CHAPTER 14

Chinese Student Migration and Community-Building: An Exploration of New Diasporic Formation in England

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Introduction

Thanks to the globalization of higher education (HE), we have witnessed accelerated growth in the number of international students globally, from 2.1 million in 2000 to 4.3 million in 2011. More than three-quarters (77 %) of them are in countries of the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD 2013). Leading global HE markets, the USA and the UK hosted 17 % and 13 % of international students, respectively, in 2011. Meanwhile, international students contribute 19.8 % of the university student population in Australia, 16.8 % in the UK and 3.4 % in the USA (Wang and Miao 2013: 8). As a leading supplier in the global HE market, mainland China accounts for one in six internationally mobile students (Maslen 2014).

The unprecedented growth in the number of international students raises questions about their social lives and their impact on their host societies. While overwhelming attention has been paid to their intercultural adaption and special needs in classrooms or on university campuses, little is known about their connections with local communities, including their

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coethnics. Can international students be viewed as a part of diasporic communities in host countries? If so, in what ways are they similar to and different from their coethnics? And how do such connections influence their social lives in host countries?

For the links between international students and coethnic groups in host countries, Chinese students in the UK offer a good opportunity for research, not only because of the simultaneous growth in the number of both Chinese students and local Chinese residents since the start of the century (ONS 2012; HESA 2013) but also because of the relationship between the students and the resident group and between diverse Chinese communities and the host society (Wu 2016). According to a recently published report by the Migration Policy Centre of the European University Institute (Unterreiner 2015), of those born in mainland China and registered in the 2011 UK Census, three-quarters were new migrants, having arrived since 2001, while the majority entered the UK as students. This contrasts with Indian residents, among whom students form a smaller proportion (less than one in five). The report indicates (Unterreiner 2015: 12), furthermore, that 152,498 Chinese migrants from mainland China lived in England and Wales in 2011, exceeding the number from Hong Kong (102,241) in the same period. Two observations can be made. First, Chinese student migration has become an important source driving the growth of the Chinese population in the UK. Second, the growth of Chinese student migration from mainland China might have also contributed to the transformation of Chinese communities in the UK, in terms of changes in demographic profiles, Chinese "dialects" spoken and community organizations. This phenomenon warrants further exploration.

The significance of the research focusing on the connections between Chinese students and coethnic Chinese groups in host societies can be analyzed in terms of segmentation or fragmentation, meaning the lack of communication and cooperation among different Chinese groups. This happens, according to Benton and Gomez (2011: 61), because "different groups of Chinese have reached Britain along different paths, by different means, and with different projects," and "interrelations among Chinese groups and individuals were based less and less on an expectation of reciprocity and more and more on calculation of separate self-interest." This raises important questions about the impact of Chinese students on two local settings: the local Chinese community and the wider community in destination countries. Does the large scale of Chinese student migration contribute to or disrupt existing diasporic Chinese communities? What

changes does it cause in the two local settings? How do the changes affect the ways in which Chinese student migrants interact with one another, with other Chinese migrants and with local residents? How do interaction patterns affect community cohesion and integration with reference to increasing communication, interaction and cooperation between different groups internally (with other Chinese groups) and externally (with non-Chinese groups)?

To address the above questions, this chapter focuses on patterns of interpersonal interaction or social networking by Chinese students in their communications internally (different student groups from mainland China and from Hong Kong, Singapore and Malaysia) and externally (local Chinese and non-Chinese residents in the wider community). For this purpose I propose the concept of Chinese student diaspora, which can be understood as follows:

- Chinese students as an integral part of the diasporic Chinese community, contributing to the growth and transformation of the greater Chinese community in host countries;
- Chinese students as agents for change by way of social networking with different groups, both Chinese and non-Chinese, both on campus and in the wider community, leading to the formation and transformation of the local Chinese community;
- Chinese students as multiple groups in terms of national identity (e.g., mainland Chinese, Hong Kong Chinese or Singapore Chinese) and cultural diversity, revealing similarities and differences in terms of behavior and networking patterns both on campus and in the wider community.

I argue that Chinese student migration has provided not only a new momentum for the growth of diasporic Chinese communities in major HE destinations but also opportunities and a positive impact on Chinese community cohesion and integration. The chapter is split into three parts. First, I review the relevant literature on student migration to identify research gaps and offer a conceptual framework. I then analyze patterns of diasporic formation in England using both official data and my own survey data and offer a discussion of survey findings in light of the concept of Chinese student diaspora.[1] Third, I conclude by noting some theoretical and policy implications.

