born. We moved to Clarendon Hills when I was in high school.

The definition of being multiracial seems a lot harder to define nowadays. Those who are multiracial seems to affiliate themselves with the various races that they’re aware. Being multiracial is being affiliated with more than one race.

I definitely see myself in the Caucasian background because much of my mother’s family doesn’t live around us and I hardly
ever see the Taiwanese family. Hinsdale was mainly Caucasian and my mother was trying to learn English so I wasn’t exposed to as much Taiwanese culture.

I had a lot of Caucasian friends and a couple Chinese friends when I was young. In my specific community in Clarendon Hills there were other multiracial families. My parents interacted more with the multiracial families because by the time I realized they existed I was on my way to college. But I didn’t see any I knew of in Hinsdale. We’re close to a Chinese/South American couple, every once in a while we would get together.

I went to Chinese school for a couple years in grammar school but my and my sister were behind the other students so we were embarrassed and complained until they let us stop going. Not much cultural festivals in the neighborhood. We had a tradition of going to Chinatown when it was Chinese New Year’s and eating with other families.

My dad does the cleaning and my mom does the cooking. When we were young she stayed home. She was a nurse in Taiwan but a lot of my childhood she took classes at UIC for pharmacy degree. As a kid, we both should do well in school and get some form of extracurricular activity. We had piano lessons. At home, we just had to clean up after ourselves. Later when my mom went to school, we were more in charge of cooking and cleaning. When I go home now, we are in charge of more cooking and cleaning, taking care of our many pets.

In grammar school, I didn’t really choose to hang out by race. It seemed like in high school I would hang out with a lot of kids who were in honors classes and often they were Caucasian and Asian. I hung out more with kids because of my activities. I was in an Asian American/Asian sexuality class and I was there with a couple other hapa girls. We were invited to do a panel about being multiracial. We realized U of I was so big but didn’t have a multiracial club but that wasn’t a great turnout.

After a certain time, my mom said to wait until college to date. I was just so involved with academics I didn’t have time. My sister did all the dating in a wide range of races. They never said anything about racial/cultural preference. They were harsher about curfew and where she went. I don’t think I have a conscious preference of racial/cultural background of my significant other. So, I think it may be easier for me to relate to
Caucasian and Asian men but it’s not a great factor.

After I came to college, I think I’m a lot more aware of race because I took race issue for granted. I think I’m a lot more aware of how I’m perceived and what things I’m missing out on in my Taiwanese heritage.

I think the different jokes I get about being part-Asian is an disadvantage.

I think there’s an advantage in realizing there’s a certain malleability in race but some people would take it for granted.

I get mistake for being Mexican. The work environment they chose either or. Depending on the group, they tend to group me with them. With Asian friends they group me as Asian. If I don’t know someone well, they assume I’m not quite white but they don’t say anything or don’t ask.

When I was in college, it was an eye-opener what I was taught in literature and media. It seems race is something avoided. But in college, it seems like people are pressured to discuss it.

**Janelle**

I am a freshman in Speech Pathology.

My mom in Philipino and my dad is German. They were both born in their countries. She was born in Manilla and came when she was 21 and my dad was born in a small town around Frankfurt and came over around 21. My mom came to the city of Chicago. My dad went to New York to study at Cornell and worked in Hotel in Chicago. My mom came over for nursing. My mom was diagnosed with breast cancer, she decided to wanted to do something she loved and applied to cook at my dad’s hotel.

I have an older half brother. He’s full Philipino. She had him here when she was 21.

Multiracial is coming from a number of different nationalities and being a part of that.

I do feel a little more in touch with my Philipino side because most of my Asian relatives are here in Chicago. I am the oldest on my German side of the family, they’re all in Germany and
there’s a language barrier. I only see my German grandparents once a year.

At first we lived in Downtown, Chicago when I was first born, then we moved to a border suburb of Lincolnwood then we moved to Indiana and then we moved back to Chicago. We moved to a very small suburb called Lake Bluff for my dad’s work. We live now by Wrigley Field.

My two childhood friends that I spent most of my time with. Both of them were both half Philippine and half Caucasian. When I moved around, I didn’t make sustaining friendships. Our families spent a lot of time together.

There weren’t really cultural festivals, buildings or organization we participated in. My mom worked for a man who knew famous people from the Philippines and they would host Filipino cultural events and my mom would help out with that.

Both of my parents worked even when I was younger. My mom loved cooking so she would always cook. My dad would take out the garbage. Growing up, I didn’t live with my brother. I had a few chores, fill the dishwasher and clean your room, keeping my hygiene. Most of the things I did for them come naturally, they didn’t ask much of me, I felt inclined to do it for them. I grew up differently from other families. My mom and dad fought and for a month my mom went away, I did a lot of maturing and take care of myself.

When I was living in the suburbs and Indiana, there were mostly Caucasians, there were hardly any other races. I felt uncomfortable because they seemed like the "mean girls". It was easy at Lake Bluff, it was easy to do things on my own. When I went to high school, in Chicago, they were very diverse. There weren’t specific clubs I felt like I was in a big melting pot. I had a very diverse group of friends. The Asian cultural club wasn’t that strong in high school. Now in college, I am in Filipino Student Association because now that I live in my grandfather’s apartment, I feel like I get a little more exposed to home. All my Filipino family lives in the same apartment building and I’ve always felt more comfortable with them. I like the food, I like the people.

My dad doesn’t have a racial/cultural preference for who I date. My mom tells me not to date a Philipino. She always suggests me
to date a European. I don’t have a racial and cultural preference because I have dated a Philipino and a Caucasian guy. I don’t find one race better than the other.

