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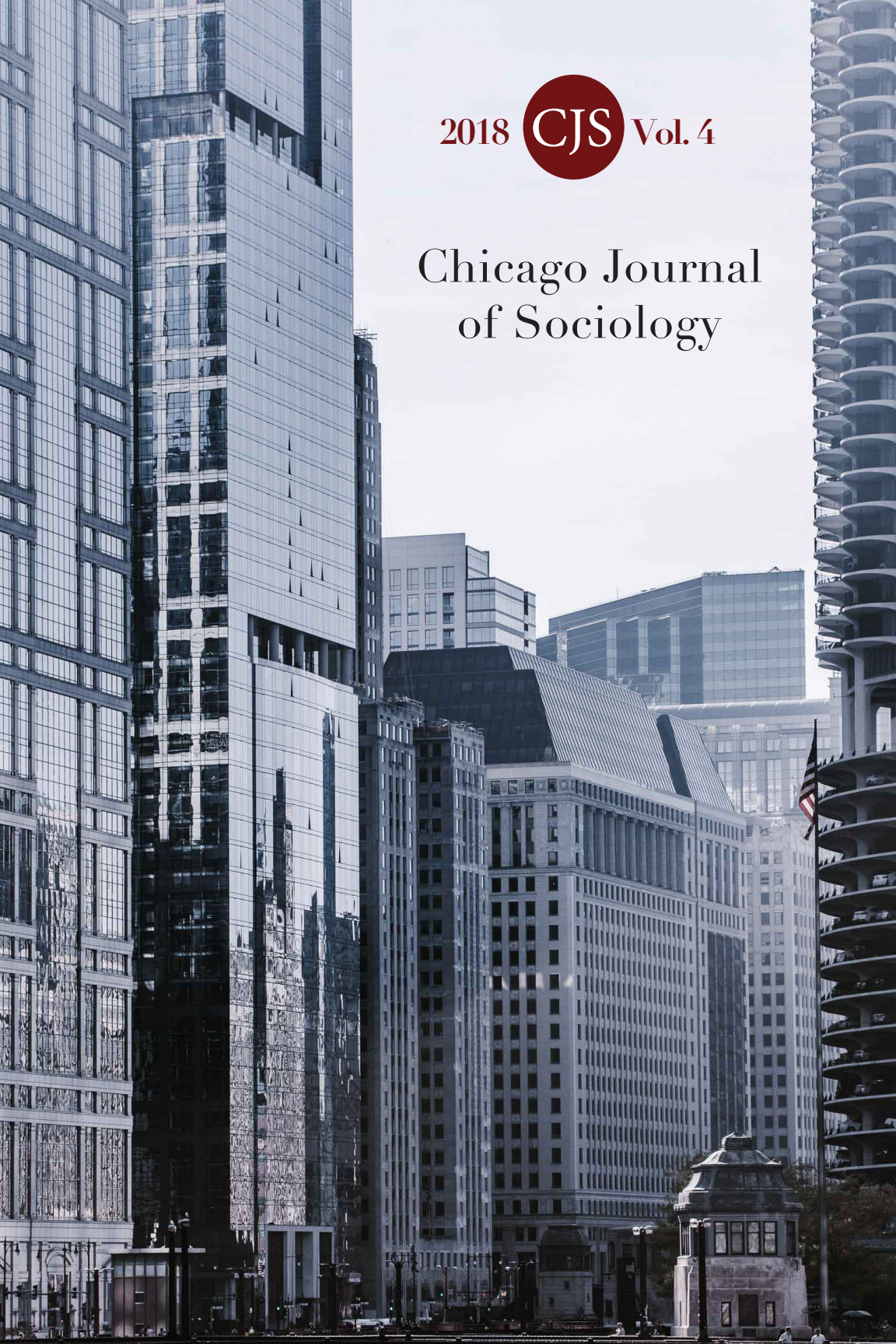

The Chicago Journal of Sociology (CJS) publishes excellent undergraduate work in the social sciences, while giving student editors experience turning coursework into publishable academic articles. CJS is looking for papers that offer well formulated arguments about topics of sociological interest. We value clear, straightforward prose, careful citation, and a wide range of methodological approaches. For more information on submitting your paper, or on joining our staff, visit sociology.uchicago.edu/cjs or contact cjsuchicago@gmail.com.

Editor's Note

By way of quick historical overview, the Chicago Journal of Sociology was conceived as a vehicle to facilitate sharing. The purpose of the journal was to give sociology majors the chance to share their B.A. theses with each other while they were still a work in progress. This model provided a forum for constructive criticism and, in the end, celebrated the B.A. writing process with a physical copy of the participants' efforts: the journal.

In more recent years, the journal has shifted its focus to acquainting younger sociology majors with sociology research and the publishing process as a whole. This year's journal in particular emphasized a comprehensive review process, which involved reading and debating the merits of each submitted paper. That being said, the mission of the journal has always been to publish excellent undergraduate research, and this year's edition follows suite.

Chen begins this year's journal by exploring the theme of identity and how family structure influences the lives of second generation Chinese-American women. Davis explores the ways in which bicultural Jewish-Catholic families construct a "100% both" identity at an interfaith Sunday school. Rimlinger surveys Local School Councils in Chicago through the lens of bureaucratic and democratic organizations to identify distinct categories of Latino/a parent involvement. Jindal also studies bureaucracy, but with respect to mission driven organizations, evidenced by the 2016 Hillary for North Carolina campaign. Also on the topic of politics, Goodfellow applies spatially specific data analysis to correlate income inequality with tea party activity. We learned a lot reading and reviewing these papers, and hopefully you do as well!

Sincerely,
Henry Connolly
CJS Executive Editor

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Aspirational Landscapes: Gendering the Chinese-American Second Generation

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B.A. Sociology and Comparative Race and Ethnic Studies

Sociologists of U.S. immigration track second generation quantitative outcomes to measure incorporation success for different racial and ethnic groups. Immigration sociologists have examined at length second generation interactions with public institutions, tracking outcomes such as language acquisition, household income, and political participation. However, scholars often overlook second generation interactions in the realm of the 'private': Asian Americanists especially have either entirely ignored issues of family and gender, or have essentialized the immigrant family as a nest of ethnic culture. In this project, I examine the role of the family as a structural institution in the lives of second generation Chinese American women. I use the concept of an *aspirational landscape* as a guiding principle to understand how gendered interactions of the everyday delineate the boundaries of possibility for women. In doing this, I demonstrate how issues of the public are in fact inseparable from those of the private: second generation outcomes are tightly bound to the familial, the intimate, and the everyday.

