

Examining Chinese Students' Motivations for Overseas Education and the Implications of the Study Abroad Experiences on Their Transitions to Adulthood

Chang Liu, University of Cambridge, United Kingdom

The Asian Conference on Education & International Development 2022
Official Conference Proceedings

Abstract

Studying overseas is a popular option for many young individuals to undertake as part of their educational journey. Since China has emerged as the world's largest source of international students, Chinese students' motives of pursuing foreign education have gained remarkable scholarly attention. Furthermore, as the cross-border sojourn often occurs in the youthful period of one's life course, the implications of this journey on Chinese youths' transitions to adulthood have also been of interest to recent research. Situated in the field of international education and youth studies, this paper discusses the motivations behind Chinese students' decisions to study abroad and how this international sojourn shapes their transitions to adulthood. Through literature review, this paper found that the target group's study-abroad decision making is influenced by various macro-level drivers, including globalisation, neoliberalism, and China's economic and socio-cultural conditions. From a micro-level perspective, this paper identified that studying overseas is not only a sought-after route to overcome individual academic failures and systemic deficits in China, but also to accrue valuable resources and satisfy the desires to explore the world. Moreover, this paper noticed that with respect to their transitions to adulthood, Chinese youths' study-abroad experiences are fraught with struggles, tensions, and complexities. Specifically, the overseas journeys can both accelerate and delay their adolescence-adulthood pathways in the aspects of physical freedom, self-responsibility, economic independence, as well as marriage. Broadly, this paper offers practical implications on international student recruitment in higher education. It also serves as a basis for future research on international education and youth studies to explore diverse study-abroad destinations and experiences.

Keywords: Overseas Education, Transitions to Adulthood, Globalisation, Young People

iafor

The International Academic Forum

www.iafor.org

Introduction

In 2014, Michelle Obama delivered a powerful speech at Peking University on the importance of studying abroad for youths in the present era of global interdependence. She highlighted the role of overseas education in enhancing young people's intercultural competencies and employment competitiveness. For reasons like these, studying abroad has become a sought-after option for many young individuals to undertake as part of their academic journey. This is particularly true in China, where the number of domestic students pursuing overseas education soared to around 662,100 in 2018 (Ministry of Education [MOE], 2019), indicating a more than three-fold increase compared to the figure (179,800) in 2008 (MOE, 2009). As China has emerged as the world's largest student-sending nation (Textor, 2020), Chinese students' motives of pursuing foreign education have drawn considerable academic attention (e.g., Bodycott, 2009; Zwart, 2013). Moreover, since this cross-border sojourn usually takes place in the youthful period of the life path, how this experience shapes Chinese youths' pathways to adulthood has been of interest to recent research (e.g., Chua, 2015; Martin, 2018). In this paper, I endeavour to discuss young Chinese citizens' study-abroad motivations and the subsequent implications of overseas education on their transitions to adulthood. This paper defines youth as a liminal stage where individuals are transitioning into adult lives, rather than a fixed chronological age range (Robertson et al., 2018). Furthermore, it confines the discussion to those who physically engage a portion of their tertiary education in a foreign country. This paper begins by considering the macro-level drivers in which contemporary Chinese student international mobility is situated. Then it explores the micro-level drivers that play a role in their study-abroad decisions. This is followed by a discussion of the implications this cross-national experience hold for Chinese youths' adolescence-adulthood transitions. The final section draws some conclusions, acknowledges limitations, and provides directions for future research.

Macro-level Drivers

Global Context: Globalisation and Neoliberalism

Increasing educational mobility is promoted by contemporary *globalisation*, a series of ecopolitical and sociocultural transformations that intensify cross-national interactions (Li & Bray, 2007). Manifestations of globalisation, such as advancements in modern technology and transportation, have significantly reduced the geographical constraints on cross-border sociocultural arrangements (Brooks & Waters, 2011). These developments have enabled students to move across countries to pursue education (Rizvi & Lingard, 2000). Added to these physical enablers are the rising prevalence in global communication and cultural exchanges. According to Fong's (2011) ethnographic study on transnational Chinese students, the globalised nature of mass media has spurred many young Chinese individuals to yearn to become part of an imagined cosmopolitan global community, and thus has stimulated their desire to study abroad. Globalisation is, therefore, a crucial driver for facilitating and promoting Chinese youths' cross-border educational mobility.