When I was younger, I didn’t express either race as much. In grade school and high school, other people were interested. I would tell them both, but at the same time I do feel closer to the Philipino side. It wasn’t the fact that I knew more of the culture, which I do, I think I just felt more comfortable with that side of the family. But, I do want to spend more time in Germany. I admit the Philipino side more, but I do want to experience my German side more. Going to Germany is the only way I can. My dad hasn’t exactly pushed the German culture, and my dad hasn’t really reinforced it, so I don’t have any reason to really embrace it.

I think there are a lot of advantages. From what I did experience when I went to Germany. I get to see how different my two racial and cultural backgrounds. It’s two different worlds and I’m grateful to see both of them. I don’t take all of what I learn from both sides. I get to pick what I want to adopt. I don’t think there are any disadvantages for being multiracial for me. I do think a lot of people have a problem identifying with one or another and struggle with that. Maybe their parents are more aggressive in pushing one race over another.

I get a lot of Latino/a! Not that it bothers me but I am very proud of both sides of who I am. I always want people to know and to correct them.

Tara

I am a first year graduate student in Library and Information Sciences. In undergrad, I majored in History and minored in Asian American Studies.

The person who has parents from two different racial backgrounds. But for me I feel like the definition of being multiracial/bi-racial is the individuals embrace of both backgrounds.

My mom is third generation Japanese American and my dad is fourth generation Russian/Jewish American. They were both born and raised in Chicago. My dad was raised on the south side of Chicago and my mom was raised on the north side of Chicago. My parents met in the pharmacy: dad’s a pharmacist and my
mom worked the cash register in the pharmacy.

I have one younger sister, a junior.

I don't really see myself associated with one racial and cultural background more. I really feel like I embrace both sides, and feel pretty equally about both backgrounds. My two backgrounds are so different stereotypically, it's hard for others to understand how they could mesh well.

My parents raised my sister and I by teaching us both as much as they could about both cultural/racial backgrounds. Taught us as much as they could about Judaism and Buddhism and let us choose from there.

I lived in Northbrook and moved to Buffalo Grove when I was two. There weren't many other multiracial families in the neighborhood. My neighborhood was predominantly white/Jewish, Caucasian/Christians, and then Korean American. They lived in Vernon Hills, pretty close by us: One of my dad's friends, had kids that were Irish/English/Indian and we played together because both families understood where the other was coming from. We shared less of the title and more of the experience of being multiracial.

There weren't that many cultural festivals, nothing really community wide. It seemed pretty secular, even though there was such a large Jewish population. We went a couple times to the synagogue and Buddhist temples for a learning experience. I feel that I'm more cultural Jewish then religious.

My dad was always working at the Pharmacy and decided to give up her job as manager of a bank. My mom cooked most of the meals because my dad couldn't cook for his life. The household chores were pretty evenly distributed. We had to learn how to cook, clean the room so we could get a taste of responsibility. My parents taught both of us how to make ethnic foods. Both sets of my grandparents were pretty supportive of the inter-racial relationship and try to teach us about their respective cultural and racial heritage.

I feel like I'm expected to help cook and clean and help out the most I can when I'm home.

In my adolescent years, my group of friends were pretty diverse. I
think if I hadn’t grew up in such a predominantly Jewish neighborhood then I don’t think I would have embraced it so much. I didn’t see race as too great of a determining factor when I was younger. So in High school, we had our version of quad day and I joined the Japanese Anime club because I thought it would include more of Japanese culture but I was wrong—we just watched Anime every meeting. Throughout high school, I was in a Diversity Club from sophomore to senior year and we would host a World’s Fair: it would be over the weekend.

In college, all the RSO’s made me think about race more than I had before. Was it okay for me to join certain Jewish organizations or Asian American Clubs. I ended up joining in Asian Pacific American Coalition for 2 years. I was in the black chorus for two years because my friends joined us. I worked for the Asian American Studies program for 2.5 years. Me and a couple other friends start a RSO called MIXED: a club for multiracial clubs (film nights, social, discussion groups). The girl who started it, I was really good friends with, and she had tried to joining some Asian American groups but she didn’t really feel she completely fit in there. She wanted an outlet for multiracial students to fit in.

My parents were more concerned for my safety/well being if I dated someone that people would consider taboo (i.e. black, Hispanic) because they faced a lot of opposition when they began dating because of Pearl Harbor and the anti-japanese crusade.

I think that now I know how to juggle in Jewish Community events here in Champaign, Urbana and I work at an Asian Cultural Center. Finding different ways of balancing both sides of me. I don’t think I express one side more than the other.

I think I have an advantage in being multiracial because I’m more open minded because I’m more aware of cultural experiences. When I was younger I looked more asian, and experiencing racism. By experiencing racial/cultural ignorance, it gives me a glance on the other side of things. I think there are disadvantages in the occasional side remark.

I’ve had people ask me what I am before they ask me what my name is. Sometimes I feel there’s criticism in their voice. In summer, I tan easily and people mistake me for being Latino.
ANY OTHER COMMENTS SHE GAVE ME:

The whole issue with identity and being multiracial can change within families. I think some people take more of an initiative in participating in events that express their cultural heritage.

Mary

Mom is full Korean. Dad is Irish/German. 1 older brother and 1 younger brother.

I felt/still feel more associated to the asian cultural background because of my dominantly Korean church, most of other kids in church were either full or half Korean. My grandmother from Korea would come a couple months almost every year to teach you to speak Korean. Grandma cooked/fed Korean food.

I express myself in Korean when I get hurt but you don’t necessarily like Korean style food all the time/style of clothing.

Dad and his family lived in Wisconsin and parents met in Wisconsin. All kids were born in Wisconsin and then you moved over to Rogers Park when I was 3.

Rogers Park because your church was in Rogers park. Western and Devon. University Bible Fellowship church located in Rogers Park. Yes there were multiracial families that we interacted with. Some Chinese/white. Some Caucasian kids. Mostly half Korean and half Caucasian.