Introduction

The history of Chinese migration to the United States illustrates the ways in which racializing processes function simultaneously with gender concepts to structure migrant lives. Chinese immigrants first began arriving in the United States during the California Gold Rush around 1848. The new immigrants were "heathen, crafty, and dishonest", "marginal members of the human race" compared to the superior Anglo-Americans (Lee 2003, 25). At the center of this racialization were concepts of gender and sexuality, with "Chinese women symboliz[ing] the most fundamental differences between the West and the Far East" (Lee 2003, 26). Between 1860 and 1870, 70 to 85 percent of the Chinese women who immigrated to the United States were prostitutes (Hsu 2000, 93), and these prostitutes supposedly represented a "sexualized danger with the power to subvert both the domestic ideal and existing relations between white heterosexual men and women" (Lee 2003, 26). Under these race-gender schemas, Congress enacted the Page Act of 1875 to specifically prevent Chinese women from entering the United States, nearly a decade earlier than the enactment of the famous Chinese Exclusion Act of 1882. Through 1943, the Chinese exclusion laws were significantly stricter for Chinese women than for Chinese men and became more and more restrictive for Chinese women over time (Hsu 2000). When Congress enacted the National Origins Act in 1924, the new immigration law explicitly banned "Chinese women, wives, and prostitutes" and further guarded against Chinese female

immigrants by ensuring that "foreign-born wives of U.S. citizens were ineligible for citizenship and could not enter the United States" (Hsu 2000, 96).

Chinese immigration today still epitomizes a crucial racial schema of the States: the dichotomy between black and brown 'cultures of poverty' and Asian Americans 'model minority' status. Chinese conflation with Asian American model minority status began in the second-half of the twentieth century as fear of the 'yellow peril' transformed into a lauding of Japanese and Chinese Americans as upwardly mobile and exemplars of "traditional Asian values" (Wu 2013). Chinese immigrants became again centered in conversations of Asian American model minority status with the publication of Amy Chua's (2011) *Battle Hymn of the Tiger Mother*, which marketed Chua as a strict, sexy, and successful Chinese mother of two high-performing second generation women. Taken up by scholars, parenting groups, policy makers, and media outlets alike, the figure of the Chinese Tiger Mother has dominated discussions of second generation outcomes, representing a naturally successful oriental culture through the Asian female body. In this study, I examine the structurally-produced lived experiences of Chinese American women in order to intervene in the sphere of the seemingly pure, essential, cultural space of the family.

Second Generation Incorporation

With a population of over 83 million, immigrants and their second generation children represent over 30% of the total U.S. population (CPS 2016). The second generation, defined as U.S. born individuals with at least one immigrant parent, has a population of over 36 million, making up over 11% of the total U.S. population. The vast majority of these migrants and second generation children are migrants of color from Asia, Africa, and Latin America, who began entering the United States in large groups after the Hart-Cellar Immigration Act of 1965 overturned the National Origins Immigration Act of 1924. Sociologists in this early half of the 20th century attempted to understand the differences between white migrant and migrant of color incorporation outcomes by theorizing processes of assimilation, popularized by Chicago School sociologist Milton Gordon in 1964. Interested in measuring long term outcomes for migrant families, sociologists of immigration began tracking second, third, and subsequent generation outcomes as a useful way of comparing assimilation success across different racial and ethnic groups.

Today, assimilation and segmented assimilation theories continue to dominate as the central frameworks under which immigration sociologists measure and analyze immigrant incorporation in the States. According to assimilation theory, survey data capturing quantitative success markers of a racial or ethnic group including educational attainment (Bankston and Zhou 1998), annual household income (Ortiz and Telles 2008), rate of intermarriage (Spickard 1989), language acquirement (Ortiz and Telles 2008), political incorporation (Zolberg 2006), residential integration (Jiménez 2010), and others can measure how well migrants are incorporating into the U.S. In the mid-twentieth century, sociologists theorized that migrants of color would follow an incorporation pattern mirroring that of

white migrant families in the earlier half of the century, with assimilation marker attainment improving over each successive generation (Gordon 1964). When this failed to be the case, biological explanations for this failure arose and eventually fell away to cultural explanations that masked race and racism under colorblind ideology (Bonilla-Silva 2006).

Under colorblind ideology, poverty cycle concepts, often referred to as 'culture of poverty' cycles, were used to describe the lack of work ethic and poverty-producing mechanisms inherent in black and brown cultures, while 'model minority' concepts was used to describe the quiet, obedient, and hardworking nature of Asian Americans (Tuan 1998). In this way, concepts of culture became a safe way to mask racist stereotypes while explaining outcome differences for various racial and ethnic groups in the U.S. Attempting to understand instead the *structural* mechanisms that produced outcome differences for racial and ethnic groups in the U.S., sociologists Min Zhou and Alejandro Portes (1993) theorized that factors such as racial discrimination, labor market bifurcation, growing American inequality, and the growth of drug use and street gangs structured migrant of color incorporation through a framework termed *segmented assimilation*. Accordingly, Asian Americans were shown to have assimilated upwards and most successfully toward whiteness as an immigrant group, as quantitative analyses have shown Asian Americans achieving higher levels of markers such as education, intermarriage, socioeconomic status, and residential integration in comparison to other immigrant groups (Dhingra and Rodriguez 2014). However, the framework of segmented assimilation still failed to account for how second generation Asian Americans were able to achieve incorporation markers, especially as demographers found significant educational differences between ethnoracial groups even after controlling for demographic, socioeconomic, and contextual variables (Lee and Zhou 2015).

Sociologists have taken up the project of locating structural explanatory factors of second generation incorporation by examining how the second generation interacts with various public institutions. In *Asian American Achievement Paradox*, for example, Lee and Zhou (2015) explore *how* second generation Asian Americans benefit from ethnic community organization and host-society reception, arguing that a combination of "structural, cultural, and social psychological processes interact at the global and local levels" to provide "1.5- and second generation Chinese and Vietnamese with a 'toolkit' of resources that help them get ahead, despite class disadvantages" (Lee and Zhou 2015, 5). Gilda Ochoa (2013) takes a different route, examining how second generation Asian Americans come in contact with the institution of the school, arguing that Asian Americans are 'academically profiled' and granted class-specific resources that allow Asian American students to get ahead, such as advanced academic tracks, after-school programs, and tutoring. Other immigration sociologists have explored the ways in which the second generation encounters public institutions such as welfare agencies, health care providers, churches, political institutions, and various labor markets.

Scholars have yet to take into account how second generation outcomes are

shaped by structural formations of gender. Asian Americanists have especially failed to critically examine how issues of gender formation and family relationships shape second generation outcomes, as Zhou and Lee point out in their 2015 text. Leisy Abrego (2014) moves in this new direction by examining the ways in which gender shapes and structures family relationships of Salvadoran transnational families. She demonstrates, for example, that gender inequities lock Salvadoran migrant women into working in the domestic and service-oriented job sector, which provides less pay than jobs available to men. At the same time, gendered constructions of motherhood place a greater responsibility on mothers to fulfill parental roles, producing tension in intergenerational relationships that demand more from the mothers than is structurally possible. By bridging the gap between the sociology of immigration and the sociology of gender, Abrego is able to delve much deeper into the lived conditions of migrant families and bring to light the gendered sociological structures that shape migrant outcomes. As a critical structuring mechanism of second generation outcomes, gender concepts have been passed over for far too long by Asian Americanists and sociologists of immigration.

