Chasing China: Adoption Tourism, Images of China, and the Negotiation of Asian-American Identity

Jillian Powers
PhD Candidate
Box 90088
Duke University Department of Sociology
Durham NC 27708
jpowers@soc.duke.edu
919-660-5630
Word Count: 4,929
Chasing China: Adoption Tourism, Images of China, and the Negotiation of Asian-American Identity

Introduction
At dinner one evening at a McDonalds in China, Karl, an adoptive parent of a Chinese daughter told me about his parent’s concerns over his choice to adopt internationally.¹ We were travelling together with his wife Carole and their daughter Anna on a heritage/adoption homeland tour with two other families. Over hamburgers and fries Karl explained how his parents worried that once Anna was old enough, she would choose to return to China and forsake her American parents and life. To the chagrin of her father, Anna responded: “If I marry a Chinese man, he can come to New York and open a nail salon here.”

I highlight this exchange to demonstrate how parents and adopted Chinese children employ Western orientalist perspectives of China to separate the adopted child from China and affirm and confirm her position within the (white) American family. Chinese adoption constitutes the largest transnational movement of adopted children. Between 1971 and 2001, U.S. citizens adopted 265,677 children from other countries, and more than one-quarter of the children adopted internationally by the United States, are Chinese.² Parents of adopted foreign-born children are generally white, in their late thirties to early forties, college educated, and have high levels of income (Register 1991). With an increase in international adoption, especially from China, a new generation of Chinese-Americans and their adoptive families navigate cultural meanings around identity, ethnicity, race, and family, as seen in the exchange above between Anna and her father. In this piece I examine how white
parents engage with their child’s Chinese heritage, and present analysis based on participant observation and interviews with families traveling back to China on a homeland/adoption tour.3

While previous generations of international adoptees were not socialized into their birth culture, adoptive parents today believe in offering opportunities for Chinese socialization (Dorow 2006; Volkman 2005; Tessler, Gamache and Liu 1999; Louie 2009).4 Marketed as ways for children to gain self-knowledge through experiences with native lands and native peoples homeland tours are discussed as important for “reconnecting these children with their past.”5 Therefore, homeland tourism to China is an especially effective vehicle for examining the role of heritage for transnational adoptees and their American families.

I argue that families first legitimize their composition and then determine the significance of China. While contemporary definitions of familial membership have moved past seeing a family as solely a group of genetically similar individuals (e.g., Collier, Rosaldo and Yanagisako 1997), genetics still remain central in popular understandings of family. The assumptions of kinship and family are especially problematic for families with adopted children of different ethnic and racial backgrounds. In this article I present quotes from parents and explanations of homeland tour moments showing how families understand Chinese identity and how China is used to create the transnational adoptive family. Families expand the family to include original Chinese caregivers, yet distance themselves from most of China. Stereotypical understandings of contemporary Asian identities, as seen in Anna’s quote, represent one of these frames. In this article I also present narratives
of rural simplicity as another frame families use while in China to distance their
adopted daughter from her natal homeland. I show how parents recognize and
incorporate their child’s difference, but discuss this difference in cosmopolitan pan-
Asian and global citizenship frames. In these well-intentioned attempts, families
overlook the history of racialized constructions of difference and exclusion, and
ultimately reinforce white-upper/middle class American standpoints and America’s
perceived position of global power.

Creating the Bonds of Family: Understanding Chinese Difference

Families with adopted children try to find connections based upon other
traits and characteristics, using common hair color, similar senses of humor and
even tanning ability to create family connections that biology seems to produce
naturally. Carole, Karl’s wife and Anna’s mother, focuses on the similarities that her
adopted daughter Anna had with other family members in order to create familial
bonds. “My mother, for example is surprisingly swarthy for an Ashkenazi Jew...at the
end of every summer, she loves to compare her tanned arm to Anna’s and say, ‘At
last, I have a member of my family who tans like me!’” Similarly, when Farah,
another adopted daughter, was younger she would claim common ancestry by
pointing out how both she and her grandmother had black hair.

Families first and foremost must legitimize their very being, and then
determine how their child’s difference will be incorporated. As this quote from
Farah’s older brother Chris demonstrates:

I used to think about that a lot [being singled out or noticed/ Farah
not belonging] but now, I’m used to Farah. I don’t think twice about
her being Chinese, because she’s my sister, and she’s always been that
way. Chris
As Chris states, Farah is both Chinese and his sister. Yet, in our contemporary moment, the foundational characteristics of identity that mark Farah as Chinese are thought to be based upon “blood” and primordial connectedness that is ineffable, a priori and affective. For the transnational Chinese adoptee, her connection to the “original” culture is tenuous at best, and yet her appearance clearly marks her as other. Therefore, due to blood-based rights to land, the adopted Chinese daughter should have a natural connection to China problematizing her place within the white American family.