Despite distinct conceptualisations of globalisation, a neoliberal perspective is considered most salient to the topic being discussed. Neoliberal ideologies advocate free global markets and individual accountability (Adams, 2014; Shields, 2013). Higher education institutions in most industrialised countries have become part of these global markets by massively expanding their enrolment of students, notably international students, to remain financially

viable (France, 2016). This increase in places for international students means that universities have become part of the global *knowledge-based economy*, which emphasises the trade of knowledge and skills, rather than mere manufacturing commodities (Guruz, 2008). As a consequence of this change in the global economic structure, societal needs for highly educated personnel and concomitant mass demand for higher education have been naturalised (Altbach, 2004). Young individuals thus "gravitate toward educational investments that most efficiently produce desired outcomes, including studying abroad" (Shields, 2013, p. 612). As a fundamental group of this study-abroad phenomenon, many Chinese youths undertake this journey to improve their future prospects, which will be discussed more in-depth in a later section.

Domestic Context: the Embedded Culture and Socioeconomic Transformations

Aside from these global drivers, China's cultural idiosyncrasies have also set the scene for the study-abroad wave. In Confucian heritage societies such as China, families are seen as a collective being and play an integral role in individuals' life decisions, including education, employment, and marriage (Bodycott, 2009; Martin, 2018). A strict hierarchical parent-child relationship exists, which assigns parents the responsibility to guide children, who in turn should practice *filial piety* by obeying parents' wishes (Wu, 1996). Concerning their children's education, Chinese parents tend to play an active role by making enormous investments (Bodycott, 2009; Chao & Sue, 1996), as they believe that education is a crucial means of achieving personal development and familial social mobility (Chen & Uttal, 1988; Gu, 2006). Undoubtedly, this entrenched cultural consciousness regarding parent-child relationships and education plays a significant part in Chinese youths' study-abroad decision-making.

Furthermore, China's economic transformations during the past decades, including its incorporation into the global neoliberal economy, have led to an expanding middle class with more disposable income and professional knowledge (Chew, 2009). The ability and ambition of these Chinese middle class to invest in their children's education is strengthened by the decades-long one-child policy, which allows more parental resources to be diverted towards nurturing the single child (Fong, 2004). As a result, reverse motivations, such as high tuition fees and living expenses abroad, have been drastically reduced for many Chinese families (Hao et al., 2016). Therefore, due to these domestic socioeconomic changes, the option to study abroad has become more affordable for growing numbers of Chinese parents, who are likely to seek the best education available for their children.

While this section provides some contextual factors, it does not sufficiently explain Chinese youths' varied motives of studying abroad. The following section will examine the drivers of studying abroad from a micro-level

Micro-level Drivers

University Entry Failures and the Deficient Domestic Education System

Failing to gain access to prestigious home universities pressures many Chinese families to seek education abroad. Statistics illustrate that the percentage of domestic candidates offered a place to the elite home universities, aka "985" universities, remains low: varying between 1.14% and 5.98% across different provinces in 2016 (Shang, 2018). In the Chinese community, academic underperformance regarding university entry not only has

repercussions to one's future career, but also brings shame to the entire family (Archer & Francis, 2006; Lee & Morrish, 2012). Thus, to avoid or compensate failures in the intensely competitive domestic education system, many aspiring Chinese families turn to overseas institutions (Chao et al., 2017) so as to "seize that second chance" of studying in a top university (Chua, 2015, p.55). Clearly, for the Chinese, studying abroad is perceived as an "honourable substitute" (Brooks & Waters, 2009, p. 1094) that provides an escape from educational failures in the domestic system.

Discourses of deficiency about the Chinese education system constitute another study-abroad driver. Aside from being high-stakes and excessively competitive, the Chinese education system has also been criticised widely for its teacher-centred pedagogy that offers few opportunities for interactions and discussions among students (Bodycott, 2009; Hao et al., 2016). Moreover, in Chao et al.'s (2017) study, Chinese international students in the US revealed the rigidity and lack of innovation in their home education system, where students are required to spend long hours memorising socialist doctrines rather than attempting to be inventive. Additionally, vices such as bribery and cronyism are reported to be rampant in Chinese education (ibid.). Due to these perceived deficiencies, Chinese students and their parents may therefore be reluctant to engage with the home universities and seek overseas alternatives.