Feminist Analytics

Immigration scholars have attempted to study second generation incorporation outcomes by focusing on institutions of the public. This focus leads to a lacuna of sociological knowledge around a key part of second generation socialization that takes place in the seemingly neutral sphere of the private home. Asian Americanists often pass over examining the institution of the family, given that scholars in the past who have centered the family have done so under racist notions of Asian cultural superiority, rewriting structurally produced family dynamics into essentialized cultural norms (Lee and Zhou 2015). As Lee and Zhou point out, the stakes of 'turning inwards' are high: studies of migrant and non-migrant families of color have become racially coded as notions of cultural inferiority and superiority throughout the twentieth and twenty-first century.

Feminist literature, however, has deeply problematized notions of the neutral private, critiquing the public private divide that shields scholars from turning inwards toward examining messy, unspectacular, everyday life. Elizabeth Povinelli (2008) locates structure in the seemingly unstructured sphere of the private by reexamining notions of causality and the temporal that fail to account for the way in which the unspectacular everyday is produced. She demonstrates, for example, that although state violence almost always takes place not in a singular catastrophic event, but in "ordinary, chronic, acute, and cruddy" pain, discourses of illness and disease are saturated by the logic of the neoliberal market. The social causes and social distributions of lethality are in this way transformed into the responsibility of the individual or the failures of their *culture*. By expanding our notions of causality to include more expansive temporal modes, structure becomes illuminated: the state—not the individual or their failing culture—becomes the causal mechanism.

Similarly, in this project I delve into the sphere of the private everyday in order to draw out the hidden structural mechanisms within the family form that shape second

generation outcomes. I show how notions of gender difference are mobilized within the family, demonstrating the ways in which different experiences of mental, physical, and emotional regulation across gendered lines produce different conditions for second generation men and women to aspire toward the future. In my analyses, I use the concept of an *aspirational landscape* to better illustrate how gendered imaginaries of the future can structure the lived reality of the present. In using this conceptual model I draw from Carolyn Kay Steedman's (1987) "Landscape for a Good Woman," in which Steedman writes of the ways her mothers' aspirations for her created a landscape upon which she understands, shapes, and moves through her own life. Bridging future imaginaries with the lived experience of the present, an aspirational landscape is the desire for the future through which we experience the present.

Methods

Feminist literature has demonstrated the ways in which men are read as 'unmarked', neutral, non-gendered bodies, while only women are gendered and carry the weight of its consequences. In this project, I chose to focus on the experience of second generation women—interviewing 22 women and 5 men and centering women's subjectivities to understand the processes by which concepts of gender difference become lived bodily reality. By choosing to focus on women, I do not wish to argue that gender issues are women's issues only—in fact, using data collected from male interviewees and interviewees' accounts of brothers, male cousins, and other male relatives, I show how women's gendered experiences are simultaneously constructed and mutually dependent upon men's gendered privileges.

I conducted in-depth, semi-structured interviews with 27 second generation Chinese, Taiwanese Americans, Chinese Canadians, and Taiwanese Canadians in the Chicago, Detroit, and Washington, D.C., and San Francisco area over a period of four months from July 2016 through October 2016. I obtained interviewees primarily using snowball sampling after beginning with a few key informants. When screening potential interviewees, I required interviewees to have been raised by at least one Chinese or Taiwanese first-generation parent, and interviewees had to have been raised in the U.S. for the majority of their childhood years (approximately 10+ years). I limited interviewee age range to 18 to 25; this population of transitioning new adults were well positioned to both accurately recall and reflect with depth on their very recent childhood experiences. The interviews lasted 1.5 hours to 3.5 hours and usually took place in coffee shops, library classrooms, study rooms, and interviewees' apartments, with one interview taking place over Skype.

I conducted the interviews in three sections: parent migration history, parent to parent relationship, and parent to child relationship. I covered 8-10 questions with probes, allowing for interviewees to direct the conversation if some topic or question became particularly important. All interviews ended with a four-page demographic questionnaire covering basic demographic information for all of the interviewees' nuclear family members (ex. age, occupation, annual income, English language and Chinese language fluency,

year of migration, political affiliation). I transcribed the interviews and hand-coded for recurring themes and patterns. In the analysis, all interviewees' names have been anonymized in order to protect interviewees' privacy.

Although the interviews were primarily conducted in the Chicagoland area, interviewees were raised in a diverse set of urban, suburban, and rural settings across the U.S. Interviewees came from socioeconomic backgrounds ranging from just above poverty (annual household income ~30,000) to extremely wealthy (annual household income over 500,000), with most interviewees coming from middle-class backgrounds (annual household income ~90,000). Interviewees and their nuclear family members had varying legal statuses in the U.S., ranging from U.S. citizens, Green Card holders and permanent residents, temporary Visas, to undocumented migrants. Most interviewees were raised by two Chinese parents, with a few interviewees raised by a single Chinese mother and one interviewee raised by a Chinese mother and white father. Almost all interviews were conducted in English, although Mandarin phrases were used throughout, with some interviewees preferring to conduct major portions of the interview in Mandarin. In these cases, I transcribed the Mandarin directly and then translated during the coding process.

In-depth interviews were essential for this study. For decades, quantitative methods have been used to analyze migrant outcomes, but quantitative data has failed to tell us *why* immigrants successfully or do not successfully incorporate. More importantly, quantitative data gives us only a glimpse into the real question we ask when studying immigration: how do migrants move through their lives? Qualitative data collection and analysis is crucial to the pursuit of understanding immigration and immigrant lives. By conducting in-depth interviews with the second generation, I was able to hear interviewees' own valuable interpretations of parenting and the experiences of being parented. I was able to listen to interviewees recall events from childhood and discuss their plans and hopes for the future. I hope that I was able to give interviewees the opportunity to be heard.

By nature of the research topic, interviewees often had to recall intimate and sometimes extremely painful memories of family trauma or violence. In cases where extremely traumatic events were discussed, I took time to build rapport with interviewees and allowed interviewees to get comfortable speaking about their experiences, which was important when interviewees cried, broke down, or felt unable to continue. Throughout the interview process, I always offered interviewees the opportunity to take breaks and was open about my shared experiences and empathetic feelings. To this end, I am endlessly grateful to my interviewees, who were open and welcoming and willing to share some of the most intimate details of their lives, sometimes sitting with me for entire afternoons or days to discuss what they—and I—feel is a missing story in the broadening literature of U.S. immigration studies.