Cheri Register, an author and mother of adopted Chinese daughters writes; “we are an internationally adoptive family. This is the heritage that we truly have ‘given’ our children. Filling it out and giving it meaning is a shared family endeavor, which we must undertake with deliberate care and sensitivity” (1991:182). Chinese adopted children therefore access their natal heritage through parental mediation where parents literally give their children the symbols for understanding Chinese heritage and the language to describe a Chinese identity. Parents connect their children and their families to accessible forms of Chinese culture, or “culture bites” (Anagnost 2000:413) that come to represent what it means to be Chinese. Chinese heritage is seen through the eyes of the adoptive family and community as something symbolic. Parents participate in Chinese heritage camp, attend activities sponsored by Families with Children from China (FCC), eat at Chinese restaurants, watch films and television shows about China, and celebrate Chinese New Year, with return homeland tours a natural extension of this engagement with what it means to be Chinese.
The three families I travelled with had varying levels of Chinese socialization. Farah once attended a Chinese adoptee summer camp, yet did not find the experience too appealing. She did not enjoy being separated from her family at such a young age. Another family on this tour enrolled their daughters in a Chinese after school program, yet this program was dismissed for other activities like horseback riding lessons, etc. However, all families discussed belonging to adoption specific networks and groups either formally like attending events organized by Families with Children from China or informally by remaining close with the original group of Americans they initially traveled with to adopt their daughters.

Families and adoption specialists encourage homeland tours and returns because of an “assumed psychological need for the adopted child to return to where he or she ‘really’ belongs” (Yngvesson 2005:26). In Barbara Yngvesson’s work with homeland returns to Chile she states that homeland return journeys “reveal the impossibility of ever being fully integrated” into American families and become a “constant reminder of what the adoptee had left behind, of what he or she lacks” (2005:36). Yet, I argue that the internationally adopted Chinese daughter and her family do not return to heal primordial separation; my experiences on a homeland tour suggest parents narrate integration in different ways. In this article I show how parents connect and distance themselves from China, using romantic rural narratives to distance and expanded kinship narratives to connect. Therefore homeland tourism to China reveals the shifting meanings in the realm of kinship (Dorow 2006, Yngvesson 2005, Volkman 2005) and possibly new expressions of Chinese American identity.
The Homeland Tour

My analysis is based on participant observation and interviews conducted with three families traveling to China with their adopted daughters. During the summer of 2008, I traveled for two weeks on a moderately priced homeland tour organized by Panda Tours. Panda Tours, the tour agency I travelled with, assists adoptive families with travel arrangements to China and other destinations in Southeast Asia, providing avenues for adopted children to “appreciate their rich cultural heritage.”

There are approximately four major tour providers in the United States for adoption specific homeland tours – unfortunately no data exists on the number of families that have returned. Homeland tours highlight mythic Chinese dynasties, adoption specific landmarks, and symbolic Chinese culture. Tours last between seven and fourteen days, when adopted children are roughly between the ages of six and fourteen. This age is stressed because these girls are at the age where they enjoy family vacations and have not yet succumbed to the passions and concerns of adolescence.

The children on this trip ranged in age from twelve to eight, with two fifteen year old biological twins accompanying their mother and adopted younger sister. Only one family was interested in visiting the orphanage/welfare center where their daughter spent her first few months, and I was able to accompany this family when they returned to Farah’s home city and orphanage. I came to know the families quite well as they drew me into their lives. Since I was younger than the parents, but older
than the children, I existed as both an older kid and a younger adult, privy to “adult” conversations and kid time equally.\textsuperscript{8}

As adoptive parent and anthropologist Toby Alice Volkman details, an adoption community has developed “through the formation of play groups, dance troupes, culture celebrations and camps, reunions, Web sites, electronic mailing lists, and publications intended for the adoptive community” (2005:83). Therefore to supplement such a small sample size, I also analyzed news articles with user comments, adoption blogs and list-serves.