Heavily involved with the UBF. When we were younger we were in the church children’s orchestra. I played violin. Older brother played violin and younger brother played cello. Your mom played the piano/sang in church choir. Weekly kids program on Saturday mornings. Danced for Christmas services. Dad played violin in the older orchestra.

Every year there was a Korean Festival in Indian Boundary Park at Western and Lunt a little out of the neighborhood. You did the Korean Traditional Fan Dance since you were in third grade and stopped in 7th grade. Games and traditional drum dance.

Mom she worked as a math teacher at William Howard Taft high school, 20 minutes away from home since you moved to Chicago. Dad was an English professor at College but passed
away when were 7. She would always cook except for when your grandmother was there.

Older brother/younger brother would always take out garbage/vacuum. I would clean, never really did dishes. And cleaned up after yourself.

My older brother could always stay out later than I could. I would come home straight after school.

No strong cultural practices. My mother was pretty Americanized and spoke perfect English. She had 3 master degrees. Mom speaks both Korean and English with me. First language English then Korean.

When my grandmother was around, she emphasized studying and practicing our instruments a certain amount of time each day. When we would go to Wisconsin to visit our Caucasian grandparents we would have to have proper table etiquette. Go to Wisconsin for Thanksgiving, Christmas or when parents went on retreats.

In elementary school, every year I had asian (half or full) kids in my class from my church and befriended non asian kids but did not hang out with them out of school. So I cliqued more with the asian kids and parents preferred that you would hang out with kids from your church.

In high school, I hung out with different people. I usually hung out with asian, white and half asian. I had close friends that were Hispanic, Chinese, and Black. I participated in gospel choir. I participated in orchestra-mostly asian. I was in Korean Club because I was asked to teach the fan dance. I was in Indian club because I liked their type of dancing.

I got asked a lot. Most Asians thought I was Caucasian. Most Caucasians thought you were asian.

Parents No dating allowed until college years because of religious issues. Thought it was safer. I think my mom would be okay with me dating a man of another racial/cultural background. My mom would prefer asian or white, since she did marry a white guy! =D

In dating, from my environment and those I hang out with. The
person I date would most likely be Asian. I would be open to marry someone multiracial as well.

When I was younger, you were a little ashamed and felt inferior because they were full Asian. They’d be interested in things I wasn’t like K-pop but you liked Korean soap operas. Now I like the fact that I am multiracial. I can understand and interact better with others of different races and those who are multiracial.

I think there are advantages because you get to see 2 different side of my culture. Interacting with the extended family. I could learn different languages.

Some disadvantages are that some people lean towards one culture than the other. There’s no specific cultural pride associated with being multiracial.

Barney

Soon to be economy major but you used to be a math major-education. My racial and cultural background had no effect on my choice of a major.

Being multiracial means having more than one ethnic background.

My dad is Danish/Welsh and my mom is Japanese. My dad was born and raised in Cedar Rapids, Iowa and then came to Winnetka Northern suburbs of Chicago when he was in high school. My mom was born and raised in the north side of Chicago. My mom and dad met through mutual friends. I have 2 twin older brothers. We were all born and raised in the northside city of Chicago. My parents always spoke English to me.

My mom was a graphic designer for Fisher Price when they were first married. She stopped working once she had us kids. Then she started working when you reached 6th grade as the Administrative Secretary of our church. My dad was a computer programmer and then became the vice president/ co-owner of an engineering firm: IT Coordinator.

I always saw myself as associated with the Japanese cultural background because I went to a Japanese church (Church of Christ Presbyterian). The church moved around a lot and it
settled in the far northside (North Ravenswood) of Chicago.

I lived in Wrigleyville until I was one and then we moved to Ravenswood. In my neighborhood it was a majority of Caucasians. So we interacted mostly with Caucasian families within the neighborhood.

I can’t recall any cultural festivals, buildings or organizations that my family participated in the neighborhood. We would sometimes travel to Schaumburg for Mitsuwa-a Japanese grocery store.

When we were growing up, she was the home maker. She did all of the cooking when we were growing up, not until a couple years ago did my dad have to start cooking on Saturdays. My mom was the disciplinarian. The kids rotated the chores of setting the table and washing dishes. Weekly, we rotated taking out the garbage. When I got to high school, I had to clean the bathroom, wash dishes, and setting the table because my brothers were in college.

We ate dinner together when my dad got home from work. Now that I’m in college, when I go home I don’t really have any roles specifically assigned to me.

Cultural practices included eating with chopsticks when we ate asian food and fork and knife when we ate other food. So we just celebrate the American holidays.

In elementary school, my school was pretty diverse. There were several multiracial kids in our school but we hung out with everyone. In high school, I hung out with the Caucasian kids the most. I joined the Asian American Club when I was a freshman/sophomore in highschool but it was highly unorganized so I didn’t go. I joined the club because I was on the volleyball team and everyone on the volleyball team was asian and in the club. In college now, I associate myself with more of an asian demographic: particularly Koreans only because of the church I go to.

My parents had no rules about dating except that they had to share the same religion as our family and no preference about the racial/cultural background over another. I have no preference in racial/cultural background of the person I date.

I don’t think there’s been a change over time in the way I
expressed racial/cultural background too extremely. I think my environment highly affects the racial/cultural background I choose to express.

People usually think I’m Caucasian but most people are just confused. It’s happened where the Caucasian group has thought I was asian and the asian group thought I was Caucasian.

One disadvantage is that I’m not fully Caucasian and I think Caucasians seems to have life a lot easier.

Antonio

Undecided: Possibly going into Recreation, Sports, and Tourism.

My dad is Polish and my mom is Phillipino. My dad was born and raised in the Northside of Chicago. My mom was born and raised in Manilla and immigrate in 1983-84 for her company’s work. My mom worked as a waitress at her aunt’s family restaurant and my dad came in as a customer and that’s how they met. No siblings. My mom is a post-office clerk and my dad is a manager for a construction supply company (make concrete for construction companies).

