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CHINESE/CHINESE AMERICAN STUDENTS AT THE UNIVERSITY OF MISSISSIPPI

FROM 1946 to 1975

A Dissertation
presented partial fulfillment of requirements
for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy
in the Department of Leadership and Counselor Education
The University of Mississippi

by

HSIN-YI KAO

December, 2012

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ABSTRACT

The historical integration of the University of Mississippi (UM) brought both national and local attention when James Meredith was escorted by U.S. Marshals to enroll and attend classes on October 1, 1962 (Cohodas, 1997; Doyle, 2001; Eagles, 2009). Since the integration of UM, racial issues and efforts to promote racial reconciliation primarily have been defined in binary terms of Black and White. In this way, few people hardly noticed that a small number of Chinese/Chinese American students were actually attending UM prior to the historic integration by Meredith, a circumstance present in other southern universities that led historian Peter Wallenstein (1999) to describe these institutions as “non-Black Universities” because their efforts to stall integration focused primarily upon the enrollment of Black southerners.

This study focuses on the history of Chinese/Chinese American students who were the first enrolled at the University of Mississippi from 1946 to 1975. Using data collected from *Ole Miss Yearbooks* and interviews of the former Chinese American students who graduated between 1946 and 1975, the archival research and oral history project presented the development of Chinese/Chinese American students and portrayed their unique collegiate experiences at UM. Eight interviews were conducted in the oral history portion, four male and four female participants. Reviewing the interview transcriptions, eight themes were identified from the stories of the participants who attended UM between 1946 and 1975. The themes included: 1) growing up in the grocery store background; 2) close-knit community keeping Chinese traditions; 3) school was a big part—high value of education; 4) not Black, not White—being Chinese, American, and Chinese American; 5) different treatment; 6) James Meredith and Ole Miss; 7)

good times at Ole Miss; 8) a family tradition to go to Ole Miss. Their stories in Mississippi and UM will help future generations to gain different perspectives of the past and inspire them to work hard and overcome obstacles to achieve professional careers.

DEDICATION

I would like to dedicate this dissertation to the pioneer Chinese/Chinese American students at the University of Mississippi for their courage to be pioneers, willingness and open-mindedness to tell their stories in their younger ages, and their wisdom to share their life experiences.

Luck Wing, 1946-1950, Pharmacy, Jonestown, MS

Juanita Dong, 1957-1960, Pharmacy, Boyle, MS

Frieda Quon, 1960-1964, Library Science, Greenville, MS

Chat Sue, 1961-1965, Political Science, Clarksdale, MS

Gene Wing, 1968-1972, Accounting, Jonestown, MS

Esther Quon, 1971-1975, Business, Clarksdale, MS

Jeff Wong, 1971-1975, Business, Marks, MS

Gwen Gong, 1972-1975, Communicative Disorders/ English, Boyle, MS

Without their stories, this dissertation could never be completed. I hope their stories will inspire future generations to overcome obstacles and find the passion in life as well as help future students to recognize the contributions of early Chinese/Chinese American students at the University of Mississippi. Their history shares part of the UM history. And their stories could be our stories too.

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

UM The University of Mississippi

MSU Mississippi State University

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I have never been the smart one in my class. In fact, my journey to finish a Ph.D. took longer than most doctoral students. I was still struggling what exactly my talents were and often doubted if I could be a scholar even in my late 30s. However, I am so blessed to have a wise, patient, and loving advisor who guides me to go through this path. I want to thank my advisor, Dr. Amy Wells Dolan, for her courage to accept me as her first Chinese student from Taiwan and her wisdom to show me the direction. I could not be more thankful to have Dr. Wells Dolan as my academic advisor and life counselor.

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My family and I came to Oxford, MS, in the summer of 2006. At that time, we knew only one family from Taiwan, but we are so thankful to get to know the Oxford community, our

church family, soccer family, and Taiwanese and international friends. Robert Doerksen and Yuchu Chen give me wise advice and help me all the time. Connie Huang encourages me and reminds me to keep positive attitudes and passions in life. At that year, I did not know exactly what field I could pursue as a Ph.D. student, but in the Higher Education program, I finally knew what I could do.

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

CHAPTER.....	Page
ABSTRACT.....	ii
DEDICATION.....	iv
LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS.....	v
ACKNOWLEDGMENT.....	vi
LIST OF TABLES.....	xiii
LIST OF FIGURES.....	xiv
I. INTRODUCTION.....	1
Overview of the Study.....	1
Purpose of the Study.....	2
Research Questions.....	3
Significance of the Study.....	3
Historical Framework.....	8
Asian American Educational History.....	9
Model Minority.....	10
Chinese American.....	12
Mississippi Chinese.....	14

Methodology.....	19
Method.....	19
Historical Source.....	21
Qualitative Research.....	22
Oral History.....	23
The Participants.....	23
Procedures.....	25
Researcher as Instrument	26
Data Analysis.....	27
Definition of Terms.....	27
Limitations.....	29
Delimitations	30
Summary.....	30
Organization of this Study.....	32
II. ARCHIVAL RESEARCH.....	33
Information on Yearbooks.....	35
Student Enrollment Development by Number and Year.....	35
Student Major.....	36
Student Hometown Information.....	37
International Students from Chinese-Speaking Countries.....	39
Yearbook Findings.....	41
Mississippi Chinese	43

Other Archival Research.....	49
Conclusion: Education as the Route for Social Mobility.....	56
III. ORAL HISTORY/ORAL HISTORIES.....	59
Interview Questions and Interview Process	61
Method of Recruitment.....	61
Narratives	62
Luck Wing	63
Juanita Dong	68
Frieda Seu Quon.....	72
Chat Sue	81
Gene Wing	87
Esther Quon	96
Jeff Wong	102
Gwendolyn Gong.....	107
Summary of the Interviews.....	114
IV. GENERAL THEMES AND FINDINGS.....	116
Analyzed Themes	118
Growing Up in the Grocery Store Background	118
A Close-Knit Community Keeping Chinese Traditions	124
School was a Big Part—Value of Education	129
Not Black, Not White—Being Chinese, American, and Chinese American	131

Different Treatment	133
James Meredith and Ole Miss	137
Good times at Ole Miss.....	138
A Family Tradition to Attend Ole Miss	140
Summary of Themes	141
Discussion	142
Different Perspectives from Female and Male Students.....	142
Different Perspectives from Older and Younger Former Students.....	142
Difference from the Archival Research and Oral History Stories.....	144
Summary.....	145
V. CONCLUSION.....	147
Overview of the Study	148
Discussion	149
Primary Research Question: The History of the Chinese/Chinese American Student at UM...	149
Research Question One: Shared Experiences	151
Research Question Two: Different Experiences.....	155
Individual Stories.....	157
Research Question Three: Sense of Membership or Belonging.....	158
Research Question Four: Influence of UM Education.....	158
Research Question Five: Meaning or Larger Significance of the UM/Ole Miss Memories.....	159
Other Observations.....	160
Rethinking about Model Minority	162

Implications for Student Affairs Professionals	163
Chinese/Chinese Americans Today.....	165
Conclusion	166
REFERENCE.....	167
APPENDICES.....	181
Appendix A: Sample Invitation Letter.....	182
Appendix B: Interview Questions.....	185
Appendix C: Chinese/Chinese American Students at the University of Mississippi from the <i>Ole Miss Yearbooks</i> (1947-1972).....	188
VITA.....	202

LIST OF TABLES

1. Profiles of Participants: Chinese American Students at UM from 1946 to 1975.....117

LIST OF FIGURES

1. Chinese American/Chinese Student Enrollment by year, 1947 to 1972.....36

2. Number of Chinese/Chinese American Student Majors at the University of Mississippi from
1947 to 1972.....37

CHAPTER I

Introduction

Overview of the Study

In stark contrast to the historic exclusion of Black students at the University of Mississippi (UM) until 1962, the University's enrollment of non-white students in 2010 numbers 23.1% (Institutional Research & Assessment, 2010). Compared to today's diverse student body, it is hard to imagine the riot in 1962 when James Meredith was escorted by U.S. Marshals to finally enroll and attend classes (Cohodas, 1997; Doyle, 2001; Eagles, 2009). Since the integration of UM, racial issues and efforts to promote racial reconciliation primarily have been defined in binary terms of Black and White. In this way, few people hardly noticed that a small number of Chinese/Chinese American students were actually attending UM prior to the historic integration by Meredith, a circumstance present in other southern universities that led historian Peter Wallenstein (1999) to describe these institutions as "non-Black Universities" because their efforts to stall integration focused primarily upon the enrollment of Black southerners.

Taking a close look at the *Ole Miss Yearbook* of 1947, the photograph of student Luck Wing, the first Chinese American student, can be found in the freshman class. Later, in 1950, Wing is shown as a senior. In the following volumes of *Ole Miss Yearbooks*, more Chinese/Chinese American student photographs appear. For example, in 1951, William Fong, Sek Wing, and Rosie Gong were in their junior years. Less is known of the stories of these pioneer Chinese/Chinese American students who left their hometowns, lived in dormitories,

attended classes, and participated in extra-curriculum activities and student groups at UM. How did these pioneer students experience their non-Whiteness at UM? Would their reports of college life be like that of Luck Wing who says that he did not feel the weight of prejudice or discrimination against him during his college years (Luck Wing interview with Jung Min “Kevin” Kim on August 26, 2010)?

This study aimed to present an oral history of Chinese/Chinese American students who were the first enrolled at the University of Mississippi from 1947 to 1972. Exploring the voices of Chinese/Chinese American students at UM revealed these students’ unknown stories as a minority group living within a culture marked by Jim Crow laws and segregated spaces. This study of Chinese/Chinese American students is expected to serve as a way to record forgotten voices and experiences. Uncovering these voices encourages diversity and promotes a more nuanced understanding of how the history of the University of Mississippi has evolved over time. These voices also reflected how Chinese/Chinese American students perceived themselves within a southern university context.

Purpose Statement

The purpose of this historical research was to explore and describe the life experiences of the first Chinese/Chinese American students enrolled at the University of Mississippi. Using data collected from *Ole Miss Yearbooks* and interviews of the alumni who graduated between 1947 and 1972, this oral history project presented the development of Chinese/Chinese American students and portrayed their unique collegiate experiences at UM. The voices of Chinese/Chinese American students have hardly been heard throughout the UM history, and it was the intent of this research to present their stories to fill in the missing pieces of this University and community history. This research should help readers understand the distinct role that students of a unique

racial and ethnic group played in this period of time as well as understand how they perceived themselves and others in a southern university in the United States.

Research Questions

This study asked a primary question: What is the history of Chinese/Chinese American students at the UM from 1947 to 1972? This study included secondary questions in order to support and discuss the early Chinese/Chinese American students' life and campus experiences in the period of integration. These questions included:

1. What campus life experiences are shared by Chinese/Chinese American students at UM?
2. How do the campus life experiences of Chinese/Chinese American students differ?
3. To what extent did these pioneer Chinese/Chinese American students at UM feel a sense of membership or belonging to the community?
4. How have these Chinese/Chinese American students carried their UM experiences into their lives after graduation?
5. What meaning or larger significance can be derived from the UM/Ole Miss memories of these Chinese/Chinese American students?

Significance of the Study

James Meredith's admission to UM in 1962 initiated Black students' slow and storied enrollment, matriculation, and graduation from this predominately White institution (Cohodas, 1997; Doyle, 2001; Eagles, 2009). However, Chinese/Chinese American students attended UM earlier than African American students just as they did at other southern universities (Wallenstein, 1999). Studying the time period of 1947 to 1972 has critical meaning in terms of the founding and development of UM.

Established in the year 1848, the University of Mississippi began as a White-only institution. One hundred years later as the school celebrated its one hundredth anniversary, the public showed little to no interest in acknowledging the historic presence of Chinese/Chinese American students on campus. Because the enrollment of the first Chinese student did not incite any campus or local disruptions like James Meredith's admission did (Cohodas, 1997; Doyle, 2001; Eagles, 2009), it is worthwhile to explore the lives and experiences of members of this ethnic group during this time period as well as to depict how Chinese/Chinese Americans remembered their experiences on campus. As this time period under study (1946-1975) characterizes the time before, during, and after integration of Blacks at the school, seeking a rich oral history of Chinese/Chinese American students at UM provides a diverse landscape for contemporary readers.

The University of Mississippi has a unique history due to the slavery past and its adherence to southern traditions. Since its founding in 1848, the University has endeavored to provide students with advanced education by setting strict regulations and high expectations for moral standards and academic achievement (Sansing, 1999). The UM campus was closed during the Civil War because "the entire student body enlisted in the Confederate forces" (Thelin, 2004, p. 75). In a regiment known as the University Greys, these students abandoned their formal studies and fought for the Confederacy (Sansing, 1999), seeking glory on the battlefield and defending their hometowns (Cobb, 2005). After the Civil War, most White Mississippians suffered from the pain of military defeat and fought the consequences of emancipation (Sansing, 1999). Forced to accept the reconstruction of the Union, in Mississippi there were two phases of this transition: the first period, "known as Presidential Reconstruction (1865 to 1867), President Andrew Johnson implemented a cautious and conciliatory policy for the restoration of the union;

the second period, known as Congressional or Radical period, began in 1867 when Congress to southern state university, the University of Carolina, integrated (Sansing, 1999). The advance of Jim Crow laws beginning in 1890 caused the hope for equality to vanish in Mississippi after the Civil War.

In commenting on desegregation of American higher education in the South, Wallenstein (1999) pointed out “desegregation is portrayed as a process rather than an event at each school, for all doors did not open at the same time” (p. 199). Wallenstein (1999) concluded the developments between 1935 and 1967 as the process of desegregation. Wallenstein continued to note that “enrollment of a school’s first African American student raised new questions, among them whether another Black applicant could gain admission, whether all curricula would be open to Black enrollment, whether Black students could room and dine on campus, and whether they could represent their schools on varsity sports team” (p. 199). The controversy of integration did not merely reflect upon the enrollment of African American students; additional racial issues and conflicts emerged through the processes of integration. As Thelin (2004) pointed out “racial exclusion in higher education was a national rather than a regional phenomenon” (p. 233), because in the 1920s to 1940s, some northern universities rejected Black applicants (Thelin, 2004, p. 233). According to Wallenstein, by 1965, “desegregation had clearly begun, but it was clearly also still underway” (p. 173).

In the process of integration in the South, only three of the twenty-four schools underwent violent incidents: the University of Alabama, the University of Georgia, and the University of Mississippi (Wallenstein, 1999). Moreover, Silver (1964) observed that the insurrection at UM on September 30, 1962 against the armed forces of the United States was “the inevitable response of the ‘closed society’ of Mississippi to a law outside itself” (p. 3). Due

to its longstanding history of segregation and Mississippi's "closed society," the University of Mississippi obstructed Blacks from enrollment in the predominantly White institution. The integration of UM also reflects that Mississippi slowly changed from "a White society to a multi-racial society" (Silver, 1964, p. 3). The Oxford and regional campuses of the University of Mississippi have gradually recruited and enrolled a more diverse student body. From enrollment of no African American students in 1962, in the Fall 2010, data from *Institutional Research and Assessment* at the University of Mississippi revealed that UM now enrolls African American students at 16.1% (n=2,748) and Asian students at 3.3% (n=556) of the total student population of 17,085 enrolled at the Oxford and Regional campuses (Institutional Research & Assessment, 2010).

Regarding the process of UM integration, Eagles's *The Price of Defiance* (2009) provides a definitive portrait of the UM history as well as the campus climate before, during, and after integration. In Mississippi's "closed society," voices for desegregation and civil rights were not welcome, and oftentimes these voices faced criticism and threats from strong advocates of segregation. According to Eagles, Albin Krebs, the editor of the *Mississippian* in 1950, declared "We believe that qualified Negroes should be allowed to enter the school of Law and any other professional schools" (p. 60). Krebs's bold argument caused him to be threatened by opposing voices. In addition, Eagles added "Krebs predicted that Negroes would eventually apply to Ole Miss, and, although Mississippi might be the last state to have its segregation practices in higher education challenge, Krebs believed that the U.S. Supreme Court would order the admission of Negroes" (p. 60). Despite the presence of voices for integration at UM, these voices in the 1960s were in a minority and proponents of integration were perceived or labeled as traitors.