Tracking the Intimate; Thinking in the Everyday

Gender theory often places at its center a dynamic relationship between more 'concrete' phenomena such as the male and

female body and more abstract concepts such as masculinity and femininity. This structure will guide my discussion of the ways in which gender and its concepts shapes lived experience for women of the second generation. In my analysis, I begin with a discussion of the female body and how the female body is seen, regulated, and often rejected in the private sphere. I then move to discuss the more abstract ways in which parents regulate the women's sexualities in the present by calling into being what they desire for their daughters in the future. I conclude by thinking through the ways in which parents negotiate gender difference between sons and daughters and how these differences produce aspirational landscapes through which women must move through in the everyday. In other words, I show how the lives of second generation women are structured through a particular temporal mode that constantly demands both the present everyday and imagined future, as second generation women move through everyday life as dictated by the needs of their futures as ideal wives and mothers.

The Female Body

The female body generates intense effects: in interviews, issues of bodily shame and disgust were pervasive and appeared frequently as structuring mechanisms for relationships between family members. The women reported being unable to broach the topic of sex, puberty, or menstruation with even their closest family members. This barrier was particularly important in structuring relationships between women and their fathers, in many cases producing drastic changes on the overall family structure over time. Carol, 21, became increasingly emotionally distant from her father as she matured out of childhood. The real turning point occurred at the moment she began to menstruate. As she describes,

> "I was closer to my dad when I was younger. Like, literally after I got my period is when my dad and I… our relationship started to not be as close. We still spent time together, but I think he felt uncomfortable talking about women's body issues, or that kind of stuff with me, and then after that I was always closer to my mom."

Across all interviews, the women reported feeling much closer to their mothers and especially so after early childhood--after menstruation began, the women went to their mothers "for everything: mental, physical, emotional support," recalls 20-year-old Emily. Jessica, 22, describes of her parental relationships after growing up, "My dad and I…I think a lot of our relationship now is like him sort of explaining things about why things are the way they are, and with my mom it's very like, we talk about everything, it's more of the nitty gritty." This family dynamic is summed up succinctly by Ellen, a 21-year-old Chinese American woman from Johns Creek, Georgia: "My mother does everything and knows everything… there are so many details my mother knows and he [my father] doesn't…she's 98% the parent."

Male interviewees and interviewees' brothers did not experience the emotional fallout that second generation women experienced with their fathers. Often, desiring distance from the female bodies of their daughters, fathers were very explicit about preferring their male children as their female children entered into puberty. As a gendered dynamic of the family, fathers

were also usually the head of household. As I later show, these affects surrounding issues of the female body have serious consequences for the second generation women's experiences of child prioritization and resource distribution, particularly as notions of the menstruating female body became tied to gender concepts of female emotionality and intellectual inferiority.

Interviewee's parents intensely regulated the women's physical occupation of space every second of every minute of every day, creating severe demands for every way the women's bodies interacted with the material world. Daughters recalled being reminded and reprimanded to sit, stand, and walk gracefully; to speak, laugh, and yawn without drawing attention; to wash their hair more, wash their face more, grow their hair out, shave, wear more makeup, wear dresses, wear more heels, wear lighter colors, wear brighter colors, wear more flowers, and in general, "be more feminine." As Vanessa, 22, recalls, her mother often complained that she was "not presentable, too loud, not pretty enough, not good looking…my mom was always like you should put your hair this way, you should dress that way, you should throw these shirts out, you should get your teeth whitened, you should get your teeth straightened out." Jane, 21, recalls of her constant fights at home, "She [my mother] wanted me to wear dresses, but I didn't like dresses. I just don't like dresses. She wanted me to wear bright colors, but I'm not a bright colored person. And she wants me to do makeup, but I'm too lazy. And don't really want to."

While the women were guided, pushed, or forced to present themselves in particular ways every day, brothers or male interviewees very rarely received feedback about the way they dressed, the way their bodies occupied space, or their physical weight. Vanessa and her mother bickered constantly over Vanessa's physical presentation, but Vanessa recalls that her mother "never hampered on [her] brother's self presentation." Cecelia, 21, recalls, "I remember one time I tried talking to my parents about why they would always tell me to 'be less promiscuous' and not dress very revealing and focused on the way I looked and never brought that up to my brother, and they just kind of brushed it off."

Although parents had many ways of regulating women's bodies and behavior, the most pervasive patterns of regulation always surrounded the women "taking up too much space." The women were reprimanded for taking up space through their presence, speech, movement, behavior, attitude, needs, and desires. Parents felt that the women complained too much, talked too much, cried too much, just *were* too much. Emily, 20, recalls, "My parents have told me ever since I was young, you're selfish, you're demanding, you're pushing, don't do that." Jane, 21, tells of her frequent arguments with her mother:

> "We have these arguments about gender roles. She wants me to be more feminine, I'm like, I don't want to be more feminine, and that's an ongoing thing from my childhood. Pretty much as long as I can remember. She's always had opinions on how I should act as a woman. She's always like, be more graceful, less wild. I'll say things that are 'not polite', things that I think are funny…she just wants me to be sweeter and less cynical."

Parents' intense regulation of daughters bodies and gender performance evokes

a Foucauldian analytics of biopower and bodily discipline that binds intimately the more abstract realm of knowledge and power with the physical body and its movements. The women were pushed in every moment of their lives to be more feminine, to be less present. Every regulation pushed the women to conform to rules of heterosexual desirability, making possible through the present everyday the aspirational future of 'wife'. Structured by parents' abstract desires for daughters' futures as desirable partners, the women's bodies were intensely and constantly surveilled and then disciplined into the type of "docile body"—to borrow from Foucault—that would perform the desired functions for the women's futures (Foucault 1975). For these women, bodily discipline was not only an avenue of mass regulation; in their most desirable form, these women would be *only bodies*. The women were not pushed to speak certain things, but instead to *speak less in general*. Through everyday regulation in the present, the women could call into being their futures as simply physical bodies capable of attracting a male mate for reproduction.

Beyond regulating the ways in which their daughters performed femininity, parents were also heavily involved in regulating the amount of space their daughter's bodies occupied. Helen, 22, says of the relationship she has with her father: "My dad is very controlling, to this day… he came to visit me, and asked me how much I weighed, and why I was wearing the things I was wearing…I think that was a huge thing when I was younger, like why do you, what are you wearing, how much do you weigh…?" Jenny, 22, recalls feeling frustrated by the issue of body weight when it became a problem for her younger sister: "I berate her [my mother] for talking about obesity a lot. It's so bizarre. She makes comments about that to my sister a lot, which makes no sense to me [...] but she'll say my sister's too fat. Before. And in recent time." This kind of severe bodily regulation can have dangerous or life-threatening consequences for the second generation women. Catherine, 20, tells of her eating disorder, developed under constant pressure to diet from her father:

> "I feel like the reason why I developed this weird eating disorder when I was growing up is because my dad would always be like, exercise is so important, you should be exercising every day…so there was that pressure from my dad. And still when I go home, my dad's always asking, or like when I call him, he's always asking did I go to the gym today? or [he'll say] make sure you to the gym, or make sure you go for a run!"