Chinese Student Diaspora: Why Does It Matter?

Perspectives on Student Migrants

The study of Chinese student migrants should be put in the broader context of Chinese diaspora today. Despite the lack of research on the direct links between international students and coethnic communities in destination countries, the existing literature explains the phenomenon from three perspectives: international migration, global diaspora and social networking.

From the perspective of international migration, international students are a special group with a temporary resident permit. Their mobility and their decision either to stay in host countries or return to their home countries after graduation can be analyzed according to a push–pull model, involving factors such as human capital, career development, affordability, social mobility, global market competition, quality of HE provision and services, and government policies in both home and host countries (Findlay 2011; Robertson 2011; Shen 2009; Wiers-Jenssen 2008; Xiang and Shen 2009). Despite differences in the terms and theories used, scholars share a more or less common belief that international student mobility and migration is a rational choice made by individuals as bearers of human capital (Raghuram 2013). It is too simple to view international students from the same country as a homogeneous group in terms of their motivation for studying abroad and their choice of either staying or returning to their home countries after the completion of their studies.

Beyond pull–push factors, the decisions might also have to do with the students' social lives and personal experiences in host countries. In this regard, many scholars discuss the multiple roles that international students play in host societies, including as members of families, temporary workers in local markets, participants in church activities and volunteers in local community organizations (King and Raghuram 2013; Mosneaga and Winther 2013; Neilson 2009). Students' choice about staying or going home is also influenced by migration policies, which may vary greatly across host countries (BIS 2013; Sovic and Blythman 2013). For instance, Hawthorne (2012: 417) talks of a "two-step migration" of international students as "an integral part of transnational migration systems, which undergird skilled labor circulation in a burgeoning global knowledge economy." As for national governments in host countries, we can see "the increasing incidence of national programs for student recruitments with a special view towards long-term or permanent settlement."

From the perspective of global diaspora, the heterogeneity of international students can be understood in terms of the variation in their contacts and connections with and social impact on local communities, including their coethnic groups in host societies. In this regard, the term "diaspora" is relevant. This refers to a group of people (e.g., Jews or Armenians) who have had to leave their historic homeland and live in other countries. In the era of globalization, as the growing mobility of people across national boundaries results in the growth of immigrant populations, the term "diaspora" has become increasing popular and harder to define. Emphasizing the sharing of common features and characteristics such as country of origin and collective identity, Cohen (2008: 18) divides global diasporas into five types: victim (Jews, Africans), labor (Indians), trade (Chinese), culture (the Caribbean) and imperial (British).

Broadening the definition of diaspora, furthermore, there is an increasing emphasis on hybridity, global flows (of people, knowledge and finance), transnational identities, and differences within diasporas (in terms of gender and class) (Dufoix, 2008: 22–34). For instance, "knowledge diaspora" or similar terms (e.g., "diaspora of the highly skilled," "migrants of talents" and overseas professionals) have frequently been used by international organizations (e.g., the United Nations, the International Organization for Migration, the World Bank) and national governments of sending countries such as China and India for the purpose of promoting return migration and in order to make better use of knowledge diasporas (Xiang 2005; Yang and Qiu 2010). However, the emphasis has been on transnational networks, and little is known about the links and contributions of knowledge diasporas to coethnic communities. Can international students be inserted into the category of knowledge diaspora, given that the latter refers by definition to those who have completed their degrees and hold professional posts in host countries (Xiang 2005: 6)? The situation of international students is more complicated in terms of interconnections with and consequences for local communities than that of knowledge diasporas in host countries owing to uncertainty about their future. In the case of Indian students, Kumar et al. (2009) distinguish between three groups: (1) those who "extend their stay in the host country and join the workforce in order to compensate for their dissatisfaction about the quality of education"; (2) those who "stay and work at least for a couple of years in order to repay their heavy education loans"; and (3) those who "use the student visa to migrate and later on settle in the destination countries as it is an easy way to acquire permanent residence."