Even though James Meredith's enrollment at the University of Mississippi is the best known event, several African American applicants attempted to attend Ole Miss before him. For example, in 1952, the law school received its first Black applicant, Charles Herbert Thomas Dubra. On January 11, 1954, Medgar Evers submitted his application to the University of Mississippi. On June 5, 1958, Clennon W. King Jr. attempted to register for the first session of summer school at UM. Though their applications may have received a hearing from individual academic departments at first, as their applications moved through broader institutional processes, opposition to integration overruled admission. Despite the failures of early attempts at integration, it is significant to note that Harry S. Murphy Jr., enlisted in the U.S. Navy, was assigned with the V-12 program, a program initiated in 1943 to "recruit and prepare officer candidates for Navy, Marine Corps, and Coast Guard" (Cardozier, 1993, p. 52). Murphy enrolled at UM in 1945. His study at the university did not cause any trouble because no one recognized him as an African American. Although Murphy found out he was listed as a White or Caucasian by mistake, he wanted to correct his ethnic classification at the beginning, but later decided not to change it, in order to avoid any conflict (Eagles, 2009).

With strong adherence to southern culture and a "closed society" firmly entrenched, James Meredith's enrollment brought national attention to UM when he finally began classes on October 1, 1962 (Powledge, 1963; *The states: though the heavens fall*, 1962). Since then, racial reconciliation and diversity have become going concerns at the University of Mississippi. Much of the literature has discussed the "shared history" but "divided legacy" between Blacks and Whites in Mississippi (Cohodas, 1997, p. 20). Few historians have paid attention to the enrollment of other minorities at UM even though a small number of Chinese/Chinese American students were attending UM before James Meredith. The memories recalled by early

Chinese/Chinese American students, despite the passage of time from their days on campus, are important to collect before they are lost forever. Not only may their stories inspire others about how UM history is shaped and told, but also it is timely and significant to make known these untold stories of campus life so that Asian students, and particularly Chinese and Chinese American students enrolled at UM today, gain an increased sense of history and membership within the community.

Historical Framework

The history of Chinese people residing in Mississippi is little-known because this small population has not widely expressed its voice, and little information was recorded. However, it is important to explore how Chinese people came to Mississippi, made their living, settled down, and educated their children. Different from Chinese Americans and Asian Americans in other regions of the United States, Chinese in Mississippi have a distinct story because of the (de)segregation past and the uniqueness of southern culture. The following section aims to provide a historical overview of Asian American education, Chinese Americans, and the Mississippi Chinese. To better understand how Chinese students came to study at the University of Mississippi, this section includes three parts: Asian American educational history, Chinese Americans in the United States, and Chinese/Chinese Americans in Mississippi. Each part describes essays and books that discussed background information and history related to each subtopic.

Although my dissertation research emphasizes the Chinese/Chinese American students' first twenty five years of enrollment at the University of Mississippi, the review of Asian American history, the concerns and trends of contemporary Asian American studies, and unique experiences of Chinese in various regions and the state of Mississippi are important to address.

This framework of study includes the scope and analysis of literature that provides a historical background of Asian Americans and Chinese Americans as well various perspectives on Mississippi Chinese and Asian Americans in the United States.

Asian American Educational History

Many essays have focused on Asian American educational history (Chan, 1991, 1996; Daniels, 1988; Odo, 2004; Takali, 1998; Tamura, 2001, 2003). Both Chan (1996) and Tamura (2003) divided the history of Asian Americans into four periods. Chan's (1996) classification of history is as follows: the first period is characterized by partisanship, and lasted from the 1870s to 1920s; the second, from the 1920s to the 1960s, was dominated by social scientists; the third, during which revisionist works appeared, extended from the 1960s to the early 1980s; the fourth began in the early 1980s and has professional historians playing a leading role in creating historical knowledge about Asian Americans.

Tamura (2003) interpreted the major periods of Asian American history as: 1) 1850-1940, a time of immigration restrictions and discrimination; 2) 1941-1945: World War II: dominated by the incarceration of Japanese immigrants and their American children; 3) 1943-1950s: loosened immigration and naturalization laws; 4) 1970s-1990s, following the 1965 Immigration Act. Chan's distinguishing of the four periods was mainly defined by the work of major writers whereas Tamura reviewed the immigration laws and immigrant experiences. Tamura's (2001) essay focused upon explaining key terms and distinguishing immigrant experiences of Asian ethnic groups. Addressing the history of education, Tamura further discussed the role of education for Asian Americans.

It is also important to note some books discussing the history of Asian Americans. Daniels (1988) provided an overview of Chinese and Japanese American history from the beginning of

these two ethnic groups' immigration until it ended in 1969, which began the era of the model minority. From the arrival of the Chinese and Japanese, through the anti-Chinese and anti-Japanese movements of World War II, Daniels demonstrated the important events of the Chinese and Japanese in American as well as the impact of these historical events to Chinese and Japanese people. Daniels successfully presented historical documents and demonstrated the transitions and development of early Asian American history.

Takali's (1998) *Stranger from a Different Shore: a History of Asian Americans* is a popular textbook for Asian American studies courses. As a historical approach, Takali collected both primary and secondary resources. This book included both individual experiences and collective memories of Asian Americans.

Model Minority

Scholars have commented on the term of "model minority" and discussed this concept in various perspectives: myth, stereotype, reality, and the overall performance of Asian Americans in educational environments. Li and Wang's (2008) edition of *Model Minority Myth Revisited*, an interdisciplinary approach, offered a comprehensive study of the myth and advocated the demystification of Asian American as a model minority. Furthermore, Li and Wang's collection of essays allowed readers to examine the concept of "model minority" as well as to understand Asian Americans in terms of sociocultural perspectives, psychological perspectives, educational perspectives, methodological perspectives, and policy perspectives. Since the term "model minority" first appeared in publication in 1966, critiques have examined the academic achievement and overall performance of Asian Americans. Nevertheless, the debate of whether or not Asian Americans are perceived as a model minority still remains contested.

Bhattachayya (2001) and Rohrlie, Zaruba, and Kallio (1998) discussed the transition of Asian Americans in the popular imagination. Bhattachayya (2001) explained how Asian Americans transformed from “yellow peril” to “model minority” whereas Rohrlie argued that Asian American students in higher education instead became the invisible minority. In discussion of the invisibility of Asian American students, Wing (2007) stated that the myth of Asian American students as the model minority hid the view of these students’ needs. The hardships and obstacles that Asian American students faced were no different from other races including educational challenges, cultural conflicts, and cultural blending. Asian American students’ needs should be addressed in order to help them to overcome barriers and failures.

Many critiques focused on the demystification of the concept of the “model minority” (Chung, 2005; Eric Digest, 2002; Porter, 1993; Suzuki, 2002; Wang, 2008; Wong & Halgrin, 2006; Yi, Lee, Tasia, & Hung, 2001; Yu, 2006). These critics urged readers not to be misled by the stereotype of the “model minority.” They further analyzed the reality of circumstance of Asian Americans as well as how this image influenced Asian American self identify and self esteem. In addition to giving a redefinition of “model minority,” other scholars asked readers to consider the challenges for Asian Americans who do not live up to the ideal of the “model minority” (Qin, Way, & Mukherjee, 2008; Wong, 1980; Yang, 2004; Zhao, 2009). Qin et al. (2008) discussed familial and peer challenges faced by Chinese American adolescents. Yang (2004) indicated that Southeast Asian American children are not the “model minority.” Zhao and Qiu (2009) examined Asian American academic performance by refuting four myths about Asian American academic achievement. Zhao and Qiu (2009) concluded by providing four points to dispute Asian Americans as a “model minority” and suggesting some implications:

- Not all Asian-American students achieve academic excellence. We must make

efforts to treat each student as an individual.

- Asian-American students' academic achievement is the result of conscious choice not genetic determination.
- Asian-American students' academic excellence tends to mask their psychological problems, and thus we must work to acknowledge, identify, and address these problems.
- Asian-American students' academic excellence comes at the cost of other skills and knowledge; thus, we must understand the costs and realize Asian-American students are not excellent in all areas. (p. 339)

These critiques helped clarify the misconception of Asian Americans as being the “model minority” and to foster a better understanding of Asian Americans in various perspectives.

Chinese American

From a contemporary perspective, it is hard to imagine how the Chinese in America endured the journey to fulfill their idea of the American dream, went through the severe exclusion laws, struggled to identify their traditional and western cultures, and survived various struggles in the past. Several books and articles tell about Chinese American experiences. Most of the historians introduced the history of Chinese Americans in a chronological order (Kwong & Miscevic, 2005; Chen, 2002; Daniels, 1988; Chang, 2003). Kwong and Miscevic (2005), for example, began the history of Chinese Americans from the pioneers in 1840, and ended with contemporary issues of the Chinese/Chinese Americans such as culture conflict, immigration patterns. Kwong and Miscevic (2005) presented a historical overview of Chinese in the United States. Chang (2003) offered a vivid and detailed discussion of Chinese Americans' experiences

from their home country, came to America, and then concluded by revealing that Asian Americans faced an uncertain future in this era.

Similar to Kwong and Miscevic (2005), Tong (2003) began by describing the diaspora of Chinese culture and society, tracing back to the late Qing period. Tong (2003) also included the Chinese experiences as travelers to Gold Mountain, as those early pioneers believed that the treasure hidden in California would bring them great fortune. Tong (2003) also discussed the issues of socioeconomic mobility, the art of Chinese Americans, and Chinese American families and individual identities. In presenting a history of Chinese American communities and institutions, Lai (2004) explored the origins of Chinese Americans in Guangdong Province and discussed various traditionalist organizations and efforts to retain Chinese culture.

When discussing Chinese/Chinese American students in the United States, it is also of great importance to learn the history of Chinese immigration to the United States. The story of the Chinese in America started in the mid-nineteenth century when the first major wave of Chinese laborers came to America for the gold rush and later turned to railroad construction. Most of them endured prejudice and discrimination, and worked hard to earn a living. One legacy of this period is the many crowded Chinatowns dotting America from San Francisco to New York (Chang, 2003).

The second major wave of Chinese coming to America was after the 1949 Communist revolution. Many Chinese bureaucrats, professionals, and successful businessmen were aware of the uncertainty of their future, and, in haste, searched for the next destination. Most of them chose Taiwan as their destination while others chose Hong Kong or the United States. For this reason, “the making of the second major wave of Chinese coming to America was not only anti-Communist elites but their most intellectually capable and scientifically directed children”

(Chang, 2003, p. ix). Chang (2003) also reflected upon her family immigration experience to demonstrate an example of the Chinese immigration pattern. Her grandparents were refugees in Taiwan when the Communist Revolution took place. Her parents received scholarships to a top American university and later became professors. Chang also noted that in the 1950s and 1960s, many young Chinese in Taiwan received scholarships to top American universities. They obtained their doctoral degrees and settled in cities and suburbs around universities and research centers. Because of their intellectual achievement, they were concerned about their Chinese heritage and valued education. The term “model minority” first appeared in reference to an image of the Chinese people’s hard working and intellectual achievement. However, many Chinese have mixed-feelings about this image (Wong 2006; Yang, 2004; Ying, 2001; Yu, 2006).

Mississippi Chinese

In discussing Chinese in the America South, Zhao’s (2002) *Stranger in the City: the Atlanta Chinese, their Community and Stories of their Lives* provided an introduction to explore how Chinese came to the region. Zhao’s focus is on Chinese people’s immigration stories to a southern city; nevertheless, Zhao’s book is beneficial to review Chinese people’s stories in the South. Zhao told the stories about Chinese immigration patterns, how Chinese survived in the South, and how they struggled to identify themselves.

In addition, in reading to Jung’s (2008) *Chopsticks in the Land of Cotton*, we can examine the immigration history of Delta Chinese paralleled with the history of Chinese Americans as a whole. According to Jung’s *Chopsticks in the Land of Cotton*, Chinese men from Guangdong Province first appeared in the Mississippi River Delta in the late 1860s and early 1870s. The Chinese labors were recruited for cotton picking after the liberation of Black slaves. Chinese people had established a reputation of being hard working and an inexpensive source of

labor on the farms of California and railroad construction in the American West (Jung, 2008).

Jung (2008) also stated the reasons for Chinese people's immigration to the Delta:

Chinese were not welcome in many western states and received real or threatened violence. Many were anxious to move to regions where there were fewer Chinese in hopes they would be better treated. They came to the Delta from places as far as California and New York for this reason. (p. 4)

Starting in the 1870s, Chinese immigrants were recruited as farm laborers in the cotton fields (Cohen, 1984). The first group of Chinese immigrants left behind their families in China.

Because of harsh labor and cheap rates, the Chinese men's dream "of making money in farming was short-lived" (Thornell, 2008, p. 197). After the Civil War, former slaves gained the ability to purchase goods. Considering the potential for the market, "the Delta Chinese [were offered] an opportunity to make a living by opening small businesses, mostly grocery stores (Thornell, 2008, p. 197). Early U.S. Census schedules from 1880 to 1910 show that Chinese in Arkansas and Mississippi operated laundries before they started grocery stores. However, by the 1920 census, the grocery store had essentially become the major occupation of the Delta Chinese. It was not until 1924 that more Chinese grocers' wives and children were brought to the Delta. In addition, the successful merchants brought their brothers, uncles, cousins, and sons to help with their businesses.

In *Chopsticks in the Land of Cotton*, Jung (2008) not only presented the history of Chinese people in the Mississippi Delta, he also collected some of the memories of Chinese children growing up in the Delta. The interviewees reflected on segregation, race matters as well as identity issues. Most of the interviewees observed the "tri-ethnic relationships" of Black-Whites, Chinese-Black, or Chinese-White (p. 148). Chinese people in the Mississippi

Delta conducted business with Black people, but they went to church with White people. Even though Chinese people interacted with Black and White people, they were not totally accepted in either ethnic group. Audrey Sidney and Annette Joe described their experiences of applying for teaching positions in public schools. Although both women were qualified for the positions, according to the superintendents who served at the time, they were rejected because they were not White.

The Chinese Exclusion Act in 1882 presented a major barrier to Chinese immigration. Because the inexpensive Chinese laborers throughout the nation were blamed for an economic depression in the United States, this law prohibited Chinese laborers from immigrating. It also prevented laborers already here from bringing wives and children from China to join them. However, merchants could enter with proof of their status. The immigration law classified Chinese grocers as merchants rather than laborers so that after 1924, more Chinese wives and children came from China to the Delta. According to the U.S. Census of Population, the Chinese Delta population increased from 183 to 322 in the 1920s compared with the 1900s Chinese Delta population (Rummel, 1966).

Besides the immigration history of Mississippi Chinese, culture, society, and education are important issues to be addressed. Gong (2003), Rummel (1966), and Thornell (2008) examined language, assimilation, and the cultural decline of Mississippi Chinese. As a Mississippi-born Chinese, Gong (2003) observed the interactions among Chinese Americans, African Americans, and White people. She noted “the change of Mississippi Chinese in the use of deference is their diminished sense of Confucian or Chinese culture” (Gong, 2003, p. 55). Both O’Brien (1941) and Banks (1998) argued the status of Mississippi Chinese as middlemen, between Blacks and Whites. As mentioned earlier, Chinese people first came to Mississippi in

order to support their families in China, but they later learned that plantation work did not bring enough money for their plans. Grocery stores therefore became the way for them to operate independent businesses. Mississippi Chinese did business with Black people, and they also went to White Baptist churches to be recognized by the Whites (de Sanchez, 2003). They found a means to survive and continued their family business, but at the same time, they also wanted to remain in good relationship with White people.

The education of Mississippi Chinese is also an important issue to explore. As mentioned previously, after the 1920s, more Chinese merchants brought their families from China to the Mississippi Delta; hence, education for Chinese descents became an issue. *Rice v. Gong Lum* (1927) was a famous legal case disclosed racial discrimination that prohibited Chinese children from attending public schools in the Mississippi Delta. According to Loewen (1971), Gong Lum, a Chinese merchant residing in Rosedale, had two daughters attending the public school for Whites. However, Martha, the older daughter, was notified by the superintendent that she would not be allowed to return to Rosedale Consolidated High School because she was a Chinese descent. Loewen (1971) stated that “her father [Gong Lum] therefore hired an established Clarksdale law firm, Brewer, Brewer, and McGhehee, and filed suit in October 28, 1924, against the trustees of the Rosedale Consolidated High School” (Loewen, 1972, p. 66). The Mississippi Circuit Court for the First Judicial District of Bolivar County decided in Gong Lum’s favor; consequently, state superintendent, county superintendent, and trustees, appealed to the Mississippi Supreme Court.

The state Supreme Court reversed the decision based on Mississippi Constitution 207, 1890, defined “the term ‘White,’ which mandated separate schools for children of White and colored races, applied only to the Caucasian race” (*Rice v. Gong Lum*, 1927). Chinese children

were excluded from school for White children. Gong Lum sought appeal to the federal Supreme Court. The federal Supreme Court agreed with the state Supreme Court and “held the operation of dual school systems did not violate the Equal Protection Clause of the Fourteen Amendment (*Rice v. Gong Lum, 1927*). Banks (1998) pointed out the outcome in *Gong Lum* indicated that “Whites in Mississippi considered the Chinese neither White nor Black” (p. 16). Banks continued, “Whites labeled them ‘colored,’ along with Blacks, to fit the Chinese with a racially segregated system in which Whites were the dominant power” (p. 16). Although disappointed with the federal Court Decision, the Lum family moved to Elaine, Arkansas, to seek equal educational facilities for their children (Loewen, 1972).