Alice, 21, is another interviewee who developed an eating disorder as a result of dieting pressure from her grandparents, who raised her after her father left the family. Her mother would remind her to "dress cuter, not be so loud, and don't be disruptive," and her grandparents would comment incessantly on her eating habits, reminding Alice that both her and her younger sister's 'swimmer bodies' were overly masculine and unattractive. For Alice, this pressure later developed into a severe eating disorder that pulled Alice out of school for recovery. These were only some of the cases that showed the ways in which parents often chose to prioritize daughters' physical presentation over their health, comfort, or happiness, although this pattern emerged frequently in the minute but revealing

everyday demands of the women's bodies. For example, the parents were generally unconcerned with the women's Body Mass Index (BMI), a more telling quantitative marker body health. Instead, parents were concerned how and where fat was located on the body and whether this would affect the women's attractiveness to men.

Parents also regulated the women's movement through physical space. Movement was gendered at every scale: in the day-to-day, daughters were instructed to walk and run in feminine ways, while on a larger scale, daughters were restricted from moving across state and national borders in concern of women's safety. Jane, 21, for example, fought intensely with her parents over their worries over her safety that restricted her from traveling across state lines alone. As she recalls, "I wanted to go to Montana to go to Glacier National Park, to go on vacation for a week. My mom did not like that. So at first she was fighting really hard against that…she thinks it's cause I'm a girl, she doesn't see me as an adult; I'm a girl in this big dark scary world." Vanessa, 22, recalls very similar interactions with her mother. In one case, she tells laughing, she snuck out with her friends to get a tattoo late at night. When her mother found out, her mother was horrified: "Not at the tattoo," Vanessa says, "but at the fact that I was out past 11PM." For as long as she lives, Vanessa recites, rolling her eyes, Vanessa's mother will not allow Vanessa to "drive alone at night, drive with female friends at night, or drive with male friends at night." For Elizabeth, a 23-year-old Taiwanese-American woman from Ithaca, New York, Elizabeth's parents' strict regulations of her movement shaped the conditions of her future employment, a pattern that I later discuss. As Elizabeth recalls,

> "Last summer I was going to do this internship, either in Hong Kong or parts of China, to do human rights things, and I remember they were really worried about this kind of thing. Then they were just like flat out NO, don't do this, do something else, and then in the end I compromised and then did an internship in the U.S. on Chinese rights. I don't think they were worried so much the price of it as like…safety in their mind was like, like…having me in a safe environment was the issue."

May, 20, pointed out that her parents were almost never satisfied with her brother's pursuit of various internships throughout his high school and college career, pushing him to explore further and accomplish more, while May herself, like Elizabeth, was often only reminded to do what was "safe" and "comfortable". May's directives demonstrate the stakes of bodily regulation as it pertains to possibilities for the future: parents' regulations of women's bodies not only limits what is possible in the present every day, as women are asked to 'exist less' and take up less space. These bodily regulations are the conditions of possibility through which women will move through their lives in the future as well. While the men were free to grow and move in a diverse array of directions, the women were expected to be still, silent, and presentable: future wives, always in the making.

Sexuality

Perhaps a bridge between the more concrete physical figure of the woman and the more abstract realm of movement, aspiration, and futurity, in this section

I trace the ways in which women's lived experiences were structured by gendered notions of sexuality. Issues of sex and sexuality evoked the female body simultaneously with future imaginaries of family obligation, wifehood, and motherhood. In interviews, the women described innumerous ways in which issues of sex and sexuality were regulated, even though explicit discussions of sex rarely rose to the surface. Interviewees remarked that fathers were most responsible for limiting any relationship with sex and sexuality, while fathers were also the parent the most willing to give sons total sexual freedom. No matter which parent involved, however, the issue of sex often generated the most serious fights between female interviewees and their parents. May, 20, reported having a very strong bond with both of her parents, rarely fighting when she was growing up, with one major exception: at the end of May's senior year in high school, a fellow male classmate began to pursue May, causing May's parents to fly into a panic. As she describes, "Honestly the whole experience was kind of traumatic—they would literally tell me things like 'he's the devil', other things like that. I didn't even like the boy either, but it was like, why are you controlling who I can like, who I can date, who I'm interested in or not interested in?...That never happened to [my brother]." Elizabeth, 23, recalls feeling similarly frustrated after fighting with her parents over her choice to date in college: "Those reservations about me dating…they wouldn't be the same if I were a boy. All of my Asian friends that are guys, their parents are super chill with it. But all my friends that are Asian girls, their parents are a lot warier. And as for me, they've also been super wary."

Male interviewees also reported that women were very restricted in their expressions of sexuality, while they themselves were given total freedom. John, 22, reflects on his father's regulation of his sister's sexuality:

> "There are certain kind of gendered expectations…he'll just say casual offhand comments that are a bit strange, like when [my sister] was talking about makeup, he would be like, girls should be pretty…or he'll say like, [my sister] shouldn't, girls shouldn't date until they're at least in college, but then he has no problem with me dating…I don't know, it's weird. He really believes women should only date at a certain age; he told my sister you can't date in high school."

Meanwhile Kevin, a 21-year-old Chinese American man from New Hyde Park, New York, reflects on the freedom he was granted to pursue sex as he wanted:

> "When I was getting a girlfriend, my mom talked to my grandfather, and he was very protective of what I wanted to do. He told my mom to just mind her own business and let me do whatever I wanted, and my mom was like okay, fine. I think it's because I was the first grandson he had, so he and my grandmother really saw me as basically a son to them, and they didn't want my mom to like, deprive me of what I think I would require to be happy."

Parents were keen on limiting the women's relationships with sexuality through every possible avenue, whether it was the pursuit of sex with a partner, the exploration of sexuality through masturbation, or the development of independent ideas of sex and sexuality. Elizabeth, 23, reflects on parents' strict notions of female virginity and purity:

> "The going assumption has always been that I would only have sex after marriage. […] It's not really religious, and neither is it about health. They have a definite sense of what a wife should bring to a husband, which I really disagree with [...] I remember they would say [of a sexuality active woman]: how is she going to marry anyone now? Who's going to want that? And that was super offensive to me."

While masturbation was widely accepted as necessary and natural for the men, masturbation was absolutely unacceptable for any of the second generation women, generating some of the most intense effects of disgust and revulsion from parents and fathers in particular. Emily, 20, describes of her own encounters with porn as a child:

> "When I was young actually my dad did catch, he had seen in my browsing history that I had seen porn, and he would make it a very big moment of shame for me. He would bring me to his office and be like, what is this? Why are you looking at this? You shouldn't be looking at this. And I would feel really bad about it… there was never any room for me to respond. I would just run away."