International students, like other immigrants, need to establish and maintain a social network for their communication and interaction with other cultural groups both on campus and in the wider community. Tian and Lowe (2010: 291–304) identify four types of social networking by Chinese students: (1) separation/marginalization ("a very restricted social network of a small number of Chinese students"); (2) integration/separation ("a Chinese social network, though generally remaining open to the possibility of friendships outside this network"); (3) integration/identity retention ("aim[ing] to participate closely in the host society[and] maintain [ing] close friendships with other Chinese"); and (4) integration/assimilation ("extend[ing] their social network with British people, commonly diminishing their association with other Chinese"). Looking beyond campus, Gao (2016) offers valuable observations about how Chinese students engage with the local Chinese community in Australia by way of part-time employment and entrepreneurial activities in order to develop their knowledge, experience and skills to the mutual benefit of both the students and the local Chinese community. Along the same lines, Su (2013) suggests that experience involving part-time employment in Chinese restaurants or voluntary work in local communities is helpful for students "planning to work in the UK after their study," enabling them to learn "how to handle working relationships with colleagues of different cultures" (Su 2013: 237).

By bringing together global diaspora and social networking perspectives, the connections and interaction between international students and coethnic groups can be understood as not only a new dynamic in diasporic communities but a way of establishing and developing the students' identities in host countries. Recounting the history of Chinese communities in the UK, Benton and Gomez (2011: 47–48) suggest that Chinese students form a substantial minority of the country's Chinese population and often take up part-time jobs in the ethnic enclave. They remind us of the differences between ethnic Chinese from current or former British colonies, Taiwanese and mainland Chinese. These differences can be seen from various angles, including connections with local Chinese business, lifestyles and relations with the Chinese embassy. Students from mainland China and their dependents "retain the *liu xue sheng* label, which denotes a fixed social identity separate from that of 'overseas Chinese', an identity they tend to look down on and reject" (Benton and Gomez 2011: 47–48).

Having reviewed relevant literature, the following research gaps can be identified. First, the links between international students and local communities are unclear, although they are important for international students'

understanding of and interaction with the host society, and for researchers' understanding of the diversity of international students regarding the decision to migrate and attitudes to integration. Second, there are the students' connections with coethnic groups and their impact on the coethnic community. The ethnic links with the local community can help us understand whether international students are part of a global diaspora and in what ways they differ from their coethnics. I am also interested in the mechanisms that international students use to maintain contact with coethnics and other groups in the host society. I address these questions in the rest of this chapter.

Conceptual Framework and Research Design

Chinese students as a part of Chinese diaspora can be analyzed and understood from the angle of students' social networking, a process that brings together different groups of students on campuses as well as Chinese students and local residents (both Chinese and non-Chinese) in the wider community. The term "social networking" has two dimensions:

- ethnically (or horizontally): the connections of Chinese students within the group (e.g. mainland China) or between Chinese groups (e.g. mainland China vs. Hong Kong, Singapore, etc.) or between Chinese and non-Chinese groups;
- civically (or vertically): networking between Chinese students and local groups (both Chinese and non-Chinese) on campus and in the wider community.

The scope of social networking, including the spread of Chinese students' communication and interaction, can be measured on three levels:

1. communication within or across different groups of Chinese students;
2. communication between Chinese students and international students of other nationalities;
3. communication between Chinese students, local Chinese residents and non-Chinese residents.

The function of social networking, defined as a set of conditions geared to eliciting mutual respect, trust and support within and between groups, can be observed in two ways: (1) community cohesion: bringing together

individuals or different Chinese groups in order to increase their common interests; (2) integration: opening up the Chinese community to allow different people or groups to share resources and opportunities with the wider community to the mutual benefit of both Chinese and non-Chinese groups.

Bringing together the scope and function of social networking, the term "Chinese student diaspora" can be defined as a group of Chinese students from different countries or regions who share common characteristics (e.g history and culture) and interests in social networking internally (within or between different groups among Chinese students) and externally (with local Chinese residents and non-Chinese groups, both students and local residents).

The concept of Chinese student diaspora provides a useful framework within which to observe and ask more specific questions about the social lives of Chinese students in local communities. For example, taking into account the variety of Chinese students from mainland China or other countries or regions, how are different groups of Chinese students interconnected, and to what extent are they a community? Are there any links between Chinese students and local Chinese residents and, if so, to what extent can Chinese students be viewed by local Chinese residents as part of the Chinese community? How are Chinese students connected with non-Chinese groups in local communities, and what contributions do Chinese students make to Chinese community cohesion and integration?