According to Rummel, because Mississippi Chinese parents refused to send their children to Black schools, they usually sent their children to out-of-state schools or hired tutors to teach their children at home. A few families in two or three small towns were able to send their children to the White schools; in a few cases, Chinese children attended Black schools (Loewen, 1972). However, Chinese children were excluded from the majority of Delta White school systems by the 1940s. In Rosedale, it was not until about 1950, the Chinese children were able to admit to the White school (Loewen, 1972).

Because the exclusion of Chinese children to White schools in the Mississippi Delta, the Delta Chinese built the Chinese Mission School in 1936. Quon (1982) collected the ole people’s memories regarding Chinese Mission School:

The elderly noted that in 1936 the Delta Chinese built the Chinese Mission School with funds solicited from local businessmen and Chinese merchants in communities in Chicago, New York, and San Francisco. The Chinese purchased ten acres of land near the outskirts of town away from [B]lack and [W]hite residential neighborhood. With help

from the Baptist Home Mission Board, they built a cement-black two-story building to house out-of-town Chinese boarding students. (p. 47)

The school boards of Cleveland and Greenville employed two White teachers and paid them from tax funds. Almost at the same time, the Baptist Mission Board generated a certain amount of money for the founding of a dormitory at the school at Cleveland so that those students who lived too far from their homes were able to go to boarding school. These two schools were the only Chinese schools from 1936 to 1945. de Sanchez (2003) also depicted a unique educational history of the Mississippi Chinese as she noted that the Chinese Mission Schools functioned “both as sites of instruction and as custodians of traditions” (de Sanchez, 2003, p. 90). Although the Chinese in this particular era and region suffered from discrimination in terms of equal educational opportunities, the Chinese American children were exposed to a learning community that enabled them to acculturate and assimilate, moving between both Chinese and American cultures. Reading the educational background of Chinese in the Mississippi Delta, we can gain an understanding of how Chinese people struggled to survive in this region. This literature regarding Chinese in Mississippi primarily focused on the experiences growing up in the Mississippi Delta, the public education system, and cultural/social issues. For this reason, this oral history which will be presented by the first enrolled Chinese American students at UM will be a unique perspective to know how higher education settings responded to the enrollment of non-Black minority students.

Methodology

Methods

This study utilized qualitative historical research methods to describe, explore, and reveal the stories of early Chinese/Chinese American students between 1946 and 1975 at the University

of Mississippi. The archival research, historical documents, and interviews of the alumni who graduated in this time period were the means to present the voices of Chinese/Chinese American students. In discussing the nature of historical research, McDowell (2002) noted,

It is the discipline of history which provides us with the opportunity to understand and appreciate the past, to distinguish myth from reality, and to see which elements of the past had an influence on future events. This image of the past is static because history can only offer snapshots of the past, albeit sometimes in profuse detail. History enables us to view ourselves and society in a proper perspective, to focus on human motives and the consequences of them for other individuals or for society, and to enhance our knowledge of the potential, as well as the limitations, of human actions. (p. 3)

McDowell's (2002) illustration of history encouraged us to reflect on the past at the University of Mississippi. Even though we cannot directly experience the past, understanding the contents of past events and the context of the time and space helps us to gain an understanding of the factual evidence and interpretation made by historians. From this point, the collection of "facts" in the yearbooks, analysis of the literature, and presenting the voices of the people are the means to enrich our understanding of the past, culture, and society.

As I attempted to define a problem for historical research, Gall, Gall, and Borg (2007) used Mark Beach's classification of problems and topics to define five types of historical inquiry: social issues; study of specific individuals, educational institutions, and social movements; exploration of relationships between events; syntheses of data; and reinterpretation of past events. As far as the problems and topic are concerned in my research, the study of specific individuals, educational institutions, and social movement is best described as this study focused on a special student group at an educational institution. Gall et al (2007) stated that:

In the past two decades, historical studies of the educational experiences of minority groups and women have been prominent, as have studies of higher education and teaching. These studies often are motivated by the desire to fill in gaps about what is known about the past. (p. 534)

The motivation to learn new information about this minority allows us to explore the past of Chinese Americans at the University of Mississippi, a past that was easily ignored previously. Although filling in gaps about what is known in the past does not intend to answer all the research questions, reviewing the historical documents and stories will provide different perspectives to know the unique experiences of this minority group.

Historical Sources

Gall et al (2007) defined historical research as “a process of systematically searching for data to answer questions about a phenomenon from the past to gain a better understanding of the foundation or present institutions, trends, beliefs, and issues in education” (p. 529). This study used *Ole Miss Yearbooks* as a primary resource to collect enrollment data on Chinese American students. *Ole Miss Yearbooks* collected information about student activities, clubs, organizations, classes, which includes student names, classification, major, and hometown. Information collected from the yearbooks was the best means to analyze the enrollment trend and development of Chinese/Chinese American students at UM over this period of time.

Historical sources play a significant role in interpreting and understanding the past. McDowell (2002) noted,

The quality of your research depends to a significant extent on the availability, careful use, and proper documentation of source material. The sources provide the raw material with which to reconstruct past events.... It is not simply the

accumulation of source material that determines the quality of a research project, but also its purpose, range, and usefulness. (p. 54)

The data from the *Ole Miss Yearbooks* not only presented the facts and numbers of the enrollment of students, but also demonstrated the development and trend of Chinese/Chinese American students. From the growth of student numbers, comparison between Chinese American students and Mississippi Chinese resident students was helpful to explore their relationship. In addition, from the majors students chose, this study could help gain an understanding of how Chinese Americans valued education and their careers or work after college. Noting the extra-curricular activities of Chinese American students, I could observe their involvement of student activities. The photos and information in the *Ole Miss Yearbooks* revealed not only the students' records during the years they enrolled, but also stories about who they were and what they were doing at that time.

Qualitative Research

As the *Ole Miss Yearbook* information presented the development and trend of student enrollment, I further explored what was happening to Chinese/Chinese American students during their study at the University of Mississippi. Interviews with the students who graduated in this period of time infused the history of UM with diverse voices. To explore the Chinese American students' life experiences at UM between 1946 and 1975, several questions were asked. Appendix B provided the questions that were used in the interviews with participants. These questions included, but are not limited to, questions about participants' background, their experiences of campus life, and how the participants perceived their UM experiences after college graduation.

Oral History

In order to discover the voices of the Chinese/Chinese American students at UM, oral history interviews will help people to understand the uniqueness of these unrecorded stories besides the information collected from the *Ole Miss Yearbooks*. Ritchie (2003) pointed out, “memory is the core of oral history, from which meaning can be extracted and preserved” (p. 19). Oral history provides a unique perspective about how the participants remember the past as well as how the past is perceived by the participants within the context of their present values. Because memory is subjective, each participant’s story was displayed as an individual story. Hence, collection of these individual stories brought a new dimension to larger the UM history, and helped people to understand Chinese/Chinese American students’ past on this campus.

The Participants

The population of this study is Chinese/Chinese American students enrolled at the University of Mississippi between 1946 and 1975. However, the target interview participants for this oral history project were Chinese American students who identified the Mississippi Delta as their hometowns according to the record of *Ole Miss Yearbooks*. For this reason, Chinese students, defined as international students or foreign students from Chinese-speaking countries, were the focus of this study nor included as interview participants because they had distinct experiences from Chinese American students who grew up in the United States due to the differences in culture, language, and societal backgrounds.

This study was focused on the specific group of students enrolled during a designated time period. The strategy of selecting a sample is purposeful sampling. Patton (2008) noted the characteristics of purposeful sample as:

Cases for study (people, organization, communities, culture, events, critical incidents) are selected because they are “information rich” and illuminative, that is, they offer useful manifestations of phenomenon, not empirical generation from a sample to population. (p. 41)

As I collected the data from the *Ole Miss Yearbooks* [1900-1972], there were 213 Chinese/Chinese American students enrolled at UM between the years of 1947 to 1972. Furthermore, the *Ole Miss Yearbooks* showed the students’ regional information so that readers could identify of their hometowns. By the classification of regional differences, Chinese/Chinese American students at UM could be categorized by 1) Mississippi resident students, 2) out-of-state students, and 3) foreign students (In this time period, Chinese students marked their hometowns as Taiwan or Hong Kong). Among these 213 Chinese/Chinese American students, there were 67 Chinese American students who identified as Mississippi residents. As I surveyed the 67 Mississippi resident Chinese American students’ hometowns I noted that (of 67), 54 students were from the Mississippi Delta; therefore, the majority of the Chinese American student population came from the Mississippi Delta.

There were six students categorized as out-of-state students. They came from various areas of the United States. There were four students from Tennessee and Arkansas. Students from Taiwan and Hong Kong made up the majority of the Chinese student population. Most of the Taiwanese students indicated their hometown as Taiwan, China, but some referred to Formosa, and some referred to Free China. The majority of Taiwanese students pursued degrees in graduate or professional programs or schools. Students from Hong Kong were more evenly distributed at both the graduate and undergraduate levels. Even though the review of *Ole Miss Yearbooks* from this period recorded the enrollment of Chinese/Chinese American students, the

participants in this qualitative research were drawn mainly from those Chinese American students who reported their hometowns in the Mississippi Delta. These potential participants, growing up in the Mississippi Delta and attending UM in a critical period, revealed and shared their UM memories in a distinct way.

The findings of this research were not generalized to the whole population of Chinese/Chinese American students attending UM because students growing up in the Mississippi Delta and Chinese (foreign) students have different experiences in terms of culture, language and society. In order to get thick and rich data of the unique experiences of Chinese American students residing in Mississippi, Chinese American students who identified their hometown in the Mississippi Delta in *Ole Miss Yearbooks* were the targets to recruit to participant oral history interviews.

Procedures

In order to recruit participants for the individual interviews, the researcher sought the approval from the dissertation committee. After the approval of the dissertation committee, I submitted my proposal to the Institutional Review Board (IRB) at the University of Mississippi. After the approval was granted, I planned to send the data collected in the *Ole Miss Yearbooks* to the Alumni Association at UM. Since the data of the alumni has been collected in the *Ole Miss Yearbooks*, the information of names, hometowns, majors, and years of graduation of these alumni would be given to the Alumni Association. I gained the permission of the Alumni Association to forward a letter to the alumni who graduated in these years. In the letter, the purpose of the research, explanation of the procedures, a description of benefits and risks of the research, and an invitation for interviews were included. If the alumni agreed to participate in this research, they would be recruited to conduct the oral history interviews. The first Chinese

American student was enrolled in 1947, and mathematically that oldest alumnus, if still living, may be now at the age of eighty years old. Thus, the age range of the participants was assumed to be around fifty-five to eighty years old.

Upon receiving the contact information of these alumni, I started to communicate with these alumni and conducting interviews. A consent letter was addressed to these volunteers for interviews. Each interview lasted approximately one hour to one and an half hours and was tape recorded. The interview protocol was attached in this prospectus (see Appendix B). However, if the interviewee felt discomfort about any information displayed in the study, the researcher would not use their interviews in this study. The researcher would keep the interview transcriptions confidential to protect the identity of the participants. The interviews were conducted at the convenience of the interviewees. Even though the interview questions were listed as the primary questions that I planned to ask, some adjustments were made if the interviewees were willing to tell more about their stories and experiences.

Researcher as Instrument

In the tradition of qualitative research, I was the major instrument. I was committed to explore the life experiences of the Chinese/Chinese American students in this time period. As the researcher, I attempted to collect the information from pertinent historical documents as well as to collect the voices of former students through interviews. In doing research on Chinese Americans in the United States, I found the voices and stories of Chinese Americans in the South were ignored. They seem to become invisible because they are not considered as either Black or White. To tell their experiences and stories, for me, is likely to find a missing piece of the puzzle in the history of Chinese Americans in the South. Although this missing piece is a not complete or comprehensive one, it is still a piece to encourage further research and to acknowledge that a

special group of people have lived, struggled, and survived in the past, and that they deserve our attention. Although I did not grow up in the Mississippi Delta, these Chinese American students' past experiences at the UM campus reflected a unique dimension in a specific time and space. I hope this study would recall the memories of this particular group of people and welcome future students to listen to other people's voices.

As an international student from Taiwan, I found that the racial history of UM and the state of Mississippi is largely defined in Black and White. Even though Chinese/Chinese American students attended UM earlier than African American students, their stories have not been heard. Personally, I wanted to know more about the early Chinese/Chinese American students' campus experiences and hear their perspectives about the development UM and changes on the campus. Before my family and I came to study at UM, I did not have any idea of what the campus looked like. I did not even know about Oxford, the town where we were going to stay for the next few years. The experience of study abroad is a self-exploration, broadening our horizons, and a self-discovery, challenging our limits. I wondered whether the early Chinese/Chinese American former students shared similar experiences with me, how they dealt with conflicts, how they embraced American culture and preserved their Chinese heritage, and if they had struggled to be an outsider in a foreign land. There were many questions that I wanted to ask and I wanted to present the personal stories behind the printed pictures in the *Ole Miss Yearbooks*.

Data Analysis

The data collected in this study were from two sources: information collection from *Ole Miss Yearbook* research and individual interviews. For the first part of the project, I used computer software, EXCEL, to demonstrate numerical data, such as numbers of student enrollment by year, major, and regions. These data showed the development of students'

enrollment over time. In addition, the significant events in this time period were addressed. For example, I showed the year when the first Chinese American student or female student attended UM. Graphic data showed the differences and made comparisons among students based upon information about their years enrolled, majors, and hometowns. In addition to graphic or numerical portrait of student enrollment, this research analyzed collected interview transcriptions. The purpose of interviews was to better understand these people's real lived experiences. The interviews were transcribed after the interviews were conducted. After collecting these interview stories, cross references of the *Ole Miss Yearbook* information and history of Mississippi Chinese would be beneficial to understand the past of the Chinese American students at UM from a different perspective.

Definition of Terms

Asian Americans are Americans of Asian origins. According to Chan (1996), "Asian American" was first used by non-Asians and then adopted by Asian Americans themselves during the late 1960s when the Civil Rights and Black Power Movement emerged. Roland (1998) included the roots of Asian Americans as the following: China, Japan, Korea, the Philippines, India, Vietnam, Laos, and Cambodia. However, each ethnic group has distinct immigration histories and cultures.

Chinese Americans are Americans of Chinese descent. The term Chinese American usually refers to immigrants coming from Mainland China, Hong Kong, Macau, and Taiwan, as well as overseas Chinese who immigrated from Singapore, Malaysia, Indonesia, or Vietnam.

Chinese students presented in the *Ole Miss Yearbooks* refer to the students who are originally from China. The data presented in this time period in the *Ole Miss Yearbooks* indicated these students mainly came from Taiwan, Republic of China, which is the official name of

Taiwan. Taiwan or Republic of China (ROC) is different from the People's Republic China (PRC). PRC refers to people who are originally from Mainland China. Another main group of Chinese students in this time period came from Hong Kong. In the time frame of this project, however, no evidence shows that the Chinese students were from the PRC. Today Chinese students are international students who hold F1 visas which are non-immigrant, full-time student visas that allow international students to pursue education in the United States.

Model minority first appeared in "Success Story, Japanese-American Style" by sociologist William Peterson in *New York Times* (January 9, 1966), and "Success on One Minority Group in U.S." in the *US News and World Report* (December 26, 1966). Asian Americans are sometimes stereotyped as "model minority" because of their ethic of self-improvement, hard work, and success in education and employment. However, many Asian people have mixed feelings about this stereotype because not all Asians are successful in education and careers. In addition, many critics have argued over the criteria that defines "model minority" because other factors should be taken into consideration. As far as "model minority" is defined, most researchers reviewed Asian American people's success in terms of education and employment. Other factors such as interpersonal relationships and general life skills should be considered.

Limitations

Data and resources of Chinese/Chinese American student enrollment in 1940s to 1970s have several limitations. First, student enrollment data by student demography was not recorded before 1960. From 1848 to 1955, student enrollment data were collected and sorted by years and numbers. For this reason, the only information from Institutional Research and Assessment (IRA) at the University of Mississippi was the number of student enrollment by the year presenting.

From 1950, students were designated as holding either resident or non-resident status. Hence, from 1940s to 1960s, ethnic background information was not available through the IRA. After 1960, data were more clearly sorted as resident or foreign students. Therefore, the number of foreign students by their nationality is revealed. However, for Mississippi resident students of Chinese offspring, the data did not show their ethnicity. Because of the limitation of admission data of Chinese American students prior to 1960, yearbooks were the only resource for student admission records. For this reason, *Ole Miss Yearbooks* become the sources to collect Chinese/Chinese American student enrollment data at the University of Mississippi from 1947 to 1972.