I always associated myself more with the asian side. When I went to school there were more Caucasian kids and I realized I was different and that only distinction was the fact that I had a Phillipino racial/cultural background.

When I was younger, I lived in Lincoln Park until I was 12 then we moved to Niles (Northwest Subarb). In Lincoln Park, there were multiracial people there, but you mostly played with Caucasian kids. In school there were more multiracial families. In Niles, there wasn’t really any other multiracial families available or I was aware of.

In my neighborhood, there weren’t any cultural festivals or organizations we participated in. We might have gone to a Phillipino cultural showcase at the local catholic church.

Our family never really ate dinner together. My mom has the picture of the last supper in the kitchen. Both of my parents worked, but my mom would take off work if I got sick. My mom was the one who always cooked. My parents spoiled me, I really didn’t have to really do chores. Not until high school did I
sometimes wash the dishes, take out the garbage cans, mow the lawn, and cook rice. Our family speaks English to one another, my mother speaks tagalog but you understand some words but not too much.

I went to a Catholic elementary school because my family is catholic. Our class was really small and everyone knew everyone and we really didn’t have a choice. In high school, Maine East, it was very diverse so I joined the Phillipino Club in Freshman year but I really didn’t get involved with it. I hung out with a diverse group, we all liked sports. Now, in college, I had family members (cousins) here at the University that were in Phillipino Student Association. I never really hung out with Asians, so I decided to join PSA. I’ve done the major events, I’m the publicity officer. (on psa website…check on that)

My parents didn’t care when I would date. Usually Phillipino families don’t let the kids date until college and they want you to date Phillipino people. My parents really didn’t have a racial/cultural preference as to who I dated. I’ve always preferred Phillipino girls because I think they’re better looking than the girls of another racial/cultural background.

I feel like I express myself as more Phillipino to my friends back home that are of other races. A lot of people comment, “When’d you become so asian?” or “When did you get into the asian scene?”

Disadvantages in an all Caucasian setting, you’re noticed as different: asian. However, in an Asian setting, they all notice as Caucasian. But that can be an advantage because you’re different, and that’s a unique conversation starter. You will get noticed in comparison to other people in a group.

I’ve been mistake for Chinese, Italian, Hispanic. A lot of Caucasians can’t really tell you’re multiracial. But Asians can tell I’m multiracial.

I feel like my mom’s racial and cultural background has become dominant over my dad’s since I am heavily involved with the Phillipino Student Association on this campus.

**Tom**

Male: Junior in Acturial Science. Lives with 2 other multiracial
students.

Mom and Dad both born and raised in Chicago. Mom is Polish/Italian and dad is 100% Japanese. Mom grew up on the south side of Chicago. Mom and Dad met through work at Mercantile Exchange. My dad is/was a stock broker. My mom was a secretary and now she owns a painting/landscaping company.

I have an older brother and older sister. We were all born/raised in Chicago. My older brother is married to a hapa-multiracial woman. My sister in law- did Taiko (Japanese Drums) when she was younger and her family observes Japanese New Year cultural practices more than ours.

I never really thought about my cultural/racial background until high school years. I knew I was half and thought it was cool. My environment changed and there was a more of a distinction between Asians and whites and I became more aware of it. I saw myself associated with both of my racial/cultural backgrounds. Now, I am more familiar with Japanese people and I associate myself more with the cultural background because it’s more rare than being recognized as Caucasian or just Polish/Italian.

My neighborhood, Edgewater-Northside of Chicago there weren’t any other multiracial families available to interact with.

My family didn’t participate in any cultural festivals/buildings/organizations. We went to a Japanese church with a majority of Japanese members.

Cultural/racial practices in the home consisted of eating mochi on New Year’s Day-Japanese cultural practice. We mainly celebrate American holidays like Christmas, Thanksgiving.

My mom stayed at home and took care of us when we were younger. My mom was the one who usually cooked but my dad cooked every once in a while. Guys generally took out the garbage and that was the only difference. We always ate dinner together as a family. The food we ate was either stir-fry (Asian) or pasta (Italian).

In Elementary school, I had four friends that were multiracial. I hung out with kids of all races. In high school, the kids I hung out with were of various cultural backgrounds. On the weekends, I
would hang out with kids from my church, who were primarily Japanese but it wasn’t because of their racial/cultural background. It was more because we all belonged to the same organization. I took Japanese because I wanted to learn it and because it was offered.

In dating, my parents didn’t prefer one racial or cultural background over another. I would probably lean towards a Korean or Japanese girl. But if they were multiracial i.e. half Japanese or half Korean and half Caucasian. I would prefer a girl from a multiracial background because I could relate better to them.

I’ve always been proud of being multiracial more of the Italian/Japanese side, less of the Polish. I catch myself saying some words I know in Japanese because I’m proud I know some of my language. I tend to mock other asian cultural backgrounds because I have a lot of pride in my Japanese heritage. I talk more about my Japanese cultural background because I know that it’s rarer than discussing my Caucasian background.

The advantage of being multiracial is more interesting because it’s more of a conversation starter. I feel it’s something more unique than being just one nationality. Another advantage is that I can poke fun at both races and not feel racist.

I feel like my Italian and Japanese cultural background has become dominant over my Polish background because I just choose to ignore that portion.

**Discuss:** Although numerous factors contribute to an individual’s development of his or her identity, culture and race are arguably the most common factors individuals use to define and distinguish themselves within a given population. After their immigration to America starting in the late 19th and early 20th century, Asians learned to assimilate in order to survive and one of those ways, although it wasn’t exclusive to this process, was interracial marriages with Americans. The influence of both parents’ racial and cultural background shapes the cultural identity for their multiracial children that result from these interracial marriages. Since the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign contains a large Asian American student population, this research project studies the cultural and social development
of mixed race and multiracial students who, according to Masako Osako, represent the results of the “model minority which has successfully integrated” [1].