This framework might not have been developed but for a pilot project that has been running in Nottingham since 2011, with, as its theme, global citizenship in the Chinese community. More than 200 Chinese and non-Chinese students participated in a training and outreach program involving local councils, civil-society organizations and Chinese community representatives. Besides attending lectures and workshops, students were asked to prepare project proposals addressing the specific needs of the local Chinese community and to make full use of the available resources. A Chinese community survey was conducted in the summer of 2013. It had two parts: official data analysis on changes in Chinese communities in the UK and their relationship to Chinese student growth; and a questionnaire survey focusing on Chinese community cohesion and integration in Nottingham.

The official data analysis is based on two sources: the UK Census, which contains data on the distribution of Chinese in 326 districts or boroughs across England in 2001 and 2011; and Higher Education Statistics Agency

(HESA) data, covering international students annually and by nationality since 2000. By bringing the two datasets together, the impact of Chinese students on local Chinese communities can be measured. The questionnaire was designed to cover all groups, both Chinese students and local Chinese residents(Wu 2013).[2] Its results were compared with those of a previous survey conducted by Nottingham City Council (2002) on changes in Nottingham's Chinese community.

The Impact of Chinese Student Migration on Local Chinese Communities

Chinese Students and Coethnic Residents across England

The contribution of Chinese students to local Chinese communities in the major HE destinations can be analyzed by comparing the growth in the number and distribution of the Chinese students and local Chinese residents in the UK. Defining Chinese students as a sum of students from mainland China (denoted in yellow) and other Chinese from Hong Kong and Singapore (shown in blue), Fig. 14.1 shows rapid growth of Chinese students in the UK from fewer than 20,000 in 2000/2001 to more than 80,000 in 2011/2012. The share of mainland Chinese students increased from about a half to more than 80 % over the same period. This indicates that mainland Chinese were the driving force behind the rapid growth in the number of Chinese students in the UK during that decade.

Table 14.1 illustrates the growth in the number of students from mainland China compared with other categories of student in the UK. Their share of the total increased from 5.5 % to 18.8 % from 2000/01 to 2011/12 (focusing only on mainland Chinese) or from 11 % to 23 % (if Chinese from Hong Kong and Singapore are included). It is worth noting that students from Malaysia, the Philippines, Indonesia and Thailand are excluded, although ethnic Chinese may form a significant proportion of their number.

Focusing on the growth in the number of and the relationship between Chinese students and local Chinese residents, Table 14.2 shows that the distribution of HE resources in England has a significant influence on the Chinese population.[3] Of 326 local-authority areas (districts or boroughs), more than three quarters (77 %) have no university, 15 % have just one university, and the rest have two or more universities. A correlation can be identified between the average number of Chinese students and that of local

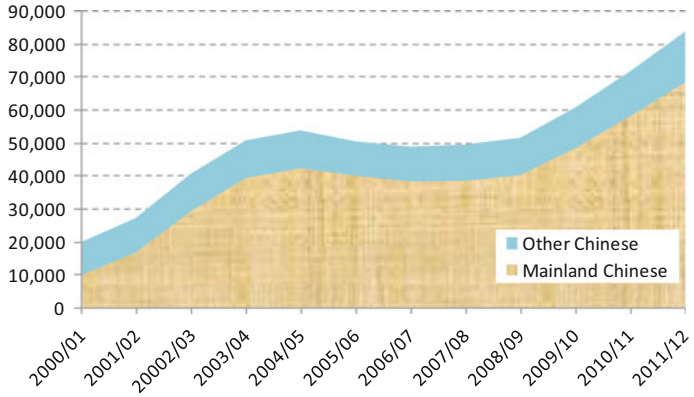

Fig. 14.1 Growth of Chinese students by region of origin (Source: Created by the author based on information provided by the HESA. The number of students is full-time equivalent)

Table 14.1 Internationalization of higher education and position of Chinese students in the UK

Year	*All students*	*International students*	*Mainland Chinese*	*All Chinese*	*Share %*		
	(1)	*(2)*	*(3)*	*(4)*	*(2)/(1)*	*(3)/(2)*	*(2)/(4)*
2000/2001	1,454,949	180,563	9899	19,908	12.4	5.5	11.0
2011/2012	1,923,274	364,699	68,385	83,771	19.0	18.8	23.0
Growth	1.32	2.02	6.91	4.21	–	–	–

Source: Created by author based on the information provided by the HESA. Figures are numbers of full-time equivalent students

Chinese residents, and also between the growth rates of both groups from 2001 to 2011. Table 14.2 estimates the proportion of Chinese students to the local Chinese population, which varies from 21 % in single-university boroughs to about 30 % in boroughs with two universities. The greater the number of Chinese students, the greater the number of Chinese residents and the higher the rate of growth of the local Chinese population. The