Yearbook research provides the information about student class, major, hometown, and student organization. However, some aspects should be taken into consideration when collecting data from the yearbooks. Printing errors likely occurred. Some incorrect student information might be printed. It is possible that not all the students registered at UM took yearbook pictures. The misinformation in the yearbooks may possibly cause the difference between actual enrollment data and yearbook presentation. Despite these predictable problems of collecting data, yearbooks still play an important role of recording student enrollment.

While collecting data of student information, as a researcher, I looked for the student pictures and student profiles and was careful not to miss any Asian faces. In addition, family names tell students' origins. As a Chinese student, I am able to assume whether or not the student is from China by evaluating the spelling. To make a more exact assumption, Jung's (2008) *Chopsticks in the Land of Cotton* is a reference for confirming the Chinese names. In Jung's book, many of Mississippi's Chinese were interviewed and mentioned. For this reason, when

conducting yearbook research, Jung's research offered resourceful information to examine the names and profiles in the yearbooks.

Delimitations

Even though in the archival research some Chinese students from Taiwan and Hong Kong were enrolled during this period of study, these students from Taiwan and Hong Kong, defined as international students or foreign students, will not be the targeted participants for interviews. The qualitative research thus focused on the Chinese American students whose ancestors resided in Mississippi before 1920s as more Chinese families were brought to the Mississippi Delta (Rummel, 1966). Exploring the stories of Chinese American students is expected to provide rich and thick data about the participants. Furthermore, the results were not necessarily intended to generalize to the large population of Chinese American students in other regions of the United States. This qualitative research provided the unique experience of Chinese American students at the University of Mississippi.

Summary

The history of Chinese/Chinese American students from 1946 to 1975 is part of the history of the University of Mississippi. Their life experiences and stories unveiled the history of Chinese immigration and became part of the unique past of the state of Mississippi. They were not the outsiders of the community, but they neither were considered insiders of the community. Their perception of the University of Mississippi and their self-identity will contribute significantly to the larger UM history. Collecting these forgotten voices is expected to bring different perspectives into view surrounding the history of UM. These voices also contribute to promote diversity at the University of Mississippi today.

Organization of this Study

Chapter One provided an introduction of this study and entailed a brief history of Asian Americans, Asian American studies, Chinese American, and Mississippi Chinese. This chapter also described the methodology of both archival research and oral history interviews, which included proposed sampling, the role of researcher, and the procedures.

Chapter Two demonstrates the facts and statistic reports of Chinese/Chinese American student enrollment. I also discuss the findings from the *Ole Miss Yearbook* research and explain how the Chinese American student enrollment development at UM reflects the history of Chinese in the Mississippi Delta as well the growth of Chinese students from Chinese speaking countries at UM.

Chapter Three presents the oral history of Chinese American students enrolled between 1946 and 1975. Their narratives of childhood experiences growing up in Mississippi, memories of their UM education, and meditations on UM experiences are included.

Chapter Four analyzes the findings from the interviews and discusses the themes of the former UM Chinese American students' unique experiences. I also illustrate the different perspectives from female and male participants, older and younger participants, and differentiations of archival research and oral history interviews.

Finally, the concluding chapter, Chapter Five contains a discussion of the research questions related to the findings and analyzed themes. An overall summary is offered, as well as recommendations for future research and a brief introduction of today's Mississippi Chinese.

CHAPTER II

Chinese/Chinese American Students from the Looking Glass of *Ole Miss Yearbooks*: Archival Research

Reading David Sansing's *The University of Mississippi: a Sesquicentennial History*, readers can gain an understanding of the University's past from its early establishment in 1802 to the turn of the twentieth century (Sansing, 1999). Sansing presented the changes and development of the University over time as readers are guided by a chronicled sense of the University of Mississippi's past (UM). In addition to Sansing's book, many researchers have focused on the integration past of UM (Cohodas, 1997; Doyle, 2001; Eagles, 2009). Racial conflicts between Blacks and Whites and the civil rights movement at the University and in the state of Mississippi have been discussed in much literature. Nevertheless, documents and resources are unavailable to review other minority students' enrollment at UM. Because of the shortage of Chinese/Chinese American history at UM, it was my intent to collect and record in this thesis, as found in the archives and other publicly available documents, information about this ethnic group of students in the UM history. This chapter focuses on archival research and seeks to help readers understand the distinct role that students of a unique racial and ethnic group played from 1946 to 1972 at UM through the presentation of data collected from *Ole Miss Yearbooks*, interview transcriptions available online, and personal reflections published in newspapers and other sources.

Presenting the data collected from *Ole Miss Yearbooks*, this chapter describes the attendance and enrollment records of pioneer Chinese/Chinese American students at UM. To illustrate the untold stories of Chinese/Chinese American students, some research questions were asked: 1) what is the history of Chinese/Chinese American students enrolled at UM? 2) what are the students' majors, hometowns, and campus activities? 3) how do the Chinese/Chinese American students differ from other students? 4) how does the development of Chinese/Chinese American students at UM reflect the immigration history of Chinese in the Mississippi Delta?

I used *Ole Miss Yearbooks* as a primary resource to collect the enrollment data on Chinese/Chinese American students mainly because of the unavailability of institutional records of that time period. The Office of Institutional Research and Assessment (IRA) at UM kept records and data of student enrollment information; however, it was not until 1955 that the IRA initiated the classification of student demographic data (Institutional Research and Assessment, 1955). From 1955, students were classified as out-of-state students, residential students, and “foreign” students (known as international students in contemporary terms). Before 1955, student enrollment data merely showed the number of students enrolled at UM by year (Institutional Research and Assessment, 1955). Hence, the IRA historic enrollment data was inaccessible to acquire a larger view of student ethnicity and demographic background. *Ole Miss Yearbooks* therefore became the only resources to review the enrollment data of the time period.

Using *Ole Miss Yearbooks* as the major resource from which to collect data presented limitations that should be taken into consideration. First, not every student had his/her student photo taken for the yearbooks. It was voluntary for students to take yearbook pictures as it was not a requirement for graduation. For this reason, the number of student enrollment collected in yearbooks is not the exact number of Chinese/Chinese American students that attended UM.

Second, printing errors are unavoidable. Misinformation occurred, that is, spelling errors or incorrect information about student major, hometown, etc. While collecting student information from the yearbooks, I intended to look for student pictures and student profiles. With careful review of every page and book of the *Ole Miss Yearbooks* from 1947 to 1972, I cautiously looked for every Asian face and name. With my knowledge in Chinese, I was able to identify students' ethnic backgrounds by recognizing their family names. To avoid any misjudgment of Chinese names in the yearbook collection, I used Jung's *Chopsticks in the Land of Cotton* (2008) to reaffirm my understanding of Chinese names. While investigating the history of Chinese immigrants in Mississippi, Jung (2008) collected various interviews and documents regarding Chinese immigrant papers and Chinese grocery stores. The Chinese family names revealed in Jung's (2008) book confirmed the findings of Chinese names in *Ole Miss Yearbooks*.

Information on Yearbooks

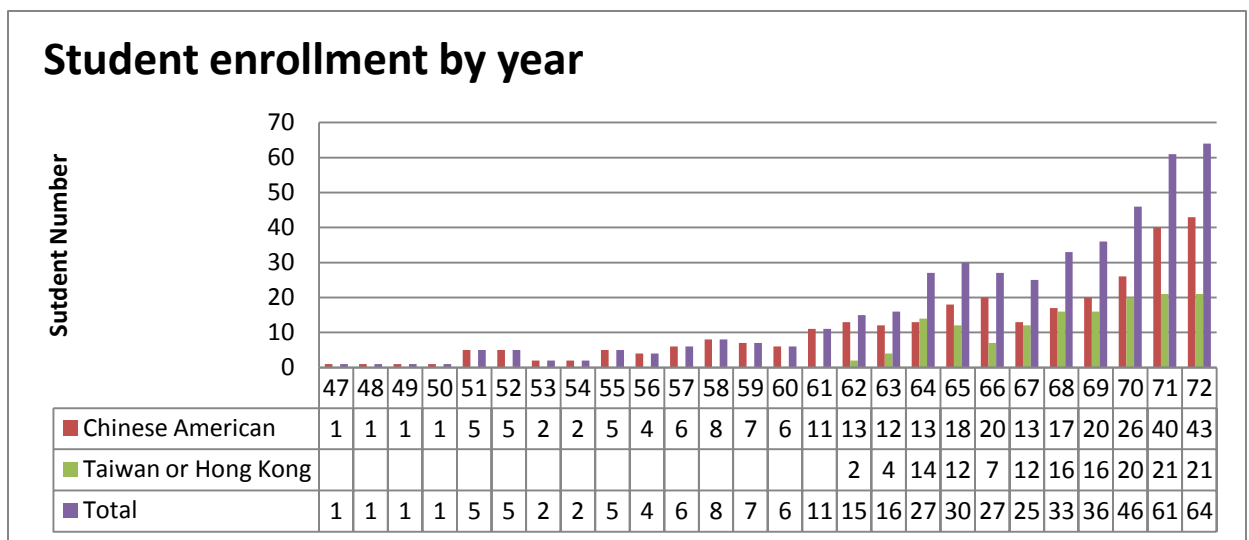
The first *Ole Miss Yearbook* was printed in 1897(UM library Archives). *Ole Miss Yearbooks* cover information about administrative staffing, academics, student life, sports and major events in the past year. Individual student information is shown as student name, student picture, major, hometown, and class. Data collected from *Ole Miss Yearbooks* provides descriptions of Chinese/Chinese American student development, major-choice trend, and student involvement. The following sections demonstrate major findings in the data collection.

Student Enrollment Development by Number and Year

Luck Wing was the first Chinese American student who appeared in an *Ole Miss Yearbook*. His name, major, and hometown were first shown in the 1947 *Ole Miss Yearbook*. In that year, only one Chinese American student appeared. From 1947 to 1950, Luck Wing was the only Chinese/Chinese American student shown in the yearbooks. In 1951, William Fong and

Rosie Gong were listed in the junior class, and they majored in Pharmacy and “Commercial,” respectively. If Fong and Gong were juniors in 1951, they could have been in the freshman class in 1949. From this point, although the yearbook information showed only one student from 1947 to 1950, there were probably three Chinese/Chinese American students on the UM campus in the late 1950s. However, from 1951 to 1960, the yearbooks showed a small increase of five Chinese/Chinese American students each year. During the 1950s, the average number of Chinese/Chinese American student enrollment was 4.4. Nevertheless, from 1961 the Chinese/Chinese American student enrollment continued to grow and reached its highest in 1972 at a total number of 64. (See Figure 1)

Figure 1. Chinese American/Chinese Student Enrollment by Year, 1947 to 1972

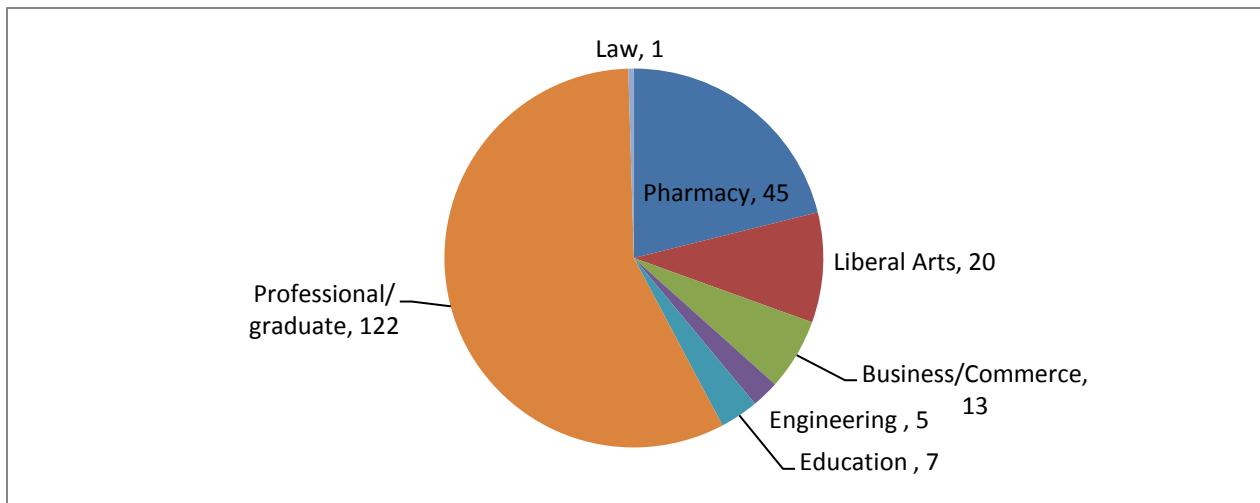


Student Major

From 1946 to 1972, there were 213 Chinese/Chinese American students recorded in the *Ole Miss Yearbooks* (when the repetition of students is eliminated). Some students were recorded in the yearbooks more than once because students were able to take pictures during enrollment. For instance, Luck Wing appeared in the yearbooks of 1947, 1948, 1949, and 1950, four

continuing years. When each student is counted only once, there was a total number of 213 students enrolled at UM from 1947 to 1972. As far as student majors are concerned, the yearbooks classified students as Professional/Graduate, Pharmacy, Liberal Art, Business/Commerce, Engineering, Education, and Law School. The majority of Chinese/Chinese American students were enrolled in the Professional or Graduate school, that is, 58% of the Chinese/Chinese American student body. Pharmacy majors ranked second, making up 22% of the Chinese American student body; Liberal Arts ranked third (9.39%); Business/Commerce ranked fourth (6.1%); Education ranked fifth (3.2%), Engineering ranked sixth (2.35%), and the Law School ranked seventh (only one student enrolled in 1966). Further discussion about the trend of major choice will be discussed in the later part of this chapter.

Figure 2. Number of Chinese/Chinese American Student Majors at the University of Mississippi from 1947 to 1972



Student Hometown Information

Chinese/Chinese American students at UM were divided into three categories in terms of regions where yearbooks showed their hometowns. The three categories I assigned Chinese/Chinese American students were: Mississippi residents, out-of-state students, and

“foreign” students (Taiwan or Hong Kong as their hometown). During the time period, Chinese American referred to students who identified a geographical location in the United States as their hometown; therefore, Mississippi resident students and out-of-state students were defined as Chinese American students. Chinese students, categorized as “foreign” students during the period, mainly identified Taiwan or Hong Kong as their hometowns. For this reason, to be more exact, Chinese students in this time period are defined as students from Chinese-speaking countries.

As far as student numbers are concerned, there were 67 Chinese American resident students who identified a location in Mississippi as their hometowns. Among the 67 resident students, 54 students were from the Mississippi Delta. While identifying whether or not student’s hometown was located in the Mississippi Delta, I used Cobb’s (1992) introduction of the Mississippi Delta to review these students’ hometowns. Cobb (1992) noted,

The Mississippi River, which runs southwestward from Memphis to Greenville, where it then bends slightly eastward toward Vicksburg, forms the western boundary of the area. On the east, Yazoo Delta is defined by a line of bluffs, some reaching two hundred feet in height. These bluffs run from slightly below Memphis south to Greenwood and thence southwesterly along the Yazoo River, which meets the Mississippi at Vicksburg. The Yazoo-Mississippi Delta is approximately two hundred miles long and seventy miles across as its widest point. The area within its boundaries is approximately 7,110 square miles. (p. 3)

The Mississippi Delta includes the following counties: DeSoto, Tunica, Coahoma, Bolivar, Washington, Sharkey, Issaquena, Quitman, Tallahatchie, Sunflower, Humphreys, LeFlore, Holmes, Issaquena, Yazoo, and Warren (Cobb, 1992, p. 4). The understanding of

Mississippi Delta was a resource to determine whether or not students were from the Mississippi Delta. When and how Chinese American students in the Mississippi Delta came to study at UM is part of the history of Chinese ethnic history in the Mississippi Delta. I further discuss the connection of the trend of the Mississippi Chinese population and the development of Chinese American students at UM later in this chapter.

International Students from Chinese-Speaking Countries

In addition to reviewing Chinese American students at UM, it is also interesting to note the enrollment development of Chinese-speaking students at UM of the time period. As mentioned earlier, Chinese students also were known as foreign students who mainly came from Taiwan or Hong Kong. Since the first appearance of Chinese students from Taiwan in the 1962 *Ole Miss Yearbook*, the number of Chinese students continued to grow, averaging 13.18 students each year. In 1966, Chinese students slightly declined to seven, yet from 1967 forward, the Chinese student number continued to increase. In the 1970s, there were about 20 Chinese students each year. It is possible that the number of Chinese students from Taiwan increased in the years following 1970, but this archival research did not explore the student life of these “foreign” students after 1972. However, it is significant to discuss the growth of Chinese students from Taiwan at UM campus.