The Pursuit of Capital, Social Mobility, and Exploration of the World

Beyond serving as a tactical move to circumvent educational failures and flaws at home institutions, studying abroad is also tied to Chinese families' capital accumulation strategies. Pursuing valuable cultural, social and, eventually, economic capital (Bourdieu, 1986) through attending renowned overseas universities is in line with Chinese families' aspirations to reproduce the middle-class identity or facilitate upward social mobility (Chua, 2015; Ong, 1999). *Institutionalised cultural capital*, in the form of educational qualifications (Bourdieu, 1986), signals individuals' positive qualities, especially professional competencies (Spence, 1978). Furthermore, *embodied cultural capital*, expressed typically as skills, knowledge, and attributes (Bourdieu, 1986), raises individuals' productivity at work from the *human capital* perspective (Becker, 1975). Undoubtedly, these forms of cultural capital attained through studying overseas, especially in western developed countries (Zwart, 2012), will be converted into abundant economic capital in the future (Hao et al., 2016). Notably, Waters (2006) found that the economic rewards are maximised when young Chinese individuals return to the globally integrated local labour market, where their traits of being cosmopolitan, multilingual, and habitually transnational are distinctly valued.

A further impetus to undertake the overseas educational journey is to accrue *social capital*, which refers to resources within social ties (Wu, 2014). Social capital can be obtained by forming an "exclusive club" of returnees with common educational and migratory experiences (Waters, 2007, p.480). This network of important alumni contacts could serve as reliable intellectual resources and offer various tangible economic privileges in one's career (Hao et al., 2016). Furthermore, the elite group identity of overseas-educated Chinese citizens produces significant symbolic capital (i.e., social recognition and prestige) (Waters, 2007), which is particularly valued in the Chinese culture. Therefore, pursuing an overseas degree can be regarded as Chinese families' instrumental drive to maintain or advance social class by acquiring social, cultural, and economic capital.

Emplaced in the transitional life period, the temporary migratory journey also intersects with young people's desire for adventure (Waters et al., 2011). This is pertinent in the Chinese setting, where the exposure to foreign influence brought about by globalisation and China's political reforms has resulted in young people's deep senses of inquisitiveness about the world outside China (Cheng & Berman, 2012; Fong, 2011). Just as one of the participants in Chua's (2015, p.40) study expressed "the moon is rounder on the other side", their images of more affluent and cosmopolitan foreign societies have made the global experience an attractive and desirable option to undertake. Nevertheless, this "youthful escape" for excitement and entertainment (Waters et al., 2011, p.455) is not limited to the aspirations of young Chinese people themselves; it is shared by their parents who hope to compensate for what was once impossible to their generation (Chua, 2015). Hence, studying overseas can be seen as an exploratory trip that satiates one's curiosity about the outside world.

Transitions to Adulthood: Acceleration or Delay

"The meanings produced through student mobility ... are intricately linked with projects of the self and life transitions to adulthood" (Holdsworth, 2009, p.1857). This transition corresponds to a period where one slowly leaves behind adolescence and takes on a range of adult responsibilities (Gauthier, 2007), such as completing education, attaining financial independence, leaving the parental house, and forming families on their own (Arnett, 1998). While heterogeneity of transitions across social groups, times, and spaces has been observed in extant literature (e.g., Chase, 2020; Frändberg, 2015), this section focuses on the meanings of the cross-national educational sojourn on Chinese youths' transitions to adulthood.

Studying abroad can be treated as a *rite de passage* into adulthood (Eade et al., 2007), as young people have to navigate a completely new challenging life. They experience more self-autonomy and self-responsibility as spatial separation restricts parental control and other support networks (Tse & Waters, 2013). This translates to a plethora of new demands, such as the need to solve quotidian problems and negotiate social communication issues independently (Hao & Welch, 2012). Brown's (2009) study on Asian graduate sojourners (including Chinese students) in England highlights the transforming nature of overseas education, where out of a necessity for survival, students developed the capacity to withstand life stress and tolerate different practices. In terms of academic studies, Chua (2015) notices that, without parental surveillance, many Chinese students fostered a greater sense of self-discipline concerning their own education. Plainly, due to prolonged absence from the home environment, this individuation experience accelerates young Chinese people's transitions to adulthood, especially for those who previously "enjoyed the full care of their parents" (Hao et al., 2016, p.26).