Homeland tours are the most tangible way parents can give their children knowledge of China – a sort of ethnic and racial understanding through osmosis. As a parent states on an adoption blog: “I want to take them back...so it is in their memory, not just the memory of the pictures we took [on our adoption trip]”.\textsuperscript{9} Tours typically begin and end in popular tourist cities: Beijing, Hong Kong, Guangzhou and Shanghai. Accompanied by English speaking guides, families visit touristic sites like the Great Wall, the Summer Palace, the Terra Cotta Soldiers, and scenic pastoral cities like Guilin. Homeland tours also schedule specific activities and performances presenting Chinese heritage in age-appropriate forms for children. Activities like kite flying, walking the Great Wall, visit to Panda reserves, and tours of adoption agencies represent China’s history and family histories of transnational adoption. \textsuperscript{10}

These first hand moments are thought to be very important for understanding the culture and heritage that lies dormant in the adopted child. Other forms of cultural education set up the child as a passive vessel, absorbing heritage and culture through adults and educators. Homeland journeys give adopted children
DO NOT CITE: FORTHCOMING PUBLICATION IN CHINESE HISTORIES AND PERSPECTIVES

direct and tactile experiences with being from/in China. Tour agencies encourage connecting your child’s current Chinese interests with activities possible in China. As this quote from a tour agency states:

For instance, if your child really enjoys Chinese food, make this a point of emphasis...If your child likes Chinese dresses, a dress or two bought from places of meaning, such as a specific region, to facilitate positive associations.11

Because, as child psychologist Angela Krueger comments: “a trip to one’s place of birth can be valuable to any adoptee”.12

Restructuring Kinship: Distancing and Connecting to China

When approaching Chinese heritage, adoptive parents reference and align themselves with aspects they are comfortable with while distancing themselves from the strange and different. But what we see happening on homeland tours is that the “strange” and “different” really become the “poor,” or the exaggerated Asian stereotype.

For example, in Yangshou we toured a traditional Chinese village and home under the care of our local tour guide. The family we visited was encouraged to continue to live in a traditional fashion for the sake of visiting tourists. An older Chinese woman welcomed us and gave us a tour of her home, and property as well as a glimpse into her everyday activities.

In the front of her home was a large stone mortar and pestle used to make soymilk. She showed us how to pull and push the lever in order to grind the beans down into a liquid. Each child was then encouraged to try for themselves, with parents posing and laughing while the children struggled. Parents witnessed and documented this moment, mentioning and comparing visible differences between
rural China and the lives their adopted children now led.

Contrasting rural household labor with middle class American childhood allows families to see differences between Chinese citizens and their (Chinese) child. Karen, Farah's mother, described this life as simple, the counter to Farah's known American life. Because Farah is unfamiliar with the hardship of a rural lifestyle, she could never belong to China.

I couldn't help but think about the stark contrast between this kind of life and the life Farah is living with us in the US. Not that one is better than the other -- I’m sure there’s peace and simplicity to that rural lifestyle -- but that she just didn’t look like she belonged. Even though she’s Chinese, she’s so American. Karen

Farah has become part of her American family, where familial membership is defined based upon lived experience and shared activities, placing only slight significance on heritage and ancestry. Romantic narratives of the simplicity of rural Chinese lifestyles seen in Karen’s quote separate and call attention to the different economic positions of these particular Chinese citizens and middle-class American families. Therefore, Farah fits into her American family because she has been socialized as a “typical” (white and upper/middle class) American child.

Caregivers and adoption specialists on the other hand, can be easily included since they have engaged in one of the activities defining family: care of children. They can be easily incorporated especially if they are able to provide even the slightest bit of information or history. As Karen mentions:

The best part for me was meeting Farah’s nanny. I didn’t expect her to remember Farah, yet it turned out that she remembered quite a bit about her and was able to answer some of the questions we’ve always had about those first several months of her life. It helped us make sense of her story. It was also wonderful to see that there is someone in China who really cares about her -- someone who is emotionally
When we returned to Farah’s orphanage we first met with the director. Karen brought with her a picture of Farah and the nanny who had originally cared for her twelve years ago. Through our interpreter, Farah’s nanny shared stories about Farah’s first year of life. She remembers bringing her home to play with her family and how Farah interacted with her son. Linguistic and cultural barriers were overcome because both Karen and Farah’s nanny value and cared for her.

Molly, Karen’s biological daughter and Chris’ twin sister, uses caretaking and family to describe how she extends the imagined boundaries of family. As a white, American teenager, most of China was foreign to her, and the assumptions of primordial belonging do not apply. In the quote below she details how China was hard to relate to or understand. Yet, she was able to understand Farah’s nanny, making some aspects of China approachable.