To explore the reason for the initiation of Taiwanese students studied at UM, an understanding of Chinese history during the Chinese Civil War and the relationship between the U.S. and China/Taiwan is helpful. The beginning of Chinese students from Taiwan studying abroad in the U.S. traced back to the Chinese Civil War between 1927 and 1949/1950 (Chang, 2003). The Chinese Civil War was a fight between the Kuomintang, also known as the Chinese National Party, the founding party of the Republic of China (ROC), and the Communist Party of

China. After the Chinese Civil War, China was divided into two Chinas: the Republic of China and People's Republic of China (PRC), which was controlled by the Communist party of China. In 1949, many people left their wealth in mainland China and escaped with the Chinese Nationalist Government as they lost the battle in China. Many families took Taiwan as a refuge and were seeking a more secure place for their permanent home. At this time, the Chinese National Government in Taiwan was the only China recognized by the United States. In addition, the Chinese National government, with the assistance of the U.S. government in military and economics, believed the American model could help build modern China. The recognition by the U.S. government favored many elite Chinese students in Taiwan to study abroad in the U.S. Furthermore, the passage of the 1965 Immigration Law in the U.S., giving ten percent of its annual immigration quota of twenty thousand for each nation to skilled professions, offered more opportunity for Taiwanese students to study in America. Even though coming to study in the U.S. was not an easy path, many of the highly selected college graduates managed to pass the exams and come to study in the U.S (Chang, 2003). As a result, more Chinese students from Taiwan were recruited to American higher education institutions.

Another reason for the wave of Taiwanese students coming to study in the U.S. was the sponsorship and assistance by the U.S. government which “invested billions of dollars in science and technology, expanding research and development not only in defense facilities but at universities as well” (Chang, 2003, p. 293). Many Taiwanese students benefited from the increase of American funding for graduate programs because they were able to get funding from graduate assistantships. Chang (2003) added that “others, having gained admission but not a fellowship, sought alternative means of support, such as loans from friends and relatives, or the sponsorship of American churches and Christian organizations” (p. 294). The timing for the

immigration policies and opportunities for fellowship enabled many of the Taiwanese college graduates to search for advanced study in the United States.

Yearbook Findings

In addition to providing the number of Chinese American students at UM, this archival research also demonstrated the extra-curricular activities of Chinese/Chinese American students in the yearbooks. Moreover, the findings of this archival research are expected to support or disaffirm the findings of interviews with participants in my larger oral history dissertation study in the following chapter. The findings of yearbooks regarding Chinese American students are as follow:

1. In the 1947 *Ole Miss Yearbook*, Luck Wing was the first Chinese American student to appear. He majored in Engineering. In the 1948 *Ole Miss Yearbook*, Luck Wing was a major in Pharmacy, and he was classified as a senior in 1950.
2. In the 1953 *Ole Miss Yearbook*, Chinese American students first appeared in student associations. Rosie Gong, majoring in Commerce, served as the secretary of the Baptist Student Union and was a member of Kappa Delta Pi, an academic honorary. Rosie Gong was also the first female Chinese American student at UM. In addition, W.J. Fong and Winnie Yuen were members of the American Pharmaceutical Association.
3. In 1959, Fay Cong Dong and Juanita Gong were the first students to appear as in the professional school. Both of them were in Pharmacy School. Dong was from Drew, MS, and Gong was from Boyle, MS.

4. In 1962, the first students from Taiwan were included in the yearbook. Tze Min Tan was a graduate student, and Benjamin T.K. Chen was a junior majoring in Engineering.
5. In 1963, the first student from Hong Kong was recorded in the yearbook. Chung-Bun Chiu was a graduate student from Kowloon, an urban area in Hong Kong.
6. In 1966, the first Chinese American student attended the Law School. His name is Chat Sue. He was also in the campus senate and member of Phi Sigma Alpha, an academic honorary.

The Chinese/Chinese American students became more involved in campus activities and organizations in the 1940s, 1950s, 1960s, and early 1970s. Students seemed more interested in professional-oriented or religion student organizations, such as the American Pharmaceutical Association and the Baptist Student Union. The tendency to join student organizations can imply students' plans for their careers because they would benefit from job-seeking and networking. Joining religious student organizations might reflect the Baptist church's influences on some Mississippi Delta Chinese as the Baptist church attracted (Jung, 2008). In addition, according to the data in *Ole Miss Yearbooks*, Chinese students from Taiwan did not participate in any student organizations. The reason for foreign students' lack of participation in student organizations is unknown. However, it is possible that in the time period, the majority of Chinese students were graduate students. They might have focused more on their academic endeavors rather than extracurricular activities. It is not necessary to say that Chinese American students paid less attention to their academics, yet involvement in student organizations suggested a difference between Chinese American and Chinese speaking students at the time.

Mississippi Chinese

The history of Chinese people in the Mississippi Delta helps to understand more about the first Chinese/Chinese American students enrolled at UM. According to historical documents, Chinese first came to Mississippi in the 1870s (Loewen, 1988; Jung, 2008). They were first recruited as cotton pickers to replace slaves, but Chinese labor on farms did not last long. Around the 1870s, Chinese in Mississippi started to operate grocery stores. Wong On, identified in the 1900 U.S. Census as Charley Sing, might be the first Chinese to start a grocery store in Mississippi (Jung, 2008). From the 1900s to 1920s, the number of grocery stores run by Chinese continued to increase. However, the Census showed that only six of 208 Chinese were adult women (Jung, 2008). Most of the early Chinese grocery stores were operated by Chinese men. By the 1920s, the Chinese Delta was depicted as a bachelor community. Successful Chinese grocers later on arranged to bring their brothers, uncles, cousins, and sons to help their grocery businesses (Jung, 2008).

Most of the Chinese came from small villages in the Guangdong Province, and the largest Chinese population counties in Mississippi from the 1930s to the 1960s were Washington, Bolivar, Sunflower, and Coahoma (Rummel, 1966). These early Chinese people spoke Cantonese and sought opportunities to survive and make better lives for their families. Loewen (1988) noted that “the early Chinese in Mississippi were not true immigrants, intending to become permanent settlers in a new homeland, but were sojourners, temporary residents in a strange country, planning to return to their homeland when their task was accomplished” (p.26). Portrayed as sojourners, Mississippi was not home for these Chinese grocers. Nevertheless, as more Chinese men brought their wives and children from China to Mississippi, the situation changed. Mississippi became home to many generations of Chinese descendants.

The Chinese Exclusion Act in 1882 is a significant historical event that contributes to a better understanding of the immigration history of the Chinese in Mississippi. After the Civil War, America faced economic decline in the 1870s. White workers started to blame Chinese labor for competition because of cheap wages. The anti-Chinese sentiment began to grow. Hostility toward Chinese brought to pass the Chinese Exclusion Act in 1882, which banned Chinese laborers and farm workers from immigrating to the U.S. However, teachers, scholars, and businessmen were not included in this Act, which became a big obstacle for Chinese to immigrate to the U.S. In the time period, most of the Delta Chinese people were categorized as merchants, and they were allowed to bring family members with “extensive proof of kinship” (June 2008, p. 25). In the 1920s, the Delta Chinese merchants brought their families to Mississippi. Some of the Delta Chinese married American-born Chinese women in other areas of the U.S., which resulted in the growth of Chinese families in the Delta.

Despite the Chinese Exclusion Act of 1882 prohibiting the Chinese from entering the U.S., the Chinese pursued their dreams to come to the U.S. “Paper sons” became a scheme that some early Chinese created, using false documents to enter the U.S. Jung (2008) explained what “paper sons” were:

These “paper sons” as they came to be known as, had to assume the name on the immigration documents. In all instances, the fictive son had to memorize many details about the family and village of the person whose identity he was assuming because immigration officials interrogated them extensively as they tried [to] determine the authenticity of their claimed relationship. It was a grueling experience as those applicants that could not answer the barrage of questions satisfactory could be deported. (p. 30)

The “paper son” stories contributed to the adventures and hardship of early Chinese immigrants to the Mississippi Delta. The first generation encountered barriers to enter a foreign country and strived to survive. The appearance of “paper sons” might be hidden in the stories of many early Chinese American students’ fathers as they started their families in Mississippi. These documented fathers later sent their children to college with the expectation of education to promote their lives and social statuses. These “paper sons” started their careers as Mississippi grocers due to the limitation of language proficiency and hardships of new lives in a foreign country, but they managed to help their children choose different paths in life: entering higher education and pursuing professional careers outside the grocery business.

Before the second generation of Chinese American in Mississippi started to enter higher education, early Mississippi Chinese faced a lack of public education availability of high quality as more Chinese started their families in Mississippi in the 1920s. Chinese parents wanted to send their children to White public schools rather than Black public schools since the White schools were much better funded, (Jung, 2008, 2011). There were no specific regulations for Chinese in Mississippi whether or not they had to go the White or Black public schools. However, in the fall of 1924, four Chinese children in Rosedale were informed that they could not go to the local White school because Chinese were not of the Caucasian race (Jung, 2011). Gong Lum, father of Berda and Martha Gong, was an owner of grocery store in the community and therefore filed a suit to “the Circuit Court in Bolivar County to demand the school board allow her [Martha Gong] to attend the White school” (Jung, 2011, p. 21). The Bolivar County Circuit Court ruled in Gong Lum’s favor, but the Mississippi Supreme Court reversed the lower court decision.

Lum Gong v. Rice (1927) finally came to the United State Supreme Court and the justices chose not to open debate because there was no new argument presented. Chief Justice William Howard Taft ordered Martha Lum to go to the Black public schools. Disappointed with the decision of the U.S. Supreme Court, the Lums moved to Arkansas to seek better education for their children. This court case showed education barriers to education that early Chinese Mississippians encountered. As I conducted interviews with Chinese Americans at UM, the segregation issue in education would be addressed for further discussion. I would also ask whether or not segregation or discrimination was an issue that Chinese Americans had experienced in Mississippi.

Furthermore, the regions in Mississippi that prohibited or limited enrollment of Chinese students from White public schools were noticeable. The year Chinese American students enrolled at UM and their hometowns helped to connect whether or not they grew up in a segregated community. In the yearbook research, I have found students' hometowns in the Mississippi Delta as the following: Louis, Cleveland, Hernando, Belzoni, Boyle, Clarksdale, Drew, Greenville, Indianola, Jonestown, Leland, Lula, Marks, Moorhead, Tutwiler, Lambert, Duncan, Inverness, Sledge, Vicksburg, Hollandale, Rosedale, Greenwood, and Sunnyvale. The average student number in each town is three, but Clarksdale stood out to have 16 students attending UM in this study. In a later chapter where I presented information from these oral history interviews of Chinese American UM students, it is interesting to note students' hometowns and ask about the participants' elementary and secondary education experiences. How these early Chinese American UM students reflected their public education in the Mississippi Delta provided different perspectives on the segregation past in the Mississippi Delta.

Because of the discrimination of Chinese from White public schools in some Mississippi Delta areas in the 1920s, the opening of Chinese Mission Schools occurred through the assistance of the Baptist Church in the 1930s and 1940s. The two most famous Chinese Mission Schools were in Cleveland and Greenville, which were established in 1937 and 1934, respectively. Considering that the first Chinese American students attended UM in the late 1940s, I intended to discuss if there were any Chinese American students at UM who also attended the Chinese Mission School. In *Journey Stories from the Cleveland Chinese Mission School* edited by Paul Wong (2011), William Fong, the second Chinese American student, and Rosie Gong, the first female Chinese student, told their personal experiences in the Mississippi Delta. Even though personal interviews were unavailable, their stories in the book gave readers a window to view their lives in Mississippi. Fong went to study at UM in 1947 after he was discharged from the Navy. He used the G.I. Bill to attend UM. He majored in Pharmacy and became a pharmacist. In his memoir, he stated that Luck Wing and Rosie Gong were his school mates. Fong might be the first Chinese American veteran who used the G.I. Bill to receive higher education at the University of Mississippi. Fong maintained connection with his hometown community. He went back to Cleveland to help Jack Wong in his grocery store and have great Chinese meals during the weekend when he was studying at UM. He graduated in 1952 and died in 2008, (Wong, 2011). Gong did not tell her story at UM, but her picture as an Ole Miss graduate was shown in the collection (Wong, 2011).

As Jung (2008) indicated that more Mississippi Chinese attended college and entered professions in the 1960s, the yearbook research also saw the increase of Chinese American students at UM. In addition, the increase of Chinese American students at UM paralleled the increase of Chinese Mississippi Delta residents (Woo, Green, & Holley, 2011). Woo, Green, and

Holley (2011) offered an overview of the population development of Chinese in Mississippi from the first Census of 1870 to the recent Census of 2010. The population of Chinese in Mississippi continued to grow over the century. Woo et al. (2011) also found the counties in Mississippi that had most Chinese from 1960 to 2010. In the 1960s and 1970s, the top five Mississippi counties by Chinese population were all Delta counties; however, from the 1980s on, Delta counties began to drop out of the top five. The 2000 and 2010 Censuses showed no Delta counties listed in the top five counties that had the highest Chinese population in the state. Woo et al. (2011) noted that the decrease of the Chinese population in the Mississippi Delta reflected the decline of total population in the Mississippi Delta. The Chinese population in the Mississippi Delta shrank after the 1980s. The decline of the Chinese population in the Delta echoed to Jung's (2008) research that Chinese grocery stores in the Delta started to decline after the 1980s, and more young people moved to other places to search for career opportunities.

Despite the decline of Chinese in the Mississippi Delta, the Chinese population in Mississippi continued to grow from the 1980s forward. Replacing the Delta counties, a growing Chinese population can be found in urban areas, such as Jackson, the Gulf Coast, and the DeSoto county (Woo et al., 2011). Other than urban areas, the Chinese population was more intense in the counties where higher education institutions are located, for example, the University of Mississippi in Oxford, Lafayette County and Mississippi State University in Starkville, Oktibbeha County (Woo et al., 2011). The increase of Chinese population in college towns may refer to the growth of "foreign" students from Chinese-speaking countries as Chinese students from Taiwan started to increase in the 1960s. More international students would be expected in Mississippi; however, because of the limited time period in this research, this chapter cannot consider the development of Chinese students at UM after 1972. In addition to the time

limitation, the growth of Chinese population in Mississippi may also refer to the growth of professionals and international students from Mainland China.

As mentioned earlier, international students in the time period were mainly from Taiwan because the Republic of China (ROC) in Taiwan was the only China recognized by the U.S. government. However, the circumstance changed on January 1, 1979 when the U.S. government and the People's Republic of China (PRC) started to establish a diplomatic relationship. Because of the initiation of the diplomatic relationship between the U.S. and PRC, PRC sent their first fifty Chinese students to study in the U.S. "five days before the diplomatic exchange" (Chu, 2004, p. 7). Chu (2004) stated "before 1979, the United States maintained its diplomatic relations with the Republic of China in Taiwan and China had not sent its students to America for thirty years" (Chu, 2004, p.7). Chu's research helped explain the circumstances in the *Ole Miss Yearbook* in the time period that Chinese students were mainly from the Republic of China in Taiwan rather than from the People's Republic of China in Mainland China. It is likely that after the 1980s, more Chinese scholars came to the U.S., and they might contribute to the increase of the Chinese population in Mississippi as well. Also, the recruitment of Chinese students in the U.S. is influenced by the diplomatic relationships between the U.S. and PRC. More and more Chinese students came to the U.S. to study abroad because the U.S. was their top choice. Chinese students are counted as the highest percentage of international students in the U.S according to Institute of International Education (IIE) 2010 data, comprising of 18.5% of all international students in the U.S. and marking a 29.9% change to the previous year (IIE, 2010).

Other Archival Research

In this chapter on archival research, Chinese/Chinese American student life at UM was not presented completely. Nevertheless, from some personal reflections, memoirs, interview

transcripts, and scholarly observations, the traces that Chinese American college students left on the campus were found. The depiction of Chinese American students in Mississippi is beneficial to gain an understanding of their attitudes toward education, their perspectives of the civil rights movement, their self-reflection, and their observations of their community. These sources provide different dimensions to understanding the lives of pioneer Chinese Americans in Mississippi and early Chinese American/Chinese American students at UM.

Robert Seto Quon (1982), an ethnographer, recorded his observations about the Chinese people in the Mississippi Delta. In his *Lots among the Magnolias* (1982), Quon classified five categories of people by their age or occupation. The five categories were old people, businessmen, professionals, college students, and young people. Quon (1982) provided unique perspectives of the Chinese in Mississippi that were distinct from other studies. First, Quon spoke both Cantonese and English so that he gave firsthand information in his research. Second, Quon lived in the Chinese Delta community from 1975 to 1978 and recorded his field notes as he interacted with Chinese people in this area.