Table 14.2 Distribution and growth of Chinese residents and students by university resources, 2011

Number of universities	*Number of districts*	*%*	*Chinese students*	*Chinese residents*	*Resident growth % (2001–2011)*	*Students as % of total (2011)*
0	252	77.3	–	636	52.7	–
1	50	15.3	529	1968	93.2	21.2
2	17	5.2	1724	4101	147.4	29.6
≥3	7	2.1	2342	6336	87.2	27.0
Total/ average	326	100	966	1164	65.1	–

Source: Created by the author based on a combination of UK Census and HESA data

exception is bigger cities like London, Birmingham and Manchester with three or more universities, where the growth in the number of Chinese students is only one of many factors contributing to the growth of the Chinese population.

Transformation of the Chinese Community in Nottingham

According to the latest UK Census, 8,930 Chinese lived in Nottingham County in 2011, two-thirds (or 5,988) of them in the City of Nottingham. The proportion of Chinese in the total population was 0.82 % in the county and 1.96 % in the city. Compared with 2001, the Chinese population has more than doubled in size (2.4 times) in the county and tripled (3.5 times) in the city.

As elsewhere in England, the rapid growth of the Chinese population in Nottingham cannot be separated from the internationalization of HE over the last decade. The two universities—the University of Nottingham and Nottingham Trent University—have played a leading role not only in attracting and recruiting Chinese students but also in developing business links with China, including the establishment of an overseas campus in Ningbo by the University of Nottingham. The number of Chinese students in the two universities has, according to the HESA, increased eight-fold since 2001 and reached 2,819 in 2011. Bringing together two pieces of statistical information, Chinese residents (via the UK Census) and Chinese students (via the HESA), we estimate that the real number of Chinese in

Table 14.3 Comparison of two surveys on Nottingham's Chinese community

Item	*2002 survey*	*2013 survey*
Sample size	620	311
Students (%)	48.1 %	52.1 %
From mainland China	39.6 %	70.0 %
From Hong Kong	39.1 %	13.4 %
Age 18–24	32.9 %	44.9 %
Living in the city >10 years	30.8 %	14.7 %

Source: Wu (2013: 18)

Table 14.4 Response to "Do you know the following organizations?" (%)

Name of organization	*2013*	*Resident*	*Student*	*2002*
EECA	21.2	38.3	5.6	54.0
NCWA	20.9	30.2	12.3	43.1
CSSA	50.2	47.0	53.1	–
SCCS	41.5	34.2	48.1	10.2

Source: 2013 survey conducted by the author

Nottingham City is probably more than 10,000 and the share of students in the Chinese community could be more than 40 % (Wu 2013:15).

Regarding changes in Nottingham's Chinese community since the 21st century, Table 14.3 compares the survey I conducted in 2013 with the previous survey conducted by Nottingham City Council in 2002 (NCC 2002). Of a total of 311 participants in the 2013 survey, 52.1 % (or 162) were students, similar to the 48.1 % in the 2002 survey. Significant changes in Nottingham's Chinese community are revealed by changes in the profiles of respondents, including their home country or region and their age and length of residence in Nottingham.

In addition to changes in demographic profiles, a big challenge facing Nottingham's Chinese community today is perhaps the decline of traditional Chinese community organizations in terms of their ability to attract and influence new immigrants from mainland China. Table 14.4 shows that Chinese student organizations (e.g. the Chinese Students and Scholars Association [CSSA]) and university institutes (e.g. the School of Contemporary Chinese Studies [SCCS][4]) have overtaken traditional associations (e.g. the East England Chinese Association [EECA] and the Nottinghamshire Chinese Welfare Association [NCWA]) in terms of influence.

Table 14.5 Response to "Are you aware of and have you participated in the following local community activities?" (%)

Name of event	*Know*	*Participate*	*Residents*	*Students*
Chinese Spring Festival Gala	62.4	22.8	55.7	68.5
Chinese community events	38.6	5.8	29.5	46.9
Chinese community organized tourism	36.7	7.7	25.5	46.9
Local church activities	37.0	8.0	23.5	49.4
University Community Open Day	40.5	5.5	27.5	52.5
Local cultural festivals	30.2	5.8	26.8	33.3
Local social events (e.g., New Year's Eve)	33.8	6.8	21.5	45.1
Local sport event (e.g., football)	32.5	2.6	18.8	45.1
Local music event	32.5	6.1	18.8	45.1