Nevertheless, the overseas educational experience also allows some to prolong their youth by "living in the extended present" (Chua, 2015, p. 71), which coincides with the life phase of *emerging adulthood*, characterised by possibilities, flexibility, and exploration (Arnett, 2014). For example, Chua's (2015, p.71) study witnesses Chinese university students' appropriation of the freedom awarded by the overseas sojourn, where some "muddle[d] along without a concrete goal" and others postponed the risk of their transition to employment by pursuing further studies immediately upon graduation. Apparently, due to higher tuition fees and various living expenses incurred abroad (Liu et al., 2018), these sojourners (less applicable to those on bursaries or scholarships) continue or even exacerbate financial dependence on their parents, and thus delaying their transitions to adulthood. On the other hand, Gareth (2005) argues that overseas-educated young people generally have brighter employment prospects,

be they opting to return to China or settling in the host country. Hence, from a cultural perspective, such graduates will be better equipped to fulfil filial duties by providing more solid future financial support for their parents (Bodycott, 2009). In this regard, while studying abroad defer the progress to adulthood and extends the financial burden on families, a higher possibility of success can be secured for their impending transitions.

Another oft-cited aspect of the transition is marriage, which carries a strong gendered element in the Chinese culture (Yeung & Hu, 2013). Modern Chinese society is still under the influence of traditional views that young people, primarily women, are expected to honour their parents' request by getting married early and bearing children (To, 2013; Wang & Abbot, 2013). In Chua's (2015, p.88) research, going to Singapore for further studies forms "a space of sanctuary" for female Chinese students, as it permits them to temporarily elude from familial pressures for marriage and relatives' scrutiny of their marital status. This concurs with Martin's (2018, p.689) construction of "a zone of suspension" for female Chinese students in Melbourne, where new romantic relationships were developed and the expectations of marriage and family obligations in relation to the life course was suspended. However, he also notices that a "split value scheme" (p.699) between the restrictive Chinese sex-gender norms and the western life patterns has created a significant sense of contradictions for these female Chinese youths. Therefore, the allegedly delayed transition to marriage during their "time out" (Griffiths et al., 2013, p.6) is still fraught with hegemonic social pressures from China.

Conclusion

Situated in the field of international education and youth studies, this paper has discussed Chinese youths' study-abroad motivations and implications of the overseas journey on their transitions to adulthood. By considering the macro-level drivers, it has found that globalisation enables international educational mobility by reducing geographical barriers and facilitating cultural flows. Relatedly, neoliberalism stimulates young people to invest in education to enhance future prospects in the global knowledge-based economy, indirectly contributing to their study-abroad decisions. Domestic factors, including China's cultural peculiarities and socioeconomic transformations, have also been noticed to create conditions for Chinese youths' overseas journey. From a micro-level perspective, this paper found that studying overseas is a popular alternative to counter domestic educational failures and systemic deficits. The pursuit of capital to enhance life chances and the eye-opening desire also motivate Chinese youths to embark on the international sojourn. Regarding transitions to adulthood, this paper has found that while sojourners experience more adult responsibilities and freedom, it is the same freedom that creates opportunities for relaxation and play, thus complicating the debate about transitions. Similarly, despite the seemingly prolonged transitions to economic independence, the overseas experience is likely to lead to a financially more stable future. Concerning marriage, time studying abroad reveals the contradictions between home and overseas value systems, and thus making the delayed transition to marriage fragile.

In the final analysis, this paper has identified multiple macro- and micro-level motivations behind Chinese students' decisions to study abroad and the complexities involved in their transitions to adulthood. One noteworthy limitation is that the exploration is restricted to the stream of cross-border mobility from China to developed countries. Thus, various other international mobility routes taken by Chinese youths await further scrutiny. Another limitation of this paper worth exploring in future studies is regarding the weight of each

driver and the extent of influence exerted by the family on the study-abroad decision-making process. Lastly, a hidden assumption in this paper is the definite mobility of young Chinese people. In reality, however, just like any other life choices, the mobilisation of agency is bounded by social structures, and thus many would be deterred from studying abroad in the first place. That said, this paper contributes to the understanding of the motivations behind Chinese students' study-abroad decisions and their adulthood transitions, which are particularly valuable for educators and policymakers in higher education to take into account in recruiting international students.