Expressions of female sexuality were also controlled through parents' demands for 'appropriate' clothing, makeup, and behavior. Parents sought to curb women's relationship with sex and sexuality, even as they were continuously being prepped as objects of sexual desire. Men were allowed active positions in the realm of sex and sexual exploration, while actively sexual women were seen as contradictory to the women's futures as ideal wives and mothers. Women were expected to be chaste and virginal in looks, attitude, and behavior--faithful to a future husband that was already present in the women's lived reality.

Across interviews, both male and female interviewees reported having different racialized dating restrictions along gendered lines. In these cases, parents did not allow their daughters to date men of particular racial or ethnic groups depending on the perception that the men were overly masculine, dangerous, or patriarchal. In many cases, fathers held these views alongside a strong notion of female fragility and innocence, evoking a paternal protection of their female children from dangerous, scary 'dark' men. Male interviewees and interviewees' brothers were not limited by the same terms, as parents often figured they could 'handle themselves.' Throughout the interviews, 'dangerous men' included in various combinations black, brown, Indian, Korean, Mexican, and Chinese men, with black men cited most often as symbolizing a great danger to daughters' purity, innocence, and fragility. Catherine, 20, reflects, "My parents, they always ask me to be safe and don't be around black people, don't be around Mexican people…they're more worried about me because I am a girl. They view me as more fragile than if I were a boy. So they're pretty protective of me…for dating and stuff, they're more protective." Emily, 20, and Julia, 20, are not allowed to date Korean men, due to a perception of Korean men's overly aggressive manners, while Cindy, 19, and Lucy, 20, are not allowed to date Indian men for the same reason. While the racial and ethnic groups fluctuate slightly, the race-gender schema does not change: fragile, innocent, virginal daughters need to be protected from black and brown men, who are aggressive, dangerous, and hypersexual.

Black feminist theories of intersectionality provide useful analytics for understanding this schema. Stemming from a need to understand both the structures of privilege and oppression that shaped the lived experience of women of color, intersectionality theory argues that regulatory structures—such as race, gender, immigration status—are always simultaneously evoked and must be studied as such in order to understand how oppressions are actually lived (Crenshaw 1991). Elizabeth Spelman (1988) demonstrates, for example, that in the seemingly separate Aristotelian views on women and black slaves, gender and race were instead simultaneously evoked and mutually reinforcing: gender, for example, could only be read upon the body after a race schema had already been established, since black women were not women, but slaves, and white women were female-bodied individuals who were not black. In the race-gender schema that posits black men and Asian women at two ends of a dichotomy, gendered racialization process read Asian female bodies as fragile, pure, and in needing of protection in a way that is not evoked for Asian men or white women. Similarly, black men are read as dangerous and hypersexual in a gendered racialization process that sees blackness and maleness as mutually enforcing a deviant racialization. As literature on intersectionality has shown, race and gender structures are created and maintained simultaneously, often regulating most strictly female bodies, bodies of color, and female bodies of color. For these second generation Chinese American women, these race-gender schemas prevented them from pursuing their romantic interests freely in a way that was made available to second generation men. These gendered racialization process also worked to limit the possibilities for independent travel and career exploration, as 'weak and fragile' daughters were often reminded that they were incapable of facing the outside world alone.

Sex and sexuality expectations set by parents always implicitly demanded heterosexuality, which became a serious issue when the women were attracted to, dating, or committed to other women. Knowing her parents' refusal to engage in any discussion of non-heterosexual sexualities, Jenny, 22, tells of being unable to come out to her parents:

> "This summer I went to pride parade…My friend posted a picture of it on Facebook and tagged me in it. My dad saw it and sent me a picture saying, what is this? My mom actually called me twice that day, and I just ignored it until 11 and just said I was sleeping. [...] So I guess for going to pride parade, they're not going to disown me. But if I were to come out to them, then…I really don't know what would happen."

As I later discuss, Jenny's parents' restrictions on her sexuality became the foundation for Jenny's career path in finance, a direction that would lead Jenny toward the financial independence she desired in order to freely marry her significant other, at the same time severing any ties to her parents.

While pressured to limit, hide, or refuse their sexualities, the women I interviewed simultaneously reported feeling endlessly pressured to "marry, settle down, and have children": aspiring toward gendered formations of the future, women's interactions with their parents often revolved almost entirely around the issue of finding a boyfriend. Helen, 22, reflects,

> "My dad has expectations…he thinks college is the place that I need to be actively working to find a rich husband. [...] He talks to my aunt too and my aunt will be like, you don't want to be 40 and find yourself without a rich husband. So the questions now, when he comes to visit, he asks about weight and appearance, but the very first question he asks me when he comes and he hasn't seen me in three months is like, do you have a boyfriend?"

Cindy, 19, tells a similar story, sarcastically recalling her parents' demands that she marry someone rich from school, settle down, and have children: "They bring it up every time I go home. They're like, when are you going to bring someone home? [...] My dad will say things like, 'What are you going to do if you don't have kids? What's your life going to be like?'" This sentiment in particular was pervasive throughout interviews–interviewees remarked again and again that their parents would not only push them to date, marry, and have children, but would remind them that if they did *not* date, marry, and have children, their lives would be *meaningless*. For second generation men, parents would remark that marrying and having children would *bring* love and meaning into their lives, while for second generation women, parents would remark that marrying and having children would be the meaning of their lives. In other words, while men would benefit from having a family, women, in their ability to bring a family into the world, were they themselves the benefit. Parents were incredibly anxious to create the conditions for wifehood and motherhood by limiting the active pursuit of sex while at the same time pushing for the pursuit of partnership.

Parents had plenty of advice to give regarding their daughters' roles as wives and mothers in the future. May, 20, laughed while recalling her mother's advice, "She told me when I get a husband, I have to remember that my husband is always in charge, or like head of the family, to quote her." Catherine, 20, repeats her mother's advice: "When you're a wife, you want to make sure you cook a good meal for your husband. [...] It's definitely pretty gendered. She's into teaching me how to cook, there's been stuff about how when I have my own family I need to learn how to take care of them, cooking and cleaning and stuff." Cindy, 19, complains, "My dad will say things...you'll have to do the work, you'll have to do all the work when you have kids. And I'll be like why? Why can't my husband do half of it? And he'll be like haha you're funny. That sort of reaction."

While the women learned to cook and clean, the men were free to pursue anything and everything else. John, 22, even recalls being reprimanded by his mother when he attempted to learn how to cook because there was 'always going to be somebody' to do it for him. John was pushed to focus his energies toward his career, but the women were often pulled away from thoughts of their career with reminders "marry, settle down, and have children" and then "clean, cook, and defer." Seeing their daughters as always-already wives and mothers, parents were eager to remind daughters of the right ways to take on their future roles by regulating their present everyday lives: daughters were pushed to cook, clean, and defer to men even as young adults. In these ways, parents' gendered aspirations for the future become bodily lived reality for second generation women.