Even though Quon's studied period (1975-1978) did not overlap my study of Chinese American students (1946-1972), Quon's discussion about college students served as a reference about college students' interactions with other Chinese people as well as what other age groups of Chinese people thought about them. Besides Quon's (1982) chapter that focused on college students (Chapter Five), it is also important to address Chapter Four, which described the professionals because they were likely to be the pioneer Chinese American college students in Mississippi as they were defined as "anyone with a college degree who has a good white-collar job" (Quon, 1982, p. 100). To give a more specific description of their professional occupations, Quon (1982) continued

This group includes bank employee, business managers, bookkeepers, accountants, sales managers, insurance salesmen, radio television personnel, computer scientists, commercial artists, and personnel clerks. Some Chinese are also teachers, chemists, nurses, architects, engineers, pharmacists, professors, and medical technicians. Most are accountants, business managers, pharmacists, and engineers. Very few enter the humanities because, as they put it, “that’s not where the money is.” Most are educated at either the University of Mississippi in Oxford or Mississippi State University in Starkville, Mississippi. (p.100)

Compared to the yearbook research, I found these professional occupations to match with student majors as far as pharmacy, business, and engineer were the professional fields in which most students enrolled. However, according to the data found in *Ole Miss Yearbooks*, Liberal Arts ranked second as a student major. This point differed from Quon’s observation as the choice of major was more career-oriented to Chinese people in Mississippi. Notwithstanding the differentiation between the data and Quon’s description, it could be possible that Chinese American students at UM later changed their majors or they pursued different routes for careers. It also may reflect how the university organized and structured fields of study and majors, housing the professional fields in Liberal Arts early on before becoming separate professional schools. They might have acquired professional or graduate degrees in order to seek professional occupations.

According to Quon’s (1982) observations, professionals reflected “their merchant middle-class socioeconomic background” (Quon, 1982, p.101) as they pursued higher degree and professional jobs. They all had grocery store work experience in their childhoods, but most of them transferred to upper-middle-class status. Depending on their age variation, the younger they

were, the less Cantonese they spoke. As far as marriages were concerned, the professionals sought marriage partners inside and outside the Mississippi Delta. They avoided marriage with people of the same family names. They seemed to prefer to marry within their race, but they had more freedom in terms of marriage than those who were nonprofessionals because of their economic independence. It is also interesting to note that the professionals discerned their differences from other Chinese American outside the South “in religion, diet, looks, customs, and speech patterns” (Quon, 1982, p. 102). Their differences from other Chinese Americans in other part of the United States revealed the unique cultural heritage in Mississippi.

While Chinese American professionals seemed to preserve most of the Chinese culture in terms of language and thinking, Chinese American college students in the 1970s spoke “pidgin Cantonese” (Quon, 1982, p. 115). Quon described them as “driving late-model cars, wearing expensive casual clothes, appearing middle class in tastes and outlook” (Quon, 1982, p.115). Most of them lived on campus, but returned home on weekends, holidays, and summers. Quon (1982) found that most Chinese American students attended the University of Mississippi, Mississippi State University, and Delta State University. Very few attended college outside Mississippi. When asked the reason for choosing to attend college in Mississippi, the students replied that they did not want to leave home or their parents did not allow them to do so (Quon, 1982). In addition, most of the students lived in the dormitories, and they enjoyed the freedom at school apart from their parents. Chinese American students tended to room together “partly because of discrimination or a feeling of not being wholly wanted and partly because they are not very assertive” (Loewen, 1972, p. 95). According to Quon (1982), these Chinese American students were hard-working students and intended to make good grades. Like the professionals, their choice of major was career-oriented that led them toward professional occupations.

Both Loewen (1972, 1988) and Quon (1982) noted the female college students' attitude toward interracial dating. Interviewing Chinese college American students, Loewen (1972, 1988) talked with a female college student who experienced difficulties with her parents concerning her own identity when she began to date Caucasian boys. According to the interviewee, she thought she should marry a person she really loved without regard to race. This female student perceived that Mississippi was more conservative in interracial dating and marriage (Loewen, 1972, 1988). Quon (1982) also observed college students' opinions toward interracial dating and marriage. Female college students held different opinions from male college students. According to Quon (1982), female college students had "an ambivalent attitude toward Chinese college males" (p.121). Female college students liked to date other Chinese college students occasionally, however, they found Chinese boys were "quiet, socially immature, shy, inhibited boys who do not ask them out" (p. 121). They pretended not to care about Chinese boys dating other White female college students. In addition, female Chinese college students reported that male Chinese college students had more freedom than Chinese girls in terms of dating. Chinese female college students' parents tended to protect their daughters' reputations and virginity. Furthermore, Chinese female college students believed that most Chinese boys would not get too serious with White girls because they did not intend to marry White girls and vice versa. From Loewen's (1972, 1988) and Quon's (1982) observations, interracial dating was acceptable, but Chinese college students in the 1960s, 1970s, and early 1980s tended to choose Chinese as their marriage partners.

According to the yearbook research, some Chinese American students joined professional student organizations; however, Chinese American students were not found in pictures of the fraternity or sororities during this period. Loewen (1972, 1988) and Quon (1982) offered

explanations for the absence of Chinese American students in the fraternity and sorority system. Loewen (1988) stated, “At Ole Miss, still dominated by the Delta aristocracy, Chinese have been barred from all fraternities and sororities” (p. 95). Similarly, Quon (1982) wrote, “College students say that they are not asked to join social fraternities and sororities at the larger universities. This discrimination, they feel, blocks their complete acceptance and assimilation into the White southern social system” (p. 123). Their observations suggested Mississippi’s “closed society” that even though Chinese/Chinese American students attended UM in 1960s, 1970s, and 1980s, certain student organizations at campus were excluded for Whites only. It is also interesting to note that the Chinese in Mississippi sought the acceptance of White society rather than Black society. Traditional Chinese concepts demanded Chinese people seek upwardly social mobility; therefore, they identified more than with the White society to pursue socioeconomic success (Loewen, 1972, 1988; Quon 1982).

In addition to Wong’s (2011) collection on Mississippi Chinese, the Library of Delta State University recorded Chinese Oral Histories, and in this collection, interviewees mainly talked about their experiences growing up in the Mississippi Delta. Some interviewees reflected on their memories at UM. John Quon, found in the 1962 *Ole Miss Yearbook*, major in Chemistry, but he later changed his major to Accounting. In the Chinese Oral Histories collection, Quon was asked about his experience growing up in the Mississippi Delta, his studies, and his career. Quon had bookkeeping experience in high school, so he decided to do something with which he was familiar. Quon earned his bachelor’s degree in accounting in 1964 and his MBA in 1965. After he graduated from Ole Miss, Quon was offered a job at Delta State University. In the interview with Margaret Tullos, Quon said that he wanted to be close to his father, so he moved back to Cleveland. However, his father passed away within a week after he signed a contract with Delta

State University. Quon dedicated his life to education at Delta State University and passed away in 2006.

Besides Quon's interview in the Delta State Library, Fay Dong's and Juanita Dong's interviews were collected in the Chinese Oral Histories series. Fay Dong and Juanita Gong were shown as professional students in the 1959 *Ole Miss Yearbook*. According to the interviews, both Fay and Juanita went to UM when James Meredith attended. Juanita described their memories of the civil right movement. They were in "Vet Village," where married couples lived. The helicopters kept sweeping over, tear gas was all around, and all sorts of things were thrown. Both of them reported that they did not join any fraternity or sorority, and they put a lot of effort into their school work. Fay also said that he had nieces and nephews who studied at UM, but they went to Texas and other places after graduating from Ole Miss.

Other than describing their experience growing up in the Mississippi Delta and at UM, Mississippi Chinese students who attended Mississippi higher education institutions had special events reserved for Chinese young people. As Jung (2008) indicated that more Chinese children attended higher education in the 1960s, Chinese American students became more active to organize student activities. Collected by the Chinese Oral History of the Delta State Library, Bobby Jue (1999) recalled that Mississippi State University (MSU) had a club called the Lucky Eleven. The Lucky Eleven was founded by the first eleven male Chinese American college students at MSU to form a social group for Chinese Americans in the Mississippi Delta. It was called "the Lucky Eleven" simply because there were eleven male college students at MSU. The students at MSU gave a party during Christmas, and UM gave one in Thanksgiving for Chinese children. Some people prepared food and they held the party in Cleveland, Greenville, or Greenwood where people could get together. The Chinese parents expected their children to

know other Chinese children so that this social event provided an opportunity for Chinese children to meet each other.

These interview documents and scholarly observations helped illustrate Chinese American student life besides the *Ole Miss Yearbook* records. According to these documents, Chinese American students at UM were generally characterized as hard-working people who highly valued and had high standards about their education. In terms of choosing majors, they tended to have practical views to select career-oriented fields. Chinese American students of the time period spoke more English than Cantonese even though they had exposure to speak Cantonese at home. Students did not join Greek organizations; however, Chinese American students organized their own social events to get acquainted with other Chinese students. While these characteristics were common remarks of Chinese American students, more diverse voices will be expected in the individual oral history section.

Conclusion: Education as the Route for Social Mobility

Recording the enrollment data of Chinese/Chinese American students at UM, I reviewed their development over the time period. Chinese/Chinese American students at UM in the early 1940s, 1950s, 1960s, and late 1970s grew in terms of number as more Delta Chinese children attended college as well as because of the initiation of “foreign” students studying at UM. As far as student majors are concerned, pharmacy ranked as top student major. The choice of majors of the Chinese American students implied their tendency to choose job-oriented fields. It is also noticeable that many students went to professional school or graduate school, particularly after the 1960s. The majority of students worked on professional or graduate levels because most of the “foreign” students came to UM to study at graduate or professional levels.

From the scholarly research and field observations, Chinese American students were described as hard-working students who strove for academic achievement. Imagining that these pioneer students, either the second generation of Chinese American in Mississippi or “foreign” students from Taiwan and Hong Kong, conquered all the barriers to pursue higher education degrees was never an easy task. What pushed them to emphasize on education was the motivation to become successful in society. Rummel (1966) comments on the Chinese people’s respect for education as follows:

1. The difficulty that the Chinese had with their initial efforts at education in the Delta.
2. The identification of education attainment with the White community and its code of values.
3. The philosophy of education for living rather than making a living, which is one of the traditional Chinese values. (p. 65)

Rummel’s observations helped to explain Chinese people’s value for education. Chinese parents have higher expectations for their children to become successful in their careers and not to become physical laborers. Confucius’s beliefs have had strong influence on the Chinese mindset and add more insight to traditional Chinese values on education. According to Confucius’s thinking, four major occupations were defined by Chinese society, and they had a hierarchy order in the society. Scholars are always on the top of the social hierarchy, followed by farmers, laborers, and businessmen. The position of scholars cannot be replaced by others. For this reason, education is a top priority for Chinese children for them to become successful in society.

This archival research also offers to review the development of Chinese students from Taiwan at UM. International students at UM from Taiwan grew after 1962. Due to the

international relationship between the U.S. and Taiwan's government, the U.S. higher education system became as the role model for Taiwan to follow. In fact, half of Taiwan's civil servants received higher education in the United States (Chu, 2004). Coming to the U.S. for a graduate or professional degree was a milestone for many Taiwanese bachelor's degree holders, as a primary dream and goal. In addition to the dream of pursuing a higher degree in the U.S., the U.S. government's aide and support for Taiwanese students to study abroad also contributed to the growth of Taiwanese students in the U.S. More and more Taiwanese students came to the U.S. in the 1960s.

Considering the reasons for both Mississippi Chinese students and "foreign" Chinese students to put their efforts on higher education, a final concluding remark for this chapter is: education is the route for social mobility for Chinese people. With a higher education degree in hand, these Chinese students sought a better life for their future. They did not continue to operate the grocery stores for their parents in the Mississippi Delta, and some of them sought their careers in other places. As for "foreign" students from Taiwan, either stayed in the U.S. or returned to their hometowns, fulfilling their American dreams and becoming the elites of their society with an American graduate/professional degree. The next chapter will focus on the oral history interviews, presenting the stories of early Chinese American students' childhood memories growing up in Mississippi and their collegiate experiences at the University of Mississippi.

CHAPTER III

Oral History/Oral Histories

What is the oral history of the early Chinese American students at the University of Mississippi between 1946 and 1972? Why and how did the first Chinese American students come to study at UM? What were the experiences of the Chinese American students' campus life? When Luck Wing, the first Chinese American student, came to study at the University of Mississippi in the summer of 1946, UM history, which deeply embedded its past in fidelity to southern traditions, began a new chapter. This new chapter provided the diverse voices of a unique ethnic group with new students' journeys. In the previous chapter on archival research of Chinese/Chinese American students, I assigned the students to three categories: 1) Mississippi residents, 2) out-of-state students, and 3) "foreign" students from Chinese speaking countries. This chapter focuses on oral history by collecting the stories of Mississippi resident students who studied during the time period. The recruitment of participants in oral history interviews was targeted on former Chinese students who had identified a location in the Mississippi Delta as their hometown. To gain thick and rich information, interviews were conducted only with Mississippi residents. The Chinese students known as "foreign student" were not included in the oral history portion. The perspectives of former Mississippi resident students were expected to add a new dimension to UM history.

This research used oral history to collect the voices of the Chinese American students at UM. Even though many of the researchers have studied the history of Chinese in Mississippi (Jung, 2008; Loewen, 1988; Quon, 1982), none have focused on the oral history of Chinese/Chinese American Students at UM.

What is oral history? Oral history collects memories, personal commentaries or historical significance through recorded interviews (Ritchie, 2003). The participants' perspectives and reflections about their lives help to "understand how individuals and communities experienced the forces of history" (Baylor University Institute for Oral History, 2010, p 2). The participants' eyewitness to the time period (1946-1972), a time before, during, and after the historic integration, contributed to bring new insights about a history that has not been told. This oral history project encourages readers to listen to the voices of a minority group of students during a significant time at UM.

In addition, oral history is expected to address what has been changed and what has stayed the same over time (Baylor University Institute for Oral History, 2010). Over the decades (the 1940s to 2010s), changes to the UM campus were obvious, yet the former Chinese American students might have observations that were different from others. Other than reflecting external changes, "oral history allows people to express the personal consequence of changes..., particularly in the area of values, traditions, and beliefs" (Baylor University Institute for Oral History, 2010, p. 2). The recording of the past will help future generations recognize the achievements of the pioneer Chinese American students at UM. Moreover, oral history is expected to "help future historians avoid sweeping generalizations that stereotype people, engender prejudice, and overlook important variables in the historical context" (Baylor University Institute for Oral History, 2010, p. 2). Asian American students were generally

stereotyped as the “model minority” because of their achievements in education and career success (Wong 2006; Yang, 2004; Ying, 2001; Yu, 2006). The oral history portrait of the Chinese American students at UM seeks to describe the unique experiences that are distinct from the general and stereotypical understanding of Chinese Americans.

Interview Questions and Interview Process

In order to write the stories of Chinese American students at UM, interview questions addressed the following:

- the participant’s background and experiences growing up in a Chinese family in Mississippi;
- the participant’s campus experiences at UM;
- the participant’s memories about UM;
- the influence of UM in the participant’s life.

Twenty-nine questions (Appendix B) were designed to be asked; however, during the interview, the interviewees were encouraged to add anything that they thought necessary. Interview questions were designed as open questions for the narrators to speak their minds. These interviews were used to encourage themes and stories about the past. Each interview lasted about one hour and was audio-taped. Some communications via emails and phones followed to clarify the information collected during the interviews to assure the exactness of the stories. Each participant has a unique story to present at the significant moments of UM history.

Method of Recruitment

As far as the method to recruit the potential participants was concerned, the original plan was to send a letter of invitation via the Alumni Association at UM. However, before the letters were sent to the Alumni Association, expert referrals were made by Dr. Michael Metcalf,

Associate Provost of International Affairs at UM, to reach potential participants. Further potential participants were recommended and recruited after the first interview was conducted. The method of recruitment also reflected the connectedness and networking of the Chinese American community in the Mississippi Delta. This type of sampling or recruitment is known as snowball sample. Even though many of the participants have moved out of Mississippi, most of them still kept in contact with each other and got together for some social occasions.

Through the recommendations of the participants, eight interviews were conducted for the oral history of Chinese American students at UM. Among the eight participants, four of them were male, and the other four were female. As for the time of earliest enrollment at UM, the first Chinese American student, Luck Wing, was recruited to participate in the study. His enrollment at UM was from 1946 to 1950. Juanita Gong, the female Chinese student listed in the School of Pharmacy, attended UM during the late 1950s and finished in 1960. Juanita Gong's husband was a UM student during Meredith's enrollment. She was working in Oxford at the time. Frieda Quon and Chat Sue enrolled at Ole Miss during the 1960s, a time when James Meredith was attending Ole Miss. For this reason, they also witnessed the integration of Ole Miss. The remaining four participants were enrolled in the early 1970s. As far as the participants' majors of study, two were in Pharmacy, two were in Liberal Arts, one was in Education, and three were in Business. The next section is the participants' stories, followed by their time of "story" of their enrollment at UM.