Source: 2013 survey conducted by the author

With respect to Chinese community cohesion and integration, Table 14.5 provides a list of major social events organized by local Chinese groups (upper three rows) or non-Chinese organizations (all other rows). It shows a low participation rate (less than 10 %) for all events except the Chinese Spring Festival Gala, which was jointly organized by the CSSA and the SCCS at the University of Nottingham. The low level of awareness and participatory rate would seem to indicate the poor state of Chinese community cohesion and integration. Comparing the differences between Chinese students and local residents, however, the students' knowledge of those events was significantly greater (by more than 20 % in most cases) than that of local residents. This seems to suggest that there is a potential for university students to participate in and contribute to Chinese community projects in future.

Scope and Function of Social Networking among Chinese Students

In the questionnaire, social networking was measured by a question about the scope of social contacts or friendships. The term "friends" was defined as those the respondent might meet frequently or regularly call on. Chinese student respondents were asked to tick boxes underneath four types of friendship both on campus and in the wider community (see Table 14.6). For example, three-quarters claimed friendships within the same group (e.g. from mainland China). Despite the stereotype that Chinese from the same region stick together (Type 1), the survey seemed to indicate that

Table 14.6 Distribution of friendship or social contact by location and ethnic group (%)

Category	*Type 1*	*Type 2*	*Type 3*	*Type 4*	*N*
Within campus	Chinese: same group	Chinese: different group	International	Domestic	162
	74.7	32.1	45.7	30.9	100
Wider community	Relatives	Chinese: same identity	Chinese: different identity	Non-Chinese	113
	9.3	39.5	21.6	32.1	69.8

Source: 2013 survey conducted by the author

Table 14.7 Student networking and interest in participating in local events (%)

Name of event	*External networking?*		*Total*	*chi-square*
	No	*Yes*		
Chinese community events	8.8	32.4	25.8	0.032
Local church activities	11.4	24.5	20.7	0.003
Local cultural festivals	14.7	15.3	15.1	0.078
Local social events (e.g., New Year's Eve)	11.5	36.1	28.9	0.003
Local sport event (e.g., football)	8.8	16.3	13.8	0.049

Source: 2013 survey conducted by the author

some Chinese students includes students of other nationalities in their social networks (Type 3 and Type 4). In contrast, respondents paid less attention to their counterparts in other Chinese student groups (Type 2).

Table 14.6 shows that the majority (113 out of 162) of students had social connections with the wider community, while 30 % had none. The results seem to show that a large number of Chinese students are to some extent involved with local communities and that they network quite a lot with the wider community, both Chinese and non-Chinese, and within Chinese groups, both from same (Type 2) and different (Type 3) groups.

The rest of this section explores the impact of social networking on Chinese community cohesion and integration. Table 14.7 confirms that students who network externally are more likely to be involved in both Chinese and non-Chinese community activities.

To discover the differences between Chinese students in terms of social networking profiles, the sampled students were divided into two groups:

Table 14.8 Contrast in social networking between mainland Chinese and other Chinese students (%)

Location	*Group*	*Chinese 1*	*Chinese 2*	*Non-Chinese*
Campus	Mainland Chinese	82.5	27.2	37.7
	Other Chinese	56.3	43.8	63.6
Outside	Mainland Chinese	36.0	17.5	26.3
	Other Chinese	47.9	31.3	45.8

Note: 36 % of respondents from the mainland Chinese group and 17 % from the other Chinese group don't have social contact/friends outside of campus
Source: 2013 survey conducted by the author

Table 14.9 Scope of social networking of local Chinese residents (N = 149, %)

Job type	*Chinese 1*	*Chinese 2*	*Chinese 3*	*Non-Chinese*
	Similar dialect	*Different dialect*	*Different identity*	*Other ethnic*
Similar	45.0	28.2	23.5	24.2
Different	26.2	21.5	26.8	20.1

Source: 2013 survey conducted by the author

those from mainland China (mainland Chinese) and those from Hong Kong and Singapore (other Chinese). Table 14.8 illustrates significant differences between the two groups in terms of both the scope and pattern of social networking. Generally, students from Hong Kong and Singapore are more balanced in their social networking with different groups both on campus and in the wider community than mainland Chinese students, who are more closed and confined to their own group. Both groups pay more attention to non-Chinese than to their counterpart Chinese groups.