Aspirational Limits

Feminist literature has long theorized the constructed dichotomy that separates the thinking, rational man from the emotional, irrational woman (Wollstonecraft 1792, Friedman 1963). In interviewees' families, aspirational landscapes were constructed on this gendered terrain, often beginning the moment daughters' maturing bodies brought along supposedly 'uncontrollable' emotions. As Emily, 20, recalls,

> "When I was younger I didn't see my mom all that much cause she was so busy, but we've gotten emotionally closer…my dad, its it's interesting, I think I often went to him when I was younger. Then he started telling me to not be so sensitive, to toughen up…we had a more conflicted relationship… there's always been kind of a tension that's still here today."

In arguments with her father, Helen, 22, told of a similar dynamic:

> "The way my dad would end arguments…to this day there's this dynamic that exists that is like, a dismissal of me, not just because I'm young, you know, someone who he is 'above', but because I'm a young girl, specifically. If I were a boy, there would be some level of mutual acknowledgement, or mutual respect…when we had disagreements he would not have dismissed them with, 'you're just being an emotional, silly little girl."

Fathers were especially quick to dismiss the women's own thoughts and desires, often refusing to recognize daughters as fully rational subjects. As discussed, this relationship between fathers and daughters generally developed as the women matured into young adulthood, beginning with menstruation. In this way, the physical embodiment of gender is intimately related with more abstract gender concepts and structures.

Conceiving of women as less intellectual than men, parents were often explicit about their belief that women were not capable of particular career trajectories. Recalls Jane, 21, of her decision to study computer science: "My mom, the first time I think I ever brought up computer science she was like, that's a boy's thing. It's hard for women...she just thinks it's not for women." Interviewees and their parents often became involved in long-lasting conflicts over questions of women's intellectual capabilities. Jenny, 22, bitterly notes that she no longer picks up the phone if her mother calls. She recalls, "My mom has definitely said that men are naturally smarter and more successful than women. She says males are better at coding, things like that. Her reasoning for thinking that men are better than women is that all the top executives and chefs and all the top people in all the different fields are usually men. And also," Jenny scoffs, "she references the Bible passage that says wives should submit to their husbands."

Parents often evoked the figure of the intellectual male as a regulatory mechanism for the women, even in families where no male siblings were available for direct comparison. In some cases, fathers explicitly stated that they preferred their sons, preferred raising boys, or would prefer if their daughter was a male child instead. Helen, 22, recalls of playing competitive chess under her father's guidance when she was young: "I was one of very few women, girls who were playing in the national bubble, and that was always a thing...I would come home from a tournament, and I

wouldn't do well, and I would lose to some boy, and he would be like you know, I wish that boy was my son. [pause] Whenever I didn't win first and someone else won, it was always like oh, well that's expected."

Parents prioritized the male child in more implicit--but meaningful--ways as well. Male children received more attention, resources, and were often pushed to achieve. Female children, on the other hand, were reminded that their priorities lay not in their career, but in their futures as wives and mothers. As Cecelia, 21, notes, "My parents—it's mostly my mom—are a lot more worried about my brother's career path than mine. For me, she wants me to marry…marry someone with either a similar or higher income than mine. She doesn't want for me to have a husband that relies on me. She doesn't want me to be the breadwinner, which is weird." Cindy, 19, received similar direction for her future as a wife:

> "My parents would prefer me being happily married with children and maybe not as economically wealthy or successful, than being super successful but not having the family or kids. […] I know my mom doesn't want me to make more than my husband. Her main concern is that you should be able to see each other as equals, and it's hard when there's financial disparity. She would much prefer it if the guy made more money. She feels it's a good thing for a guy to have, to bolster himself with."

While explicitly reminding their daughters how and what to present to their husbands, often as early as the age of five, parents were keen on making sure their sons were given every opportunity to flourish. In some cases, parents rationalized this prioritization of their sons over their daughters through their knowledge of the U.S. race-gender schema, claiming their Chinese sons would face severe racialized emasculation as they attempted to incorporate into the United States, while their daughters would face no such barriers in the U.S. Ellie, 22, recalls of her family dynamic,

> "My parents are far more involved in my brother's life, and that's something I've felt a bit of resentment over, cause it's not like you want your parents to be control freaks over your life, but it does feel weird that they treat him differently in that way. They talk to me about how it's way harder for Asian men to get into college than it is for Asian women, they mention it a lot. I don't know if that's true…they're just like, admissions have an obvious bias against Asian boys, they're very conscious of that stereotype that Asian boys are 'effeminate' or whatever, and they think it's not that bad for Asian women. I have actually had fights with them where I'm like, I don't understand where this is coming from."

In fact, many of the interviewees' parents were well aware of the ways in which their sons would likely be racialized as weak, effeminate, and lacking in virility--a common experience for Asian men in the U.S. (Espiritu 1992). Parents attempted to counter this racialization by pursuing masculinity, telling second generation men to "sow their wild oats," for example, and by regulating, restricting, and demanding femininity from second generation women. Meanwhile, the women's experiences as raced, gendered, and sexualized bodies in the U.S. went almost entirely unnoticed by the parents. Only Elizabeth, 23,, noted that her parents had informed her of the different ways her bodies and behaviors

would be read in the U.S., warning her that white men may try to pursue her due to her racialization as exotic and oriental. These dynamics reveal much about the ways in which structural inequities are reproduced and reified: in this case, gendered racialization processes that render Asian American women invisible mask their experiences of gendered racialization as well.

Dynamics of male favoritism often produced feelings of resentment and frustration through childhood, as Vanessa, 22, reflects:

> "[T]he fact of the matter is my mom always saw my brother as more valuable. She sees me as more useful, while my brother is more valuable. When we were little kids, my mom just doted on him and showed him affection, emotional affection in way that she didn't show me. My mom, she instinctively thinks, boys are the ones you get to keep, the ones you get to have and hold and girls always already belong to their husband's family. They just keep the whole operation running. So I just didn't get that kind of emotional affection, emotional attention."

These kinds of dynamics had direct consequences for future outcomes. May, 20, describes of her family dynamic, for example: "In recent years, definitely in the past two three years, my parents have been fighting about my brother's future. They have a lot more pressure and expectations for him...I'm the female of the family, of the siblings, so they have pretty low expectations. My mom has said multiple times like, [your brother] can support you when he gets a job, or you can just works for whatever [your brother] works for. She'll always want me to follow in his footsteps." For May, the reason for the difference in treatment is clear--her parents expect that her brother will need to sustain a family, while May herself won't need to at all. "So in that way," she says, "I guess I don't need as stable of a job, or like, as profitable of a job." Given the different futures May's parents desire for May and her brother, May was raised with a different aspirational landscape, creating the conditions for a 'self-fulfilling prophecy': "My mom was always telling me--even today! She's always telling me to just take easy classes, just take three classes, don't stress yourself out. But for [my brother] it's always like, be an econ[omics] major, get a job, apply for internships, do all these things! And in high school, it was like take all these honors classes, but then for me it was like oh you don't have to take BC Calc, you can take the lower calculus."