Narratives

In these narratives, I will use first name frequently to enhance the story presentation. Although I have developed varying levels of personal relationship with the participants, and my relationship deepened throughout the study, my use of first name should not be interrupted as

overly familiar or disrespectful. Rather, it is intended to relate a conversational tone to the reader.

Luck Wing

Luck Wing was born in Jonestown, Mississippi on July 29, 1929. Luck enrolled as a freshman at the University of Mississippi in the summer of 1946 right after he finished high school. Luck was a major in Pharmacy and graduated in 1950.

Childhood Experience

Luck grew up in a small town where everybody knew everybody, and the parents knew all the children in the village. His childhood experience included having rubber gun fights, watermelon fights, and playing a lot of monopoly during the summer time. They also played a lot of hide and go seek. Children always found ways to entertain themselves. When it was supper time, parents would call their children to go home and eat supper.

As a child, Luck was exposed to a mixture of culture: some traditional Chinese and some American culture. His family was just like many American families, but they also kept some Chinese customs. Luck's mother cooked both American and Chinese food. For breakfast, they ate omelets, ham and donuts. For supper, they always ate rice. They usually had two meals of rice a day.

Luck's family usually celebrated the Chinese New Year for two weeks. They had a big dinner on Chinese New Year's Day. Their friends and relatives who lived close by would visit and have big meals together. Luck remembered his mother would cook some special dishes during Chinese holidays. However, he never learned any of her recipes. He simply remembered his mother did all the cooking, and the children did all the eating.

When asked how he identified himself, Luck said "being Chinese, American, and Chinese American, mixture of all cultures." By using the analogy of a banana, Luck said he felt

that Chinese Americans are yellow outside and white inside. Luck observed the position of Chinese in the Mississippi Delta as racially between Black and White, but he could understand both sides.

Family History

Luck's father did not tell his children about his journey to America. He told Luck that he was born in Greenville, Mississippi. Recently, Luck found out that his father was a "paper son," and he thought his father had come to the United States before 1921. Luck did not know exactly when and how his father first came to the U.S., but he assumed his father wanted to keep the secret of his journey because of his "paper son" status.

Life at Ole Miss

Luck chose to study at Ole Miss because the University was close to his hometown. Growing up in Jonestown, Luck always knew that he wanted to go to Ole Miss. In fact, Luck's brother enrolled at UM earlier than he did, but his brother did not graduate. Luck used to visit his brother on campus and felt that Ole Miss was a second home to him. He did not remember having any trouble with admission. He simply answered all the questions on the application form and did not ask any questions. When he first came to Ole Miss, he did not know what he wanted to study. His brother's best friend was in Pharmacy and suggested Luck join him. Luck thought that Pharmacy was a pretty good field to satisfy his parents so he decided to major in it. He became a pharmacist after he graduated.

Luck's first day on campus was unforgettable. He vividly remembered that Chancellor J.D. Williams first became the Chancellor at UM in 1946 because of an embarrassing experience he had. Luck was eating in the cafeteria, and a gentleman with a red bowtie came to share the table with him however, Luck did not know the gentleman was Chancellor Williams. On that day,

there was a conference for Mississippi sheriffs on the Ole Miss campus, and many of the sheriffs were having lunch at the cafeteria. Luck and other students started to have a conversation with the gentleman, and Luck asked him whether he was one of the sheriffs in Mississippi.

Chancellor Williams replied, "No, I am the new Chancellor." Luck was so embarrassed because all of the freshman students were supposed to attend a meeting with the Chancellor in Fulton Chapel that morning, but he did not attend. That was why he did not recognize the gentleman as Chancellor Williams. He finished his lunch quickly and told the Chancellor that he had class and needed to leave. That was the most embarrassing and unforgettable story that he had at UM.

Luck felt himself as a below-average student. When he started college, he was only sixteen years old. Many of the male students were older than him because they were veterans returning from World War II and pursuing higher education. They were probably twenty-three or twenty-four years old, and they told Luck a lot of things. Luck lived in the dormitory which was called "Bar B Two," a building just across from the cafeteria. He lived in the same room and had one of the same roommates for four years. His roommates were just like his brothers. In the dorm room, Luck and his roommates played poker a lot. When Luck first enrolled at Ole Miss, there were probably six hundred students. Very few students had a car, but Luck's roommate owned one. They sometimes went to Memphis or Clarksdale. They ate in the restaurants on University Avenue. They had a lot of fun at Ole Miss. When Luck was a college student, he could have a good meal by spending about a dollar. Luck said that he did not have favorite subject. He remembered there were some classes that were very difficult, so he was glad that he was able to finish college.

When Luck was a student at Ole Miss, there were not many faculty members at the School of Pharmacy. The professor that stood out his memory was the Dean of the School of

Pharmacy. He was like a father to Luck. He was the type of person that people either loved or hated him; there was no in between. Luck loved him. In fact, Luck was one of the pallbearers at his funeral. Luck said when he went back to Ole Miss to visit after graduation, he would visit him. The Dean remembered all his students' names.

Most of Luck's close campus friends were also in the School of Pharmacy. They kept in touch after they graduated and got together for a convention nearly every year. His friends would bring their families along so that everybody knew each other's families very well. Luck served as the president of the State Pharmacy Association and Alumni Association of the Pharmacy School for several years. Because he came from a small town, he liked being in the small college setting that Ole Miss provided. Luck enjoyed Ole Miss very much, and he thought it played the biggest part in his life.

When James Meredith enrolled at UM, Luck had already graduated. Luck knew most of the story from newspapers. Reflecting on the incident, Luck wished that Meredith's enrollment had been handled in a better way and believed that the riots could have been avoided. He did not remember being discriminated against at Ole Miss. Maybe there was some discrimination on campus. For example, Chinese students were not allowed to join a fraternity or sorority, but he did not care about joining any Greek organizations. Luck also remembered when he was in high school, he had Jewish and Italian friends. They got along with each other well and sometimes even joked at each other by calling each other "Italian," "Chinese," and "Jewish."

Life after Graduation

After graduating from Ole Miss, Luck worked in a drugstore in a small town in Louisiana where people were very friendly. In the 1950s, the Korean War had just started, so he stayed in Louisiana for about five months before he started his service in Heidelberg, Germany. He was

deployed in December 1950. After coming back to the States, Luck operated a drugstore in Sledge, Mississippi, and he also served as mayor there for a couple of years.

Luck really appreciated the messages people left on Facebook telling him that they remembered him. Adults thanked Luck for allowing them to read the funny books in his drugstore when they were young. Luck was surprised that people still remembered him, but he was glad to get connected with his old customers.

Luck thought that he received a good education at UM. Without his education at UM, he could not have had a successful career. He enjoyed being a pharmacist even though he had never thought of being one before going to college. The education at Ole Miss had a great influence on his life. He also has many collections of Ole Miss souvenirs and books at home. He always goes back for football and baseball games, sitting in the same seats for many years. He has come back to Ole Miss for meetings as well. He always thought about retiring in Oxford. He actually knows more people in Oxford than in the town where he had a drugstore. When he was thinking about retirement, he decided to move to Oxford. He has been living in Oxford ever since. Almost everyone in his family came to study at UM, including his children and grandchildren. Two of his grandchildren did not study at UM because Ole Miss did not offer the majors that they wanted to study. Revisiting the campus, he wanted to see all the changes at Ole Miss. He wanted to see the Pharmacy School and the dormitory in which he used to live.

Luck had wonderful experiences at Ole Miss and felt very thankful to have a lot of good friends at UM. He probably has ten to twenty friends from Ole Miss who are still alive, and they keep in touch with each other. He definitely would choose Ole Miss if he were to choose again.

Juanita Dong

Juanita Dong was the first female Chinese student listed in the School of Pharmacy in the *1959 Ole Miss Yearbook*. She was a transfer student from Delta State University. Juanita received her professional degree in Pharmacy in 1960.

Childhood Experience

Juanita was born in Marigold, Mississippi. When she was very young, her father went to the Pacific War. What she remembered most about Marigold was that they had a babysitter at the time when her mother was pregnant. Her mother and aunt ran a grocery store and took care of the children. After her father came back from the war, there was a problem in Marigold because Chinese children could not attend the White public school. For this reason, Juanita went to the Baptist Mission School in Cleveland for first and second grade. However, Juanita's mother insisted that the children go to the public school for a formal education because there was only one teacher teaching all 12 grades in the Baptist Mission School. Because of her mother's insistence, Juanita's parents started to search for a new place that the children could go to public school. They felt very blessed to find Boyle, where Chinese children were allowed to go to the White public school. They moved to Boyle, lived there, and started their grocery business. Juanita was glad to see a lot of different children that they could interact with in the public school. She also remembered her third-grade teacher used very fancy methods to show them little birds, and that were revolutionary for her. In addition, they were able to use facilities that they could not have in the private school. Studying in the public school gave Juanita different dimensions to see the world.

In Boyle, Juanita's parents owned the biggest grocery store in town. As a child, Juanita remembered working a lot in the grocery store. Because her parents had a lot of children, every

child had an assignment in the store; one took care of the potato chips, and one was in charge of drinks. Everyone had an apron with pockets to collect money and make change. There were a lot of cotton pickers brought at one time by school bus to the store. They had to make sure that all the customers paid for their goods. At the time, Juanita's father built their house behind the grocery store. They had a big house with five bedrooms and a kitchen with a glass window, so they could also work in the kitchen. They could only keep one person in the store to take care of the business. They also had a buzzer in the store. When a big group of consumers came into the store and the person in the store could not handle it, he or she would buzz to ask the family to help. Everyone in the house needed to drop their work and run to help in the grocery store immediately. Looking back to her experience, Juanita felt that they had a pretty comfortable childhood. Everybody in the family was always together. Although they stayed busy all the time, they played cards with each other a lot. Juanita also remembered that their family had the first television in Boyle. Everyone in town wanted to see their new television. Even though there were not many things they could do in the small town, Juanita's mother always made sure that her children went to all the concerts. All the children had piano lessons and swimming lessons. Her mother tried to support the children to do different things as other children their age.

Because both Juanita's father and mother had big families, their extended families congregated at their house for Chinese holidays. Juanita's mother cooked a lot of food for the whole family. Juanita always had a great time with her cousins. They were all very close. Her childhood was fun, except for one incident that had a great impact on their family when Juanita's little brother was killed in a train incident. It happened when Juanita was twelve years old, and he was hit and killed by a train. He was brought home and died in his mother's arms. This incident was very traumatic for the whole family. They were very sad for years. Even though it was the

most difficult time in her childhood experience, Juanita remembered all the people in the town were very supportive.

Juanita's parents had very high standards for their children because they wanted their children to be successful. Juanita's mother always told her that she needed to be twenty percent better than other people. Children were not allowed to complain about anything, and they have to share what they had. Juanita did what her parents expected. She did well at school and received a scholarship. She was able to go to Delta State University for free because she got the scholarship. After she finished her first year at Delta State University, Juanita had to make a decision whether she wanted to be a med-tech or a pharmacist. If she wanted to be a med-tech, then she had to complete her degree at Delta State University. She decided she did not want to be a med-tech, so she transferred to Ole Miss and majored in Pharmacy.

Life at Ole Miss

Reflecting on her time at Ole Miss, it was a wonderful life. Juanita was the first child in her family to attend Ole Miss. At the time, Juanita was dating her boyfriend, Fay, now her husband. She felt that school was challenging because she was from a small high school. In addition, the School of Pharmacy was a four-year program, so students had lab classes until five o'clock every day. Their schedule was very packed, yet life was simple. Students did not have much entertainment. Playing cards, watching movies, and sometimes going to Memphis were the activities they did as students. They ate out most of the time because they could only cook very simple food in the dormitory.

The most significant event that happened for Juanita at Ole Miss was to witness James Meredith's enrollment. In the fall of 1962, Juanita had already finished her study at Ole Miss and had a job as a pharmacist on Oxford's downtown square. Juanita's husband, Fay, was a student at

the School of Pharmacy, and they were living in the residence village for married couples. On that day when Meredith enrolled at Ole Miss, she was working in the drugstore. U.S. Marshalls and many people who were not Mississippians came to Oxford. Juanita remembered seeing a lot of people staying in the balcony in their drugstore to monitor the Square. Tear gas was spread and helicopters were monitoring around the campus. When the national guards saw people together, they would ask them to disperse because they did not want anybody to be in groups. Juanita recalled that there was a kind of “shadow” on Ole Miss because of integration. After Meredith’s enrollment, he was accompanied by U.S. Marshalls on campus wherever he went. Juanita did not have very vivid memories about the incident. However, she remembered being very sad because she felt this incident could have been avoided.

Being the first female Chinese student in the School of Pharmacy, Juanita chose a man’s profession at the time. There were about four to five women in a class of forty students. In addition, many of the veterans had come back from the war, and they were trying to get into the School of Pharmacy in hopes of getting good jobs to support their families. Female pharmacists were considered to be taking a man’s profession. One of Juanita’s professors frankly told her that she should not take a man’s position because men needed the jobs more than women did. It was hard for women to get a pharmacist position because there were no chain stores at the time. Despite the difficulties, Juanita managed to find a job in a drugstore on the Square after she finished her study at Ole Miss.

After Juanita’s husband finished at Ole Miss and tried to find a job, they faced a problem. Employers did not want the husband and wife to work in different drugstores because they were competitors. They had to move to a different place to find jobs, so they moved to Knoxville, Tennessee. Juanita worked as a pharmacist on the University of Tennessee campus. They had a

great time in Knoxville and watched Ole Miss Football games. After their first son was born, they decided to move closer to their family so they looked for a store that they could buy. They wanted to have the flexibility to take care of their family and work at the same time. They bought a drugstore in Jackson, Mississippi, and worked there for twenty years. After their children went to college, they felt they did not need two pharmacists in the store. Juanita got a part-time job at a big pharmacy company, and she later became a full-time employee and chief pharmacist.

Juanita is still working as a part-time employee. She enjoys her job and felt pharmacy is a good field because she was able to get a position in a big pharmacy company when she reached middle age. She felt thankful that she was able to take care of her family when her children were young and later pursued a career in the field of pharmacy. She felt blessed that she had good mentors at Ole Miss and hoped to be remembered as a professional pharmacist. Juanita and her husband went back to Ole Miss for all the football home games. She hoped to visit the campus during the weekday so that she could visit the building of the School of Pharmacy. It is hard for Juanita to say whether or not she would choose Ole Miss again because she thought she might have different opportunities and made a different decision.

Frieda Seu Quon

Frieda attended the University of Mississippi in 1960 and graduated in 1963 with a bachelor's degree in Library Science. She received her master's in 1965 and then worked for the University until 1970.

Childhood Experience

Frieda was born on August 4, 1942, and grew up in Greenville, Mississippi where the population was about 50,000 in the early 1940s. At the time, Chinese children were not allowed to attend the White public school. For this reason, Chinese people established a private Chinese

school. However, there were some members of the White community who supported Chinese community, and they went to the School Board to help Chinese children get admission to the White public school. When Frieda began her first grade in 1948, she was able to attend the White public school in Greenville.

Frieda is the oldest of four siblings in her family. In addition to her family, she had some uncles working in her family's grocery stores. The uncles could be real uncles or adopted uncles because some relatives worked for Frieda's father with an internship. Frieda's parents had two grocery stores; one served White customers in the front, and the other served Black customers in the back. Their stores had good mixture of Black and White customers.

Frieda remembered that they had a maid to take care of them by the time her mother had a third child. Her mother needed to prepare meals for her family, so they needed a maid to help. Their maid came to work every day, including Sunday. She took them to the neighborhood park, which was just a block away from their store. There were some children calling them names and picking on them, but their maid always protected them from those children. Growing up in Greenville, they played a lot in the park. They had very happy childhood experiences. They also had some Chinese friends in the church. At the time, they had Chinese worship in the Chinese church on Sunday afternoon.

As a child, Frieda thought about doing different things when she grew up. Her parents tried to expose them to different things, like going to the library, church, and zoo. Her parents encouraged her to read a lot; therefore, Frieda went to the library and borrowed books to read. Frieda enjoyed reading books about different characters, which helped her develop an interest in books. Frieda believed that spending time reading later helped her decide to become a librarian.

Frieda knew her father's story about coming to the United States. Her father came from a small village in the Guangdong Province with his older brother when he was a teenager. They initially went to Chicago to work in a laundry. At the age of fifteen, he was very lonely because his brother was stern. Basically, he learned most of his survival skills by himself, like cooking, sewing, etc. Frieda also spoke of an uncle who heard about opportunities in Mississippi, so he went down to investigate the possibilities. Eventually, Frieda's father came to Mississippi to join his uncle.