References

- Adams, P. (2014). *Policy and education*. Routledge.
- Altbach, P.G. (2004). Globalisation and the university: Myths and realities in an unequal world. *Tertiary Education & Management*, 10(1), 3-25.
- Archer, L., & Francis, B. (2006). Challenging classes? Exploring the role of social class within the identities and achievement of British Chinese pupils. *Sociology*, 40(1), 29-49.
- Arnett, J.J. (1998). Learning to stand alone: The contemporary American transition to adulthood in cultural and historical context. *Human development*, 41(5-6), 295-315.
- Arnett, J.J. (2014). A Longer Road to Adulthood. In *Emerging Adulthood*. New York: Oxford University Press, 3-25.
- Becker, G.S. (1975). Investment in human capital: effects on earnings. In *Human Capital: A Theoretical and Empirical Analysis, with Special Reference to Education, Second Edition* (pp. 13-44). NBER.
- Bodycott, P. (2009). Choosing a higher education study abroad destination: What mainland Chinese parents and students rate as important. *Journal of research in International education*, 8(3), 349-373.
- Bourdieu, P. (1986). The Forms of Capital. In *Handbook of Theory and Research for the Sociology of Education*, edited by J. G. Richardson, 241–258. New York: Greenwood.
- Brooks, R., & Waters, J. (2009). A second chance at 'success' UK students and global circuits of higher education. *Sociology*, 43(6), 1085-1102.
- Brooks, R., & Waters, J. (2011). *Student mobilities, migration and the internationalization of higher education*. Springer.
- Brown, L. (2009). The transformative power of the international sojourn: An ethnographic study of the international student experience. *Annals of tourism research*, 36(3), 502-521.
- Chao, C.N., Hegarty, N., Angelidis, J., & Lu, V.F. (2017). Chinese Students' Motivation for Studying in the United States, *Journal of International Students*, 7(2), 257-269.
- Chao, R.K., & Sue, S. (1996). Chinese parental influence and their children's school success: A paradox in the literature on parenting styles. *Growing up the Chinese way: Chinese child and adolescent development*, 93-120.
- Chase, E. (2020). Transitions, capabilities and wellbeing: how Afghan unaccompanied young people experience becoming 'adult' in the UK and beyond. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 46(2), 439-456.

- Chen, C., & Uttal, D.H. (1988). Cultural values, parents' beliefs, and children's achievement in the United States and China. *Human development*, 31(6), 351-358.
- Cheng, M., & Berman, S.L. (2012). Globalization and identity development: A Chinese perspective. *New directions for child and adolescent development*, 2012(138), 103-121.
- Chew, P.G.L. (2009). In pursuit of linguistic gold: Mothering in a globalised world. *English Today*, 25(2), 33-39.
- Chua, Y.E. (2015). International Students' Pathway: Mainland Chinese Students in Singapore (Doctoral dissertation).
- Eade, J., Drinkwater, S. & Garapich, M. (2007). Class and ethnicity: Polish migrant workers in London. *Guildford: Centre for Research on Nationalism, Ethnicity and Multiculturalism, University of Surrey*.
- France, A. (2016). *Understanding youth in late modernity*. Maidenhead: McGrawHill/Open University Press.
- Frändberg, L. (2015). Acceleration or avoidance? The role of temporary moves abroad in the transition to adulthood. *Population, Space and Place*, 21(6), 553-567.
- Fong, V.L. (2004). *Only hope: Coming of age under China's one-child policy*. Stanford University Press.
- Fong, V. (2011). *Paradise Redefined: Transnational Chinese Students and the Quest for Flexible Citizenship in the Developed World*. Stanford University Press.
- Gareth, G. (2005). Chinese students' motivations for studying abroad. *International Journal of Private Higher Education* 2, pp. 16–21.
- Gauthier, A.H. (2007). Becoming a young adult: An international perspective on the transitions to adulthood. *European Journal of Population/Revue européenne de Démographie*, 23(3-4), 217-223.
- Griffiths, M., Rogers, A., & Anderson, B. (2013). Migration, time and temporalities: Review and prospect. *COMPAS Research Resources Paper*, 199-217.
- Gu, M. (2006). An analysis of the impact of traditional Chinese culture on Chinese education. *Frontiers of Education in China*, 1(2), 169-190.
- Guruz, K. (2008). *Higher Education and International Student Mobility in the Global Knowledge Economy*. Albany, NY: SUNY Press.
- Hao, J., & Welch, A. (2012). A tale of sea turtles: Job-seeking experiences of hai gui (high-skilled returnees) in China. *Higher Education Policy*, 25(2), 243-260.