Sometimes, restricting women's aspirational landscapes was this straightforward: parents just directly asked their daughters to limit their aspirations in comparison to their brothers or other men. For her brother, Annie, 20, noted that her parents were very strict and held high expectations: "They'd try to plan things more out for him, like they made him practice the viola." But when it came to herself, she says, "they didn't really tell me to practice. My schedule was a lot more unstructured...my parents never looked at my report card...if I were a parent, I'd want to treat my child the way my parents treated my brother." Later, when Annie and her brother were planning their careers, Annie's parents held high expectations for her brother and pushed him to aim high. For herself, however, as Annie recalls, Annie's parents were pulling her back:

> "For a while I wanted to do grad school and do like a PhD or whatever, and my mom was like no, you can't do that, it's going to take so much time and you're going to be thirty before anything ever happens. And my dad...my dad's always talking about working a job that doesn't necessarily make you the most money, just a job that is repetitive and will make me happy...not the 'thinking' jobs. My mom's always like, you might think and search forever for something, and you might find it in the end, but it's a lot of work, and maybe your life would be more fulfilling if you focused on more mundane things, like your friends and family life, instead of trying to reach some big goal."

Perhaps most telling, Annie's mother pulls Annie away from a PhD for fear that 'nothing will happen' before thirty. What she refers to is not exactly that 'nothing' will happen, but nothing of importance--namely, marriage, childbirth, childrearing--will happen before Annie hits thirty. This is most unacceptable since Annie's body is on a time schedule to have and raise children.

Meanwhile, when parenting their male children, parents reminded their sons that high career aspirations for men were essential, since women lacked ability. In this conversation with Kevin, 21, convinced that his parents had no gender biases, Kevin becomes slightly confused when I ask if his parents would be comfortable with him staying home to raise his children:

> Kevin: "If I were to be a stay-at-home dad...um, my dad uh, would just be worried about, our, my family's financial stability if my significant other were to be fired from her job."
> Interviewer: "What if you were the breadwinner and your significant other was not working? Would there be any worries about financial stability?"
> Kevin: "No, they'd be fine with that."
> Interviewer: "There's not the same concern of you getting fired?"
> Kevin: "Um…[long pause] I think there is a, I think they have a, they place less of an emphasis on my significant other working...but then again it's not something that they expressly told me."

Parents' aspirational desires for the second generation, those that imagined their female children as future wives, mothers, and home care-takers, created an aspirational landscape upon which the women's everyday lives were regulated, surveilled, and controlled. Parents regulated their daughters' appearances, movement, and sexual expression, for example, with hopes that their daughters would be able to bring virginity and appropriate caretaking behaviors to their husbands. In this way, parents' aspirational landscapes structured the conditions of possibility for the women's futures, including by shaping the women's own aspirational desires. May, 20, pointed out, for example, that the lowered expectations that her parents held for her in comparison to her brother created a self-fulfilling prophecy, one in which she fulfilled her parents' expectations of lowered female achievement after being coached to "take it easy" with regards to her educational attainment. Annie, 22, decided to drop her pursuit of a PhD and focus on obtaining a stable, 9-to-5 job that would be relaxing, fulfilling, and allow her to prioritize her future family. Elizabeth, 23, changed the location of her internship on Chinese human rights from Hong Kong to the United States, refusing to let her parents live in fear and worry over her safety. Later, this decision paved the way for Elizabeth to

pursue a career in human rights laws of the United States instead of China.

The Public is Private: Theorizing the Aspirational Landscape

Aspirational landscapes both limit and create the conditions of possibility for women's outcomes, many of which are also measured by quantitative markers of immigrant incorporation, such as educational attainment and annual income. However, examining the ways in which gender concepts structure second generation aspirations gives us a look at not only *if* women were able to achieve markers, but *how* they ended up achieving or not achieving them, and whether or not they wanted to achieve them in the first place. Take, for example, the difference between the two women's trajectories that I illustrate below, both which take them toward paths of upward mobility and successful achievement of incorporation markers.

Jenny, 22, who described her fear of coming out to her parents, argued constantly with parents who were adamantly anti-gay–so much so, in fact, that Jenny took a deal with her father that allowed her to attend a university far away from home but gave her father absolute authority over her studies. Traveling across the states to attend college, Jenny was able for the first time to explore her sexuality in ways that she had no access to in the past. When it came time to choose a career path, Jenny realized that the only way she would be able to marry her significant other would be if she was no longer financially dependent on her parents. Making this her top priority, Jenny pursued a career in investment banking–a job that required every sort of sacrifice, including Jenny's personal values–but came away with a big payoff. "All that matters is financial independence," Jenny explains. The importance of Jenny's financial independence has increased drastically now. Two years ago, Jenny's younger sister came out to her and felt terrified and paralyzed at home, begging Jenny to find a way so that they could detach themselves from their parents. Jenny's centering life goal, as she explains to me, is to make as much money as possible so that she can support both her sister and herself, and she is well on her way to doing so. Jenny now works at a big name investment bank and takes larger and larger pay raises each year. Quantitative measures of second generation incorporation in mind, Jenny really seems to have 'made it.'

Helen, 22, pursues a career with similar objectives in mind, although for entirely different reasons. Recall that Helen was raised under strict regulations set by her father, who checked in on Helen's weight, dress, and relationship status every moment he saw her. In Helen's family, Helen's father became a toxic figure toward her mother and younger sister, demanding sex from Helen's mother and "pink frilly femininity" from her younger sister. After blaming his multiple affairs on his wife's refusal to 'put out', Helen's father divorced the family and took the family's money along with him–leaving the family stranded in the U.S., Helen's mother unable to find a job. The three women now have a motto, as Helen repeats: "Always have your own job, and always have your own bank account." Raised by her mother, Helen remembers trying to do everything as her mother asked–practicing piano, getting perfect grades, and achieving in extracurriculars–knowing that her mother only wished her a life of financial independence so that she

could be free to live her life as she wished. At the prestigious university Helen now attends, Helen reflects very seriously on the 'model minority myth', remarking that the story looks different from a different angle.

Literature on migrant incorporation has explored the ways in which the second generation interacts with public institutions, such as the school, church, and the state. Set in the public sphere, the stakes of these interactions are made legible through quantitative data that measures the achievement of success markers such as educational attainment and household income. In this project, I turn 'inwards' toward the private and everyday to examine the ways that second generation women are socialized in the home, within relationships of the family. Using gender as an analytic, I demonstrate that second generation women are raised under strict bodily, behavioral, and sexual regulation by their parents, guided by aspirational landscapes that call into being a future wife, mother, and family caretaker. In this way, issues of the 'private' become public reality: second generation migrant outcomes carry intimate ties to the familial, the intimate, and the home. By thinking through the everyday, migrant incorporation outcomes become lived realities, and the myth of a model minority is just that – a myth.

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