Using the same principle, I asked respondents among local Chinese residents in the survey to indicate who their friends are. Taking into account the differences between and influences of the subcultures of sending communities in mainland China (e.g., north and south Chinese, Wu-dialect and Yue-dialect Chinese), I used dialect as a variable in the questionnaire. Respondents were asked to identify any one or more types of friend with a similar dialect (Chinese 1), a different dialect (Chinese 2) and a different identity (Chinese 3, e.g., mainland Chinese vs. Hong Kong), or friends who were not Chinese. Friends were further divided into two categories according to job: whether it was a similar job or a different one. Table 14.9 provides an outline of the scope and variety of social networks among local-resident respondents.

A number of observations can be made base on Table 14.9. First, local Chinese residents are rather diverse in terms of social contacts because no common pattern emerges. Nonetheless, people who share the same or a similar dialect are more likely to become friends than people of different dialect or identity groups. Second, the scope and strength of social networking among local residents is much narrower, weaker and less likely to be across occupational or social-class boundaries than among Chinese students (see Table 14.6).

Regarding challenges and opportunities in the local Chinese community, students and local residents were asked to evaluate four policy recommendations made by focus groups. Table 14.10 shows that all suggestions scored highly, and the statement "Universities should encourage and support students to engage with local communities" scored best. While both students and local residents supported the recommendations, they differed slightly in the extent of their support and their priorities. The local residents tended to favor any project related to Chinese community development and gave high priority to Chinese cultural and social events, whereas students put their priority on university support for their participation and local engagement.

Another important indicator of the common needs of both students and local residents is the percentage of respondents to the last item on the questionnaire asking for personal contact details. The survey shows that roughly half of respondents were willing to be involved in future projects

Table 14.10 Response to "To what extent do you support the following statements?" (%)

Statement	*Total*	*Resident*	*Student*	*N*
Communication/cooperation should be enhanced between different Chinese groups in Nottingham	4.16	4.33	3.97	230
Chinese students should be treated as an important part of Nottingham's Chinese community	4.03	4.05	4.02	236
Universities should encourage and support students to engage with local communities	4.32	4.31	4.33	242
More social events should be organized on traditional Chinese festivals to promote Chinese culture and community integration	4.24	4.45	4.01	242

Notes: Ranging from 0 (totally disagree) to 5 (totally agree)
Source: 2013 survey conducted by the author

and that a third would offer voluntary support. While the intention to get involved was at similar levels in both groups, students outdid residents if one remembers that a third of them were going back to their home country.

Discussion

The following findings are of interest. First, from the perspective of the "Chinese student community," the connections between Chinese student groups are weaker than those with non-Chinese student groups. This matches the observation of Benton and Gomez (2011: 47–48), who observed a division between students from mainland China and Chinese from other countries or regions. However, "Chinese student community" is still a useful term, given the connections and interactions between these groups, which leave room for further development and enhancement. More importantly, the evidence confirms differences between Chinese students: mainland Chinese have stronger internal ties, while "other" Chinese have more balanced relationships, both internal and external.

Second, not all Chinese students can be viewed as part of the local Chinese community, partly because a large number (30 %) of respondents have no social contacts in the wider community and partly because their contacts are more likely to be confined to the small group of local Chinese residents who share an identity with them. The connections with local residents vary significantly between student groups. For instance, around 40 % of "other" Chinese students have social contacts with local Chinese residents, which is twice as many as their counterparts from mainland China. Taking into account the fragmentation of the Chinese community, however, the above results confirm the existence and function of ethnic links, albeit weak, between Chinese students and local Chinese residents. Furthermore, the survey would seem to support Gao's (2016) conclusion, although the links between Chinese students and the local Chinese community in Nottingham are weaker than those in Melbourne. The differences can be explained partly in terms of the differences between the two cities (population size and business opportunities, including ethnic Chinese business) and partly by differences in survey design.

Third, taking into account the fragmentation within the Chinese community in Nottingham and beyond, our survey shows the positive contribution that Chinese students make to community cohesion and integration. This can be seen not only from the fact that more students network than local residents (Tables 14.6 and 14.9) but also from their greater participation in community events (Table 14.5). The participation rate of "other"

Chinese student groups is better than that of those from mainland China (Table 14.8). The conventional interpretation cites either pull–push factors at the macrolevel (Findlay 2011; Wiers-Jenssen 2008) or acculturation (Berry 1997; Tian and Lowe 2010) at the microlevel, but my findings suggest there are mutual benefits in student networking and local engagement for both students and coethnic community development, an underresearched field in international education studies.