- Hao, J., Wen, W., & Welch, A. (2016). When sojourners return: Employment opportunities and challenges facing high-skilled Chinese returnees. *Asian and Pacific Migration Journal*, 25(1), 22-40.
- Holdsworth, C. (2009). 'Going away to uni': mobility, modernity, and independence of English higher education students. *Environment and Planning A*, 41(8), 1849-1864.
- Lee, C.K.C., & Morrish, S.C. (2012). Cultural values and higher education choices: Chinese families. *Australasian Marketing Journal (AMJ)*, 20(1), 59-64.
- Li, M., & Bray, M. (2007). Cross-border flows of students for higher education: Push-pull factors and motivations of mainland Chinese students in Hong Kong and Macau. *Higher education*, 53(6), 791-818.
- Liu, Y., Kamnuansilpa, P., & Hirofumi, A. (2018). Factors affecting international students' decisions on destination for studying abroad: A case study in China. *Frontiers of Education in China*, 13(1), 93-118.
- Martin, F. (2018). Overseas study as zone of suspension: Chinese students re-negotiating youth, gender, and intimacy. *Journal of Intercultural Studies*, 39(6), 688-703.
- Ministry of Education (MOE). (2009). The Ministry of Education 2009 6th News Conference: International Exchanges and Co-operations in Chinese Education, Chinese Going Overseas for Education, and Foreigners Coming to China for Education. Available at: <http://www.moe.gov.cn/edoas/website18/02/info1237941653766102.html> [Accessed 4 Dec 2020].
- Ministry of Education (MOE). (2019). Statistics on studying abroad in 2018. Available at: http://www.moe.gov.cn/jyb_xwfb/gzdt_gzdt/s5987/201903/t20190327_375704.html [Accessed 4 Dec 2020].
- Obama, M. (2014). "First Lady Remarks at the Stanford Center at Peking University", The White House Office of the First Lady. Available at: <https://obamawhitehouse.archives.gov/the-press-office/2014/03/22/remarks-first-lady-stanford-center-peking-university> [Accessed 4 Dec 2020].
- Ong, A. (1999). *Flexible citizenship: The cultural logics of transnationality*. Duke University Press.
- Rizvi, F., & Lingard, B. (2000). Globalization and education: Complexities and contingencies. *Educational theory*, 50(4), 419.
- Robertson, S., Cheng, Y.E., & Yeoh, B.S. (2018). Introduction: Mobile aspirations? Youth im/mobilities in the Asia-Pacific.
- Shang, C. (2018). 扩招以来我国高等教育入学机会差异的研究. *Kuo zhao yi lai wo guo gao deng jiao yu ru xue ji hui cha yi de yan jiu*. Yunnan University, 2018.

- Shields, R. (2013). Globalization and international student mobility: A network analysis. *Comparative Education Review*, 57(4), 609-636.
- Spence, M. (1978). Job market signaling. In *Uncertainty in economics* (pp. 281-306). Academic Press.
- Textor, C. (2020). Number of students from China going abroad for study from 2008 to 2018. Available at: <https://www.statista.com/statistics/227240/number-ofchinese-students-that-study-abroad> [Accessed 5 Dec 2020].
- To, S. (2013). Understanding sheng nu ("leftover women"): The phenomenon of late marriage among Chinese professional women. *Symbolic Interaction*, 36(1), 1-20.
- Tse, J.K., & Waters, J.L. (2013). Transnational youth transitions: becoming adults between Vancouver and Hong Kong. *Global Networks*, 13(4), 535-550.
- Wang, H., & Abbott, D.A. (2013). Waiting for Mr. Right: The meaning of being a single educated Chinese female over 30 in Beijing and Guangzhou. In *Women's Studies International Forum* (Vol. 40, pp. 222-229). Pergamon.
- Waters, J.L. (2006). Geographies of cultural capital: education, international migration and family strategies between Hong Kong and Canada. *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers*, 31(2), 179-192.
- Waters, J.L. (2007). 'Roundabout routes and sanctuary schools': the role of situated educational practices and habitus in the creation of transnational professionals. *Global Networks*, 7(4), 477-497.
- Waters, J., Brooks, R., & Pimlott-Wilson, H. (2011). Youthful escapes? British students, overseas education and the pursuit of happiness. *Social & Cultural Geography*, 12(5), 455-469.
- Wu, D.Y. (1996). Parental control: Psychocultural interpretations of Chinese patterns of socialization. *Growing up the Chinese way: Chinese child and adolescent development*, 1-28.
- Wu, Q. (2014). Motivations and decision-making processes of mainland Chinese students for undertaking master's programs abroad. *Journal of Studies in International Education*, 18(5), 426-444.
- Yeung, W.J.J., & Hu, S. (2013). Coming of age in times of change: The transition to adulthood in China. *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, 646(1), 149-171.
- Zwart, J. (2013). Study abroad choices of Chinese students: Factors, influences and motivations. *Quarterly Journal of Chinese Studies*, 2(2), 68.