This research paper addresses how one spouse’s racial and cultural background becomes dominant over the other spouse’s racial and cultural background and therefore determines the cultural upbringing of “hapa” children within a multiracial family. I focused on this particular hapa or part-Asian and part-Caucasian subpopulation of the University of Illinois students because I was interested in why there is such a spectrum created by the various levels multiracial students embraced the dual cultural and racial background. Caucasians and Asians make up a large percentage of students on the University of Illinois campus and the data collected from this research could be helpful to the students and faculty in understanding the multiracial students’ perspective and this particular community that consists of two very dominant groups within this particular university.

The term, multiracial, can be defined in various ways but the Oxford English Dictionary states that it is an object or person of, relating to, or comprising several racially differentiated peoples. [2] Most of the interviewees’ own definition of being multiracial seemed to deviate from this general definition only because they included other facets such as language acquisition, food they ate, or social activities into their understanding of the term and being multiracial. More specifically, I focused on the ‘hapa’ or biracial population of the Asian American students that come from the city of Chicago and Chicago land area on this campus. The word, hapa, is not qualified by the dictionary but it is accepted and used within the Asian American society as a term taken to mean a person is part Caucasian or Anglo-Saxon and part Asian. The research pool included 8 biracial interviewees ranging from undergraduate to graduate students who identified themselves as multiracial. I interviewed 3 male students and 5 female students in order to get a more holistic view of multiracial students’ perspective on their own racial and cultural identity. According to the “Census 2000 Brief,” among the citizens who reported themselves as “Asian in combination” with another race, one of the most common combinations were “Asian and White” (52 percent).” [3] I decided to focus on this population because it was one of the most popular combinations of races and because of its commonality; it is a group that often draws people’s fascination to the questions of race.
Parental Racial and Cultural Backgrounds

The racial and cultural background of both parents is one of the most obvious factors to consider, when an individual chooses to adopt and express one parent's racial and cultural background over another. Although parents may not be able to make that decision for their child, the parents’ individual choices to marry outside of their race results in the potential for their offspring to either identify with one background over another or both of their racial and cultural backgrounds equally. The part-Caucasian interviewees consisted of two part-Japanese undergraduate students, 1 part-Japanese graduate student, two part-Filipino undergraduate students, 1 part-Chinese undergraduate student, 1 part-Taiwanese undergraduate student, and 1 part-Korean undergraduate student. One of the trends is the large number of the interviewees’ part-Asian racial background derived from their mother. Seven out of the eight students interviewed had mothers from various Asian cultural backgrounds, but this fact begs the question of why Asian women have crossed the racial and cultural border more than Asian men.

The sample population of multiracial students that participated in this research project also displayed interesting trends supported by the United States Census Bureau. The majority of this research project’s sample populations of multiracial students were part-Japanese. According to the “2000 Census Brief,” this result isn’t surprising since, out “of the six largest specified Asian groups, Japanese were most likely to report one or more other races or Asian groups.” [4] This means that out of the largest specified Asian groups, those individuals who identified themselves as Japanese were most likely to report to have been mixed with one or more other races or Asian groups. Although two of the interviewees had Japanese mothers, there was also one interviewee with a Japanese father. The sample population for this research project did not completely support the statistic but since 25% of the interviewees were part-Japanese, at least this particular research sample remained mostly consistent with the United States Census.

A parent’s adolescent environment, especially if it is a country outside of the United States, can influence the traditions, language, and basically any of the cultural practices they choose to teach their children. Seven out of eight of the interviewees had mothers who were born in another country and then immigrated to Chicago around their mid-twenties and fathers who were born
and raised in Chicago and the greater Midwest area. The only set of parents that deviated were Janelle’s parents because they both were born in different countries and immigrated to Chicago when they were in their early twenties. Her mother emigrated from the Philippines and her father emigrated from Germany. Surprisingly, Janelle’s father is the only father, out of all the 8 fathers, who was born out of the states and furthermore, the only one of his siblings who decided to leave Germany and come to America.

Although some of the mothers were born and raised in Chicago, five out of the eight mothers were born in Asian countries such as the Philippines, Taiwan, Malaysia, and Korea. Some of the most popular reasons for immigrating to America and more specifically, Chicago were higher education and employment. Sometimes, these plans were circumvented by certain unexpected circumstances such as Janelle’s mother, who after she was diagnosed with breast cancer said rather bluntly, “Screw nursing! I want to do something I love: cooking!”

The intention for the parents’ immigration may not have been to meet their spouse in America, but as a result of their employment and their social network they met their future husbands and wives. It seems that in the twenty-first century, the market place has become a zone where “the mere presence of diversity” can be mistaken “as an indication of cultural equality” [5] much like it was in the dance halls in the 1920’s. Society may seem less ignorant and more accepting on the mixing of races now, but many of these interviewees’ parents met and married in the 70’s and 80’s, when race was an even more sensitive issue than it is now. Nevertheless, there were obstacles that came from these interracial marriages, such as opposition from family members and strangers and cultural barriers between the one spouse and the other spouse’s family. One of the most positive things that resulted from these 8 interracial marriages is the beautiful melding of two racial and cultural backgrounds into their children.

One Racial and Cultural Background

Inevitably when given a choice between two things, such as affiliation with a certain racial and cultural background, there’s the instinct to choose one over the other since it seems easier to focus on one rather than juggling two. This theory applied to multiracial individuals insinuates that he or she chooses to acknowledge and identify more with one racial and cultural
background simply because it is easier. The most important perspective is that of the multiracial child, if we are to address the question whether one parent’s racial and cultural background becomes dominant over another parent’s, thereby affecting the cultural upbringing of their children. According to this small research sample however, there was a mixed response when asked the question, "Do you see yourself as associated with one racial and cultural background more than the other?"