I have never had a personal connection to someone in China before. It seemed like everyone there was like strangers to me, and that we didn’t have very much in common. However, meeting the nanny and her family showed me that I did have a connection with China, that a family there actually shared a sister with me, at least for a short while.

Molly expands the definition of family selectively, excluding most of China but including Chinese caregivers. Shared responsibility for the well being of Farah turns into communal understanding of the importance of family and community. Farah’s nanny might also be “strange,” or a stranger because she’s Chinese, but she can be understood through the duties and obligations associated with kin and family.

At the orphanage, the director and two assistants discussed Farah’s past. The director slid a large sketchbook towards her that was full of pictures and comments
from the other girls from her orphanage who had returned. Farah flipped through the pages, reading selected passages from other children, seeing what they wrote and drew. Finally she signed the book, mentioning the grade she was entering, the activities she enjoyed and how she loved her family. By adding her name and a description of her American life and family to the book of returnees, I argue, Farah and her family became connected to the other adopted children and Western families represented in that sketchbook.

These new family memories fill in the empty spaces, and while they do not provide knowledge concerning heritage, they commemorate the creation of family through participation in new rituals. As this quote from one returnee featured in a New York Times article explains:

We showed each other our papers and our baby pictures from the orphanage. Then we went on a tour of the building and saw the rooms with paperwork on past and current matches. There was one room with big bulletin boards all around it. Each board had tons of pictures of orphans who had been adopted. All the children were so adorable and we felt happy that they had families now. None of us had known about the match room so seeing that part of our family story was really special. Jade Nisel

Families interact not just with the orphanage employees but also with the traces of other unknown adoptive families thereby legitimizing the constructed nature of the adoptive family. As Farah stated: "It helped me learn about my heritage. I also think that it helped bring our family closer together”.

Narratives of rural China’s simplicity distance families and their adopted Chinese children from the inhabitants of the homeland, but Farah’s family made an exception; original caregivers and orphanage employees can be included in these extended family units because they engaged in one of the defining characteristics of
family membership, childcare. Farah’s family confirmed and celebrated a Chinese connection shaped by transnational adoption while simultaneously discouraging strong membership between the adopted child and her homeland based upon contemporary and stereotypical understandings of China and the Chinese. These moments in China when adoption guest books are signed and nannies are introduced suggest that children and their families connect to the larger adoption community, and not necessarily to China. Yet even in China these girls navigated a middle space between belonging to China and belonging to their white middle-class American family.

One night in Beijing, Farah mentioned over dinner how she felt “weird” in China. For Farah, feeling weird meant she felt like a stranger and an insider simultaneously. The girls would all describe moments when they felt their Mandarin thank-yous were more believable than those uttered by their parents and moments where they felt “weird.” They worried they were too visible, standing out as Chinese children with American adults. As we walked through the mall heading back to our hotel one evening, Farah discussed her racial appearance and how it led clerks to believe she was a native Chinese; however she also commented on how her demeanor and behavior marked her as distinctly American.

Farah’s experiences suggest a different sort of connection to China and a different creation of a Chinese identity specific to adoptees. In the Summer Palace the adopted girls walked ahead, saying hello to passing women then giggling when they were answered in Mandarin. They would whisper to each other asking if they thought they were believable as native Chinese girls.
Yet at the Forbidden City, the girls were marked definitively as Americans. Before entering the Forbidden City, our tour guide, attempted to purchase tickets for the girls in our group at the Chinese child’s price. The ticket person took one look at their western style dress and the puzzled faces of the hovering parents and denied them the lower admission fee. While they looked Chinese, he stated that they were American and were required to pay full price. Farah mentioned afterward how she had never felt so white as when she was quickly scanned for her Chinese authenticity. In conflating white with American, Farah separates herself from other Chinese-American populations and Chinese diaspora communities, articulating a Chinese identity specific to the circumstances of migration and family construction that define the adoption community.

Homeland tour moments where Chinese adoptees were classified as American (and for Farah, white) confirm their rightful place in the American family and the transnational adoption community. When they tried to pass as Chinese, the attempts themselves brought them together in a way that Chinese culture camp or after school programs could not. While they were engaging with the homeland and the people in the land of their birth, they were not of them but they were of each other.