Bringing together the growth of the Chinese student population and its social networking, internally and externally, I argue that students from mainland China have had a growing impact on the growth of the Chinese resident population in England and on its transformation in terms of structure and organization. Despite the many differences between Chinese students and local residents in terms of needs and priorities, all Chinese groups in our survey share a common view: universities and Chinese students could contribute more to Chinese community cohesion and integration. Such findings shed new light on the roles of global universities in local communities, a potential new research area in the debates about global citizenship education and university–community partnership (Caruana 2010; Olson and Peacock 2012).

Conclusion and Implications

This chapter aims to map out and discuss Chinese students' links to and impact on local communities in England. Viewing Chinese students as a special segment of Chinese diaspora, I have analyzed their attitudes, performances and contributions to local communities from the perspective of their social networking among Chinese students in university and between Chinese students, local Chinese and non-Chinese in the wider community. Reflecting on the research questions posed at the beginning of this chapter, I draw a number of conclusions.

First, I show the correlation between the growth in the number of Chinese students since the turn of the century and changes in local Chinese communities in university towns or cities across England, in both quantitative and qualitative terms. In connection with the debates about global diasporas (Cohen 2008; Dufoix 2008), the case of Chinese international students usefully points up that of the "international student diaspora," thus broadening our understanding of the links and contribution of international students, including Chinese students, to local communities in the host society. The contribution of international students to local communities is

not solely economic but has many other dimensions, including social, cultural and ethnic.

Second, the evidence I have presented seems to suggest that despite differing from local Chinese residents or conventional "Chinese diaspora" in many respects, the term "Chinese student diaspora" is useful for analyzing their participation in and contribution to the wider community, both Chinese and non-Chinese, in the host society. In that sense, this chapter sheds new light on the contribution that Chinese student migration and integration make to the ongoing transformation of diasporic Chinese communities in major HE destinations globally.

Third, the variation among Chinese students of perceptions and experiences of local engagement can be analyzed through the lens of their social networking, which comprises two dimensions: ethnic (same Chinese, different Chinese and non-Chinese) and civic (on campus or in the wider community). Based on the analysis of the survey in Nottingham, this chapter illustrates the correlations between students' social networking and their performance in local communities. The social networking and local engagement of Chinese students in the host society have a positive impact on local Chinese communities. This can be seen from the growing influence of Chinese student associations and their events, which are better organized than those staged by local traditional Chinese community organizations, and from the many high-profile public events organized by local non-Chinese groups in Nottingham, which attracted more students than local Chinese residents. However, it is perhaps too early to identify the precise role of Chinese students in local communities owing to the ongoing transformation of Chinese communities in the UK on the one hand and students' social networking on the other.

Fourth, the evidence from the survey shows that Chinese students have provided a new momentum for Chinese community cohesion and integration in general, students from Hong Kong and Singapore more so than those from mainland China. There is a policy implication for international student recruiters and supporters, university teachers, Chinese student leaders, and government agencies both in China and the host countries. Chinese students should be encouraged to develop their respect and mutual support for other Chinese student groups. A strong and united "Chinese student community" could be beneficial both to the students themselves and to local Chinese communities, and maximize its positive impact in the wider community in host countries.

Notes

1. This chapter is based on a combination of official data analysis and a questionnaire survey in Nottingham. The official data are used to reveal the co-relationship of growth and distribution between Chinese international students and local Chinese residents across England from 2000 to 2011. The questionnaire survey was conducted in Nottingham's Chinese community in 2013 to reveal the impact of Chinese student migration on that community.
2. Two versions of the questionnaire were designed for Chinese students and local Chinese residents, with some common questions in order to identify the commonalities and differences in terms of perceptions, networking and social behaviour. For the student survey, owing to constraints caused by examinations and summer holidays, the questionnaire was mainly conducted online (Survey Monkey), and the survey message was disseminated to targeted Chinese students via the International Office of the University of Nottingham to all Chinese students from mainland China, and via a Singapore Chinese student society to "other" Chinese students from Hong Kong, Singapore and Malaysia. Students from Taiwan were not included owing to their small numbers.
3. No data were available for the Chinese population in Scotland, Wales and North Ireland in 2013 when we collected data from the UK Census 2011.
4. "In 2002 survey, the name of SCCS was "Institute of Contemporary Chinese Studies." Unfortunately, SCCS has been inclosed down since August 2016.")

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