In this particular research project, the more specific comparison is the interviewee’s association with his or her Asian racial and cultural background and her association with her Caucasian racial and cultural background. According to one student, Marissa, she’s always felt more Chinese than Italian and Polish because her dad worked out of town and she spent more time with her mom who reinforced the Chinese language, values and traditions. According to another student, Janelle, she also felt more connected to her Asian or Filipino side because she has always interacted more with her Filipino family members than with her German relatives. Of course, this is not excluding the fact that all her German relatives reside in Germany, while most of her Filipino family members live in Chicago. Yet another student, Mary, said she identified more with her Korean background because she has always attended a dominantly Korean church. One of the Mary’s interesting comments contained the statement, “I even express myself in Korean when I get hurt, but I don’t necessarily like Korean-style food or their style of clothes.” Six out of the 8 interviewees said that they saw themselves as being more associated with their Asian racial and cultural background for a number of reasons.

Many of these reasons stem from the interviewees’ environment and its effect on their experiences and the level of comfort these students had with one of their racial and cultural backgrounds. Based on the responses of the interviewees who felt they understood or related more to one parent’s racial and cultural background than the other, the research data seems to support the assumption that one parent’s racial and cultural background became dominant over the other parent’s background. However, at least two students acknowledged that although they’ve seen their peers’ struggle in balancing both of their racial and cultural backgrounds, they saw it as a privilege to balance and equally express both parents’ racial and cultural backgrounds.

Tara, a part-Japanese and part-Russian American graduate
student in Library and Information Sciences says “I really feel like I embrace both sides, and I feel pretty equally about both backgrounds.” However, she does include the fact that most people see her “two backgrounds are so different stereotypically” and for that reason “it's hard for others to understand how they could mesh well.” It seems that students are not only aware of their personal challenges in balancing their racial and cultural backgrounds but some of the students are also aware and sympathetic of their peers’ struggles to explore and better understand their own multiracial identity.

Even though a great majority of the interviewees perceived themselves as being associated with one racial and cultural background more than the other, there were still some students who felt that kind of choice restricted them from experiencing the best of both worlds. It is true that they may be more familiar with one background over another but all of the hapa students stated that they would never ignore or abandon the racial and cultural background with which they either had very little knowledge or contact.

Environment: Neighborhood

Another contributing factor to the development of a person’s racial and cultural background is the context within which they learn their cultural traditions and create social networks with people who come from various racial and cultural backgrounds. Some of the interviewees were born out of the country but still spent the bulk of their adolescence in Chicago or Chicago land, such as Marissa who was born in Malaysia and then moved to a neighborhood in the north side of Chicago. Within a neighborhood, there are various ways to experience culture, such as cultural organizations, community centers or even places of worship. One of the less tangible ways to experience culture is through interacting with those an individual meets in a community. If people form communities with those they find commonalities with, it can be assumed that multiracial families would find community with other multiracial families within their respective neighborhoods. On the contrary, most of the interviewees I spoke to were aware of other multiracial families in the neighborhood but their families didn’t purposely interact or form a network with those other multiracial families.

All of the interviewees either lived in the north side of Chicago or in the suburban Chicago land area. The interviewees who lived in
the north side of Chicago often emphasized the immense racial diversity in their neighborhoods or apartment complexes. This is not to say that there wasn’t a racial majority in certain northern Chicago neighborhoods such as Edgewater. According to one interviewee, Barney, “in my neighborhood it was a majority of Caucasians, so we interacted mostly with Caucasian families within the neighborhood.” In Barney’s case, however, the Japanese church his family attended consisted of many multiracial families which he constantly interacted with in and out of the church setting. In contrast to the city, the interviewees from the Chicago land suburbs consistently replied that their neighborhoods were mainly inhabited by Caucasians. One interviewee, Cristin, said, “My parents interacted more with the multiracial families because by the time I realized they existed, I was on my way to college.” Although there may have been opportunities to interact with existing multiracial families within their neighborhoods, interviewees never expressed or related their own or their family’s added interest in specifically interacting with multiracial families.

One particular interviewee, Janelle, expressed a lack of desire to interact with people within her neighborhood because her family moved around too often. Without a solid community base, it was harder for her to feel comfortable not because of racial and cultural barriers but simply because she had two close friends who she identified with and who she felt understood her the most. Janelle’s two closest friends were coincidentally also part-Caucasian and part-Filipino and all three families spent a lot of their time together. This doesn’t come as a shock since according to Barbara M. Posadas article “Mestiza Girlhood: Interracial Families in Chicago’s Filipino American Community since 1925” in the 1970s Illinois Census the Filipino population had a “252.8 percent growth rate” and out of the “men over forty-five years of age, 59 percent were married to women of another race.” [6] Posadas used this statistic in order to show the difference between the old generation that existed before “the substantial immigration…confined to the period between 1925 and 1934” [7] inevitably provided greater chances for more endogamous marriages in Chicago. Yet, Janelle and her two close part-Filipino friends are a testament to the fact that the supposed “new generation” from the mid-twentieth century still resulted in children born to interracial couples.

Janelle’s small social network of friends was advantageous in the sense that she had a relevant source for being more conscious of
what it means to be multiracial or to come from an interracial family. Although this aspect of the relationships is beneficial, these friendships may have prevented her from exploring deeper social relationships overall.