The Significance of China: Multiculturalism and Globalization
What I witnessed on homeland tourism was an ironic disjuncture where people wanted to find kin and discover heritage due to the contemporary belief in the pull of primordial belonging, but still did not want to get so close as to lose the power that comes with their American existence. This disjuncture created a middle space
or a new Chinese-American identity shaped mainly by the adoptive community and expressed as a pan-Asian or global identity interchangeably. China is important for adoptive transnational families due to contemporary approaches to difference and expanded global connectivity. In my discussions with parents, and my analysis of comments on adoption list-serves and blogs, Chinese heritage is synonymous with a pan-Asian identity and a demonstration of global citizenship, an approach to difference consistent with American multiculturalism.

Since the 1960s ethnicity has been celebrated. Populations with the ability to describe themselves simply as ‘American’ now claim many ethnic identities (Waters 1990). Diversity is believed to be central to the fabric of America, where we respect and incorporate (albeit not universally) the essential characteristics that separate people. In a conversation with Karen’s son Chris, I asked him why his family went to China. Chris stated:

We have been thinking of this trip ever since we got Farah. We always knew that we would go back. It was important for her to see where she came from, and important for us to respect that. Chris

For Chris, homeland journeys are important because of this contemporary understanding of respect and tolerance towards difference. In commenting on how we need to “respect” Farah’s heritage, Chris approaches Chinese difference through popular multicultural and pluralistic understandings of American diversity. He has to “respect” and understand that within the depths of Farah’s being, lies dormant a naturally Chinese person. He believes that primordial identities are inherent, natural and require him, as an outsider, to respect and therefore facilitate her journey in true pluralistic American fashion. Chris’s perception of the importance of
discovering Farah’s natal heritage is not specific to him; comments on adoption blogs also mirror Chris’s sentiments. One parent stated: “personally I feel like we owe them these experiences and opportunities.” The American multicultural project is not without its own challenges and controversies (Steinberg 2001, 2007, Hartman and Gerteis 2008), but this quick comment from Tom exposes the saliency of these popular approaches to diversity and difference in the United States today.

However, mostly white parents approach difference as if a Chinese identity and appearance were optional, symbolic and voluntary. As one adoptive mother detailed in a blog comment:

China is not going to be some mysterious place in their minds. It won’t be the place of misty daydreams...They’ll know how to navigate the airports, fill out the paperwork on the plane just before it lands, order food in a restaurant and know which dishes are eaten from and which are used for discards. Squat toilets will not be a shock to them. China Adopt Talk14

The reasons discussed above for traveling back to China involve understanding the symbolic markers of what she believes to be representative of a Chinese identity. Expert knowledge of being Chinese for this adoptive parent involves knowing how not to stand out in a Chinese restaurant, and passing as Chinese in certain settings. Therefore food, rituals, and competency even in things like international travel are equated with understanding one’s difference.

Adopted children like Farah emulate this approach and try to adopt a pan-Asian identity. She mimics images and presentations she sees in popular media and culture when defining and creating her Chinese self. Karen, her mother, detailed:

Lately Farah has started to take pride in her Asian heritage, as several of her friends are Asian. She hasn't talked about wanting to learn more about her Asian heritage or learning Chinese, but she imitates
Farah’s Asian friends whom Karen refers to here are mostly Korean. Karen’s comment demonstrates how Farah signals her membership in an American pan-Asian community shaped mainly by popular culture and symbolic gestures. While Farah has not demonstrated an interest in Chinese culture or the Chinese language, she is interested in exploring the symbolic markers of Asian identity. A Chinese identity is seen as being congruous if not substitutable for a pan-Asian identity. Homeland travel, in this instance, I argue, provides Farah a sense of authority when she adopts this Asian presentation of self.

Homeland tourism therefore becomes a strategy of action (Swidler 1986), where one can learn and apply the habits, skills and styles that define someone not necessarily as Chinese, but as Asian. Below, I suggest that this Asian identity is also seen as a global identity. As Karen explains:

I think we all got a good sense of how well China is developing and how much like us the Chinese people are. They are more interested in international travel now. Karen

Karen’s comment demonstrates how important the contemporary age of globalization is for American explorations of diasporic and transnational identity. China’s rapid development and presence on the world stage shape her family’s interest in homeland returns. Homeland journeys then, are not just important for facilitating and recreating kinship, but as an action representative of experience with international travel and a mechanism that creates a global consciousness.

Yet, movement itself is a new frame shaping identities and community (Urry 2007). Homeland tourism then becomes a way to participate in these transnational
flows that come to define American immigrant communities. For example, Farah watches her other Asian friends travel back and forth between the United States and Korea. Therefore, for Farah, being Chinese means having experiences of travel similar to the first and second generation Asian-Americans in her school. In our conversations, Karen highlighted the movement specific to immigrant communities that Farah associates with an Asian identity. In this quote Karen begins with the specific identities bound up in nations, yet conflates national Asian identities with a pan-Asian consciousness:

I think she was curious about China and Chinese people. Many of her friends are Korean and one is Chinese. They all seem to travel back and forth to Asia often, and I think she wanted to do that. Karen sees her homeland tour as important because it provides Farah with an experience of return she so frequently observes as a marker of Asian identity. Homelands are therefore discussed as important because they demonstrate membership in this new global environment shaped by transnational movement, migration and linkages. The significance of China is discussed then as pan-Asian, transnational, and globally cosmopolitan simultaneously, where all constructions are interconnected and interchangeable.

**Conclusion**

The analysis presented in this article suggests that families approach a Chinese identity as a possible option or choice among many, where Chinese difference is equivalent to a pan-Asian identity or a global cosmopolitanism. Identities are no longer autonomous from global flows of power, and even while claiming their place within a global family and demonstrating their global
citizenship, what happens on homeland tours suggests that adoptive families adopt a Western gaze when interacting with the foreign “others” they also claim as kin. Families with adopted Chinese children distance themselves from Chinese rural labor by interpreting it as primitive, yet incorporate Chinese caregivers. Narratives of rural simplicity create two distinct populations: native Chinese lacking in global power, and American families capable of international travel and exploration. The discursive strategies of adoptive families, even when claiming a shared space in the global community and a shared heritage with the people visited, sound similar to narratives of cultural essentialism common to Western engagements with the other (Said 1978).

Homeland tourism to China cannot reconcile traditional understandings of family based upon blood and genetics or affirm the economic realities that brought the Chinese child to American in the first place. It does however validate these new family constructs and reaffirms American identities. As these girls grow into young adults, more work is necessary that is both critical and sympathetic to understand the contemporary discourses of transnational adoption and the intimate space where belonging, race, culture and subjectivity are actively shaped. I present this article to expand the field of inquiry and add a new layer of understanding to contemporary forms of Chinese-American identity and developing geographies of kinship.

Notes
1. The names of the tour agencies and any individuals in this dissertation are fictitious in order to preserve the anonymity of the participants and the businesses. Sites,
locations, memorials and any publicly available information have not been changed.

2. Since 1985, there has been a total of 67,842 adoptions from China to the US. 
   [http://www.adoptioninstitute.org/FactOverview/international.html#3](http://www.adoptioninstitute.org/FactOverview/international.html#3).

3. This work is part of a larger comparative project examining the significance of homeland tourism and issues of belonging and difference. For this larger project, I have been following American Jews and the Israel tour experience known as Birthright, African Americans and slavery tourism to Ghana, and families with adoptive Chinese children.


6. Due to the small number of participants in this study, the analysis present in this article is preliminary.

7. Panda Tours Website

8. During this two-week tour, I took extensive field notes, and experienced the activities and tour sites with my fellow travelers. Additionally, I conducted in-depth and semi-structured interviews with seven of the participants traveling to China (both children and adults). I also examined homeland tour brochures and printed material provided by tour agencies.


10. While the work on homeland tours to China is limited, other forms of heritage tourism for Chinese-Americans focus on the generational separation of Chinese immigrants in the United States (Louie 2002). These programs work from the underlying assumption that visitors of Chinese descent feel pride in China's recent economic growth and a responsibility to help further grow their "home" regions (Louie 2002:354). Similar assumptions exist for adoptees, they are presented with the country of their origin, and encouraged to feel pride in its bucolic pastures and larger than life cities.


**References**

DO NOT CITE:
FORTHCOMING PUBLICATION IN CHINESE HISTORIES AND PERSPECTIVES


Appendix

Figure 1:Familial Relationships and Area of Residence of Homeland Tour Participants

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Parents</th>
<th>Adopted Chinese Children</th>
<th>Additional Children</th>
<th>Area of Residence</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Karl, Carole</td>
<td>Anna</td>
<td></td>
<td>Large urban area in the Northeast</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lisa and Evan</td>
<td>Ellie, Carly, Karissa</td>
<td></td>
<td>Large urban Area in central northeast</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Karen</td>
<td>Farah</td>
<td>Chris and Molly</td>
<td>Midwestern suburb</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Figure 2: Chinese woman demonstrating one of her daily practices during a visit to a rural home in Guilin. Photograph by Jillian Powers
Figure 3: Guestbook for Returning Children. Photograph by Jillian Powers

Figure 4: Farah signing the Guest book. Photograph by Jillian Powers