A greater scale of cultural learning experiences of the neighborhood is the available cultural events, buildings or organizations but because of the dominant racial and cultural demographic of certain neighborhoods, these can become in a way monopolized by a specific group of people. Most students expressed that they were unaware of any cultural centers or events since their family hardly participated in those kind of events in their neighborhood. When asked whether he had heard of any Japanese cultural centers or events, one interviewee, Tom said he had never attended any of their events. Ironically, an article in the Chicago Tribune newspaper highlighted the Holiday Festival of one Japanese American Service Committee Community Center (JASC). The executive director of JASC is quoted saying the center “brings together Japanese nationals, Japanese-Americans, other Asians and anyone who’s interested in Japanese culture.” [8]

Only one student, Mary, expressed her ability to explore her racial and cultural background through her involvement with her predominantly Korean Church in the Rogers Park neighborhood of Chicago. She, unlike most of the interviewees, balanced her participation in the local neighborhood’s cultural festival and her involvement with her social network of her church. Her entire family participated in the church orchestra, her father played the violin for the older orchestra and she played the violin, her mother played the piano while her younger brother played the cello for the younger orchestra. Even within the church setting, there was a stratification of the family in an organized group such as an orchestra. Her interest in events such as the Korean Festival led to her contribution in the show itself by performing the Traditional Korean Fan Dance.

Parents often want to take the credit for their children’s pride in their heritage, but it isn’t always the parents who encourage their children to learn their native language and other cultural traditions. All of these factors, not mentioning the heightened sense of discipline that came with these yearly encounters with Mary’s grandmother, highlight exactly how important maintaining one’s cultural heritage is, not just for parents, but for those
outside the nuclear family.

Roles and Responsibilities

Gender is often joined in the discussion of race and likewise, the rules and responsibilities applied to men and women differ depending on the dominant culture of the household. There’s always the stereotype of the female homemaker and the male breadwinner but in many of the multiracial student’s families, both parents shared the roles and responsibilities of the home. There was a general consensus on the responsibilities of the children to help with chores such as cleaning their own room and washing dishes. One noticeable trend in some of the families was the gender specific chores delegated to the children by the parents.

Oftentimes, a daughter’s household responsibilities mirror their mother’s and indeed, this was the case for many of the female students in the research group. Most of the mothers in this particular set of multiracial families had the role of being the cook in the family. Out of the five female interviewees, all agreed they had to learn how to cook and clean but most of their responsibilities consisted of cleaning after themselves. In terms of the role of the students’ mothers, 50% of the mothers worked throughout their children’s adolescence while the other half of the mothers decided to leave their jobs and stay at home after the birth of their children. However, this role of the cook was not always designated by gender but sometimes by default according to one student, Tara, who said “My mom cooked most of the meals because my dad couldn’t cook for his life or ours.” Although the female students were assigned their chores, a majority of them felt more inclined to help in the chores and responsibilities of the household after going away to college at the University of Illinois. All of the interviewees said that their father worked all throughout their childhood which supports the male stereotype of being the provider for his family.

The male interviewees seemed to have fewer responsibilities at home, than their female peers. Barney, who is the youngest of the 3 male children in his family, deviated from this general conclusion because all of his brothers’ chores transferred to him after they left for college. The most common chore of the male students was the removal of garbage from the home. One could argue that the absence of sisters inevitably led to the male students’ need to take care of the stereotypically “womanly” chores such as cooking and cleaning. However, all eight of the
students acknowledge no matter the gender of the children, there was an even distribution of chores because their parents wanted them to learn the importance of responsibility. The roles and responsibilities of the students did not vary despite their significantly different racial and cultural backgrounds. The lessons of responsibility and respect may be achieved through different methods of maintaining their own home but it is a general lesson that is not defined by the boundaries of race and culture.

**School System: A Melting Pot?**

One of the first instances children are exposed to a racially and culturally diverse peoples or environment is the school system. Even at a young age, many of the students in the research pool met children from a wide spectrum of racial and cultural backgrounds and for that reason, they either chose to join in that diverse mix of students or gravitate more towards those who shared the same racial and cultural background as them, out of comfort or similar interests.

All of the students had a diverse social network throughout grammar school and sometimes even into high school. Tara, who lived in a predominantly Jewish suburb, said of her adolescent years, "my group of friends was pretty diverse." I think if I hadn't grown up in such a predominantly Jewish neighborhood then I don't think I would have embraced it [Jewish culture] so much." She and many of the other students admitted that their racial and cultural environment was often dictated by the racial majority in their school system and they deviated from that mostly through embracing diversity within their social network of friends. One student, Antonio, was placed in Catholic school system for grammar school and because of this, most of the students he encountered were practicing or non-practicing Catholics.

In high school, there are more opportunities to join after-school clubs, or it is also a time students become more aware of their own racial and cultural identity but also of that of their peers. One of the questions posed to the students was, “What racial or cultural group did you associate yourself with in high school and why?” Many of the students responded with a no, since they emphasized the great diversity in most of their high schools. Only half of the students choose to associate themselves with a particular racial group in high school because of their social network of friends from church. The other half of the students
said their social network was not based on race but more on their common interests such as academics, sports, or other recreational activities. Although some students participated in extra-curricular activities such as racial or cultural clubs, many of them were not very motivated to fully participate because of the unorganized and pointless nature of these clubs. One interviewee, Marissa, who attended Whitney Young High School in the heart of Chicago decided to join the Asian American Club because most of her friends were Asian but soon realized it was very unorganized and “didn’t really care for it.”

Moving on the higher education, many of these students became involved with an already existing racial and cultural club or helped to start one. Two students, Janelle and Antonio are both involved in the Filipino Student Association at this university and both gave positive comments about their experience in the club. Janelle said “I didn’t know there were so many cultural dances and activities until I came here” and “I was just like, ‘Wow’.” Antonio is a junior in undergraduate studies and has participated in PSA since freshmen year. He says he joined PSA because “I had family members (cousins) here at the University that were in Filipino Student Association” and since “I never really hung out with Asians…I decided to join PSA.” It seems that the presence of such racial and cultural clubs as PSA sparks the students’ interests and after they become interested, they are more willing to participate in the more heavily cultural events such as the annual shows the clubs put on for the whole university.

Another two students actually combined their efforts into trying to create a group, called MIXED, that would specifically gear creating an active social and politically aware community of multiracial students. When she was asked why she wanted to start a club for multiracial students, Cristin responded, “We realized U of I was so big but it didn’t have a multiracial club but that didn’t have a great turnout so it sort of just fell off the radar.” Although they were successful for a short while, both Cristin and Tara remembered the low level of response and interest shown by the students of this large university and because of the club leaders’ busy schedules, there has been no further efforts in revamping the group. Although one could attribute this “failure” to the lack of motivation of the student leaders, one could also address the lack of interest or awareness of the multiracial students on this campus because there are no other clubs specifically geared towards the multiracial student population at the University of Illinois. If the lack of student interest or
participation are some of the leading reasons to the multiracial group’s hiatus, then perhaps the increase of multiracial students’ awareness through flyers, promotions or even more the University's greater influence would lead to the group’s larger turnout and therefore, the possible influence on the seemingly untapped multiracial population on this campus.

**Dating/Courting**

Most of the interviewees said that their parents really had no racial or cultural preference in terms of their significant others. However, some of the interviewees did emphasize that their parents insisted that the individual their children intended to date or marry would have to be of the same religion. One student, Barney, said, “My parents had no rules about dating except that they had to share the same religion as our family” and if they weren’t “my parents would bust out the verse about not being yoked with an unbeliever.” Most of the students stated, however, that dating never came up as an issue with their parents because for some, it was assumed that they wouldn’t begin dating until college.

Tara brought up a very interesting point which is worth arguing when she said, “My parents didn’t have a racial and cultural preference for the person I dated because that would have been hypocritical of them.” Yet, her parents were still concerned with the racial background of the significant other because her parents “faced a lot of opposition when they began dating because of Pearl Harbor and the anti-Japanese crusade.” It seems that negative experiences associated with interracial marriages still carries over to the children because the parents are concerned with society’s judgment and their children’s safety. The perspective is different from parent to child but there’s still agency and wisdom that the interviewees tend to take from their parents.

One of the funniest comments during an interview came from Janelle who said, “My mom tells me not to date a Filipino. She always suggests to me to date a European.” The irony comes in the fact that Janelle says she has dated both Caucasian and Filipino men and finds no difference between the two and ultimately she has no “racial and cultural preference” because she doesn’t “find one race better than the other.” The difference between Janelle and her mom was the most interesting part of her interview because it showed the ability for children to be influenced by their parent’s racial and cultural experiences only to
a certain extent before they venture out to experience different racial and cultural backgrounds themselves. Although most of the interviewees expressed no particular preference in their future significant others, some of the interviewees did say they would perhaps date someone who was multiracial or was the same Asian cultural background that they were half of. Most of them said this was because they felt that a person with either a similar racial or cultural background as them or someone with the similar experience of being multiracial would better understand their point of view and therefore they would have more in common with this individual.

**Change Over Time**

When asked the question whether there has been a change in the way they express the racial and cultural background they’ve adopted, most interviewees replied that it was their change in environment and the available racial and cultural events that prompted any change. Although they may have practiced using chopsticks all the time at home, “even in eating spaghetti” or celebrated some cultural holidays with their families, most of the events were controlled by their parents’ choice to either incorporate or not incorporate these racial and cultural practices into their families’ everyday lives.

Different groups have perceived these students in different ways but one of the most interesting ways was the assumptions of race that came from Caucasians and Asians in general. Many of the interviewees, like Antonio, expressed their confusion when they said, “The disadvantages in an all Caucasian setting is that you’re recognized as different and Asian. However, in an Asian setting, they all recognize you as Caucasian.” Although physical attributes are not the most important part of a child’s cultural upbringing, it can become alienating at times, when the student does not “physically fit in” with one group or another.

All of the interviewees agreed that they definitely see more of the value in their multiracial identity. Although it may not have been as apparent in the eight students’ adolescent years, they were able to progressively become more aware of how important their race or culture was to them. Many of the students’ parents laid the cultural foundation for them because they saw it as something valuable to their children’s identity. However, unless the students began seeing the importance of the influence of their race and culture on their experience of life in general, there would be no
way for their parents to impart that kind of lesson to them. A large part of the students’ experiences rested in their ability to take advantage of the opportunities that were present in their environment, whether in the city of Chicago or in the Chicago land suburbs. The most notable characteristic of many of the multiracial students I interviewed was there innate sense of awareness and respect for other races and cultures. Many of the students expressed their appreciation of being born of two different racial and cultural backgrounds because they had the option, unlike students who are only of one racial and cultural background, of choosing the best qualities from both groups and incorporating those qualities into themselves.

In conclusion, one spouse’s racial and cultural background can become dominant over another spouse’s racial and cultural background. This occurrence is not because one race or culture is superior to the other in any way. However, there are a myriad of other factors that may affect which racial and cultural background becomes dominant in the *hapa* child’s life. For example, in a family where the Caucasian father or mother never really teaches their children about his or her own cultural background, there is no way for the child to be aware of this part of them, let alone embrace it and express it in their own way. By nature, these students may have been born with two different racial and cultural backgrounds but without sparked interest, application or that culture’s presence in the students life, it is hard to imagine that it would factor into the child’s cultural upbringing at all. Through social networks with people of the same racial and cultural background, participation in racial and cultural clubs and personal interest, these eight multiracial students were able to nurture whatever cultural knowledge their parents had imparted on them. Ultimately, the parents have no control over which spouse’s racial and cultural background dictates the cultural upbringing of their children. The racial and cultural identity of this subpopulation of part-Asian and part-Caucasian students depends on their own desire to learn about both cultures, to discern both cultures’ importance in their lives, and to express either culture or both cultures with pride.


[4] U.S. Census Bureau, Census 2000 Summary File1. pg. 8


[7] Posadas, Barbara M. Pg. 227


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