Frieda's mother was born in New York. Her mother's biological mother did not keep baby girls, so she gave up all her baby girls for adoption. Frieda's mother stayed with her adopted-mother in Brooklyn. Her adopted-father was murdered when Frieda's mother was young. When Frieda's mother was nine, her adopted-mother moved all the family to China after her husband died. When Frieda's father was about twenty-nine years old, he went back to China to find a wife. His father was introduced to her mother by arranged marriage. Her parents had never met each other before the wedding. They probably stayed in China for a short period. After they got married, they went to Mississippi to operate grocery stores.

Growing up in a Chinese family, Frieda felt that her family was very close-knit. Her parents always knew their children well. They also had some relatives who lived with them so they always had some adults to supervise them. They celebrated Chinese holidays, and her parents invited friends over for Chinese New Year. They had special food together, and the elder people gave children red-envelopes, lucky money for blessing them a prosperous year. She remembered having soups that were very pricy because her parents ordered special ingredients from New York to cook special meals. Her parents instructed their children about Chinese

customs, for example, they needed to clean the house before the Chinese New Year. They always had a lot of fun during the celebration of Chinese New Year.

Frieda was always aware that she was Chinese. She knew that she was neither Black nor White. As a child, she had associated with Black people in the grocery stores, and mingled with White children in the public school. However, she remembered most of her social life was in the church with White children. Even though there was a Chinese church in Greenville, during the summer vacation, they had Vacation Bible School with White children. Chinese people wanted to be accepted by the Whites so they went to the White public school and church. Frieda was aware of certain unspoken rules in Black and White communities. Chinese people were careful not to overstep the bounds. However, they needed to associate with Black people because they were their customers. Frieda did not feel anxious about being Chinese at the time.

Life at Ole Miss

When it was time to choose a university, Frieda knew that she would not go to college outside Mississippi. Her choices of college were between the University of Mississippi and Mississippi State University. She could not imagine herself as a student at Mississippi State University. She felt that Ole Miss was a more conservative and academic environment. She probably only applied to the University of Mississippi and did not remember having problems getting admitted at UM.

Frieda was always interested in books so she started her major in Library Science. She began to take some basic courses at UM in the summer immediately after she finished high school. She enjoyed the summer classes very much. The first day for Frieda at Ole Miss was unforgettable. She remembered putting everything in the car. She had a clock radio and some clothes. She was very excited. At the time, they had three residence halls for female students.

Frieda lived in each of them. Every semester, she moved to different dorm and had different roommates. She felt nothing negative about Ole Miss. She took summer classes so she finished college within three years.

Frieda considered herself an average student. She worked hard to get good grades. Later on when she took her major classes, she made progress in her coursework. She enjoyed the Library Science classes most, and found English composition class most challenging because the topics of the papers were usually difficult. However, she realized the assignments aimed to help students develop their thinking. She also remembered being in a biology class when they had a huge class of hundreds of students in Fulton Chapel. The instructor was Dr. Kitchen who stood on the stage and used a microphone to speak. The instructor never checked on student attendance. Frieda wondered how the instructor knew all the students had attended the class. When they had tests and a final exam, they had to bring their Blue Books and identification to take the tests.

The professor that Frieda remembered most was Dr. Moore, who was the chairman of the Department of Library Science. At the time, the Library Science Department was a small department which was located in the second floor of the library, and it included a career placement library as well as a series of offices. There were probably five or six instructors. Because of its small size, students usually knew their faculty members very well. Dr. Moore had a farm, and she invited her students to her home for supper. Frieda had good time in Dr. Moore's home. After Frieda finished his master's degree, Dr. Moore invited her to join the faculty in the Science Library Department because the Department needed instructors to teach "Introduction to the Library," which was a basic research class like Library Science 101 for freshmen.

James Meredith's admission to Ole Miss was the most unforgettable memory for Frieda at UM. She remembered that the peaceful campus was torn apart by war-like environment. She was in her sophomore or junior year in 1962. Being very innocent and naïve, she totally could not understand what and why this was happening. Frieda did not know why people from other places had to come to protect James Meredith to get admitted. It was very scary that some people were so hostile to a Black student's enrollment to UM. After Meredith was admitted to UM, the National Guardsmen escorted him to class and about campus. Meredith was protected by the National Guardsmen, and Frieda felt that he was isolated from other people. Frieda also remembered the assassination of John Kennedy. She felt very sad about that incident. She remembered vividly that it was November 22, and the day was very gray and very dark that it seemed everyone was very sad. As she grew older, she understood that some people considered that John Kennedy did not well represent the South; however, she did not agree. These were the two major political incidents she remembered as a student at UM.

Frieda remembered that she had two or three roommates living in a tiny room because of the limited space in residence halls. They had bunk beds in their room. Because Frieda was the tiny one, she ended up sleeping on the top. They only had two closets so she had to bring the clothes she needed for the season. There was a sink in each room. They had a "dorm check" when the "dorm mother" inspected their room to make sure they kept their room tidy. There was one telephone on each floor. If the phone rang and it was for you, somebody would yell your name to pick up the phone. Absolutely no boys were allowed in the dormitory. If you had a date, the boy waited in the lobby, and you could come downstairs to meet him. There was a curfew that girls had to come back to the dorm by ten o'clock. If you did not come back by that time, you had to report to the "dorm mother." Ten o'clock was the rush hour because everybody

wanted to enter the dorm at the last minute. Cooking was not permitted in the dorm, but they had hot plates. It was amazing that they could cook meals with hot plates. They cooked everything they liked, but they had to be careful because they did not want the smell to get them caught. At the time, Chinese students cooked in the dorm because all of the Chinese students had access to a grocery. When they went home during the weekend, they brought food back to school.

Frieda never had a car as a student at Ole Miss, but she made a number of friends who owned cars. Frieda occasionally went downtown and shopped at Nielson's Department Store on Oxford's Square. There were two "picture shows" in Oxford. Ole Miss students gave the movie theaters nicknames. They called one movie theater "One Stick" because they had to use a stick to hit the mice in the dark. The other one was called "Two Sticks" because the seats were so devastated that you needed to use another stick to clean out the seats. Other than the "picture shows," Chinese students liked to go bowling and eat out. They sometimes went to Clarksdale because there was a fresh bread bakery. They went to Clarksdale to buy hot bread and go bowling. There were some restaurants that Frieda remembered. She remembered Handy Andy's and an Italian restaurant. They ate in the Student Union a lot. She really loved grilled Parmesan cheese and cherry coke. Pizzas were first introduced to Frieda when she was in college. She did not remember fast food restaurants, like McDonald's or Wendy's. There were always some local places to which they could.

When Frieda attended Ole Miss, the campus probably had its biggest group of American Chinese students. [Frieda considered herself as American Chinese because she was an American born Chinese.] They probably had enough Chinese students to organize a club. However, they did not formally form any association. Frieda and her Chinese friends enjoyed their time together. She visited her friends in the Delta and interacted with other Chinese friends. She had some close

Chinese friends. Some of them she knew before she attended Ole Miss, and some of them she met at Ole Miss. She also made friends with White students. In fact, her maid of honor was Caucasian. Frieda had two or three friends at UM who came to help with her wedding reception. Some of their professors at Ole Miss came to their wedding too. Frieda and her husband felt honored that their professors drove all the way from Oxford to Greenville to attend their wedding. They had a traditional wedding ceremony, followed up with a traditional Chinese banquet. She had a good number of Chinese friends at Ole Miss attending their wedding.

Frieda never felt discriminated against at Ole Miss because she thought that UM was a pretty diverse campus when she was a student. Many students came from different countries, like India, Thailand, and China, so it was not unusual to meet students from other countries. Also, Frieda first met Chinese students from China. She attempted to make friends with Chinese students, but she found that Chinese students and American Chinese students were very different. They could not understand each other very well because they had different concepts of value. Frieda thought that Chinese students were more serious in their studies. In fact, some of her American Chinese friends were placed on academic probation, and their parents received letters from the University. Because of this, they decided that they wanted to be more serious about their studies.

Life after Graduation

After Frieda finished her bachelor's degree, she took a semester off to prepare for her wedding. After her wedding, she worked on her Master's degree in Library Science. While her husband was working on his doctoral degree at Ole Miss, Frieda accepted a position to teach four or five sessions of Library Science 101. There were usually forty to fifty students in one room. She taught freshman students how to use the library's resources. After her husband finished all

the coursework and went into the dissertation stage, they moved to Louisiana State University for her husband's research. In Baton Rouge, their first son was born. After her husband finished his research at LSU, they went back to Oxford. Frieda taught at Ole Miss again, and she was offered a tenure track position. Frieda was probably the first Chinese woman who worked in a tenure position at UM. After they left Ole Miss, Frieda's husband was offered a position at Delta State University as a professor in Accountancy. They usually came back to Oxford for football games. If she could visit again, she wanted to see the dormitories and buildings where they used to live and work. Frieda thought that Ole Miss was a beautiful campus, and she wanted to see the changes there.

Value of Education

Considering the influence of Ole Miss, Frieda thought her life at Ole Miss helped her meet people from different places. She had a roommate from Thailand whose uncle was a diplomat. Her roommate visited Frieda's family in Greenville, and Frieda also visited her roommate's family in Washington, D.C. Frieda remembered all the friendships that she had at Ole Miss. Frieda was at UM for ten years as a student and a faculty member. She had a lot of wonderful experiences and memories of UM.

Most Chinese parents valued education highly and made sure their children received a good education. Frieda believed that the education at UM offered her great opportunities for a better life. If she did not have a higher education degree, she believed she could not have had a career. Frieda thought Ole Miss had very good quality of education. Frieda's two sons also graduated from Ole Miss. Her first son got job offers from three major accounting firms in New York after he finished his degree at UM, and he told her that many of the job applicants were

graduates from Ivy League universities. Frieda was very pleased that his UM education was comparable to many prestigious universities. She always highly valued the education at UM.

Frieda loved Ole Miss very much because she thought it was a welcoming campus. The faculty members were very good and approachable. She was a Rebel fan even though the mascot and song were controversial. She thought that people might look at the new mascot in a different way years later. Regardless of the mascot, Frieda was passionate about being an Ole Miss fan.

If Frieda were to choose again, without hesitation, she definitely would go to Ole Miss again. She hoped that Ole Miss would recognize the contributions of the American Chinese students and acknowledge that they are successful citizens.

Chat Sue

Chat Sue was born in China and came to Clarksdale, Mississippi, in 1949 with his mother when he was seven years old. At the time, Chat's father was already in the U.S., and he probably came to the country in 1915. When Chat came to the U.S., his father had a grocery store in Clarksdale. He and his family lived behind the store because Chinese were not allowed to buy houses in the White community in the 1950s and 1960s. As the oldest child, Chat worked in the grocery store with his parents like most of the Chinese children in the Mississippi Delta.

Chat went to the White public school in Clarksdale. He wanted to be a scientist when he was young; however, when he was in high school, he decided he wanted to be a lawyer or politician, so he chose his major in Political Science at Ole Miss.

Childhood Experience

Chat's father came to the U.S. when he was very young and worked in restaurants in California before he came to the Mississippi Delta. His father was very strict and serious. He worked very hard like most Chinese did, but Chat thought that he was not very happy. He

seemed to want to do something else besides work in a grocery store or restaurant. However, he did not receive much education, so he did not have much choice to do what he wanted to do. At the time when Chat came to Clarksdale, there were not so many Chinese people around the town so Chat ended up more Americanized. Chat can speak a little Chinese in conversation, but cannot talk to people about complicated issues in Chinese. He remembered that he was the first person in his family who could drive when he was in high school. Their family got their first car when Chat got his driver's license, and he tried to teach his father how to drive. However, his father was so nervous that he never learned to drive. Chat's mother learned to drive, and driving gave her the freedom to go anywhere she wanted.

Growing up in Clarksdale, Chat knew that he was different from others. Before he started school, Chat did not know any English. A very nice American lady came to their store to teach Chat how to read, write and speak English. Because of this, Chat felt more comfortable around American people. All of the children at the school were White, so Chat was aware he was different. It was later on when Chat's cousin, whose father had a restaurant and store in another part of town, came to study at his school, that Chat had more Chinese children around him. Chat and his cousin were very close because they were in the same grade.

Chat's parents' grocery store served mostly Black customers. His father did a lot of credit business with Black people because they could not always pay cash. As a grocery store owner, Chat's father had to trust the Black customers. It was obvious that White people were richer and more professional; Black people were poorer and had less education. As a Chinese, Chat realized that he was different from Black and White people, but he felt that he did not belong to either race. Even though their customers were predominately Black, sometimes the White people came to buy beer after work. Chat saw a lot of unusual things in the store as a child.

Life at Ole Miss

Chat remembered his first day on the UM campus vividly because the senior students would cut freshman students' hair. The freshmen were given bald haircuts and made to wear beanie caps. In Chat's hometown, there were only 125 students at high school graduation. When Chat met 7,000 students at UM in the early 1960s, he was scared but also excited about the opportunity to learn and meet people. Chat's first roommate was his cousin because they were related, and sometimes they wanted to go home on the weekend together. The first year, they had an American roommate, but he moved out after the first year. Chat and his cousin roomed together for four years.

Chat was a very good student in middle and high school. After he finished high school, he knew he would stay in Mississippi. He also decided that he did not want to work in the grocery store because he did not like it. Going to college was a way to escape from the grocery business and have a better life for himself. He wanted to study in a big university closer to his hometown. For this reason, he chose to study at UM. In addition, because of the convenience of location, he was able to go home to help his parents during the weekends.

When I asked Chat how he chose his major in Political Science, he said he thought he was influenced by TV programs and movies when he was in middle and high school. He was interested in politics and current events, so he wanted to become a lawyer. Unlike most Chinese children, whose parents preferred them to major in business or pharmacy for job opportunities, Chat chose his major in Political Science in the pre-law program. Besides political science classes, Chat was also interested in history, English, and literature. He was exposed to different things and became interested in various subjects.

Chat's best memory at UM was the classes he took in Social Science and Literature because he was very interested in those classes. Also, Chat had good memories about his involvement in different student organizations. Chat was very active in campus activities, and he belonged to different organizations related to politics and history. One of Chat's friends was working on the student newspaper and got Chat involved in the student government. Chat was elected as a student senator and later became the assistant to the president of the student government. Chat was the only Chinese student to be involved in the student government at Ole Miss in the 1960s. At the time when Chat was at Ole Miss, the students in student government were mainly fraternity and sorority members and they were all Caucasians. Chinese students were not allowed to join the Greek organizations. Even though Chat did not join any fraternity, he made many good friends from the members of Greek organizations and learned a lot from student government.

Chat was a serious student who always went to class and studied hard. He spent a lot of time studying. Coming from Clarksdale, where education was not very advanced, Chat knew he needed to study harder in order to get good grades. Chat got mostly A's in his classes, and he especially enjoyed history classes and international studies. Some professors at UM stood out from Chat's memories, for example, a professor who taught Shakespeare. Chat remembered this professor well because he described the Shakespearean characters so well that he helped Chat gain a better understanding of human nature. Chat also remembered a professor who taught Constitutional Law and legal cases. The professor did an excellent job of describing court cases for students to understand the decision-making processes of supreme courts. These classes helped develop his thinking and helped him grow academically.

Chat thought that he did not have much fun at Ole Miss because he worked very hard to get good grades and went home during the weekends. Chat usually ate in the cafeteria and occasionally ate in town for sandwiches. Chat and his roommate used to bring food from home and hide the food so that the resident assistants would not find it. They did some simple cooking in the room because they did not have many facilities. Most of Chat's close campus friends were Chinese, but Chat remembered he had a Jewish friend who came from New York. His Jewish friend liked to hang around with Chinese people because he felt he was not very accepted by the White students at Ole Miss.

Memory of James Meredith's Enrollment at UM

When James Meredith enrolled at UM, Chat was in his sophomore year and became a witness to the event and riots on campus. Chat remembered that the incident happened on a weekend when Chat and his roommate had just come back to campus from home. At the time, they did not have a television to watch so they listened to the radio and knew that the riot was going to happen. They were very scared and put the dresser drawer against their door in case someone tried to come in. After the night, they heard what happened from the radio. Chat felt very confused after Meredith attended UM. Growing up in Mississippi, Chat was taught that Black people were inferior and did not deserve the education that White people did. During Meredith's enrollment at UM, Meredith lived in the residence hall where other students were not allowed to live, and U.S. Marshalls lived with him. Meredith was escorted by US Marshalls wherever he went. The first time that Chat saw Meredith in person was in the cafeteria. Chat was curious about the food Meredith would have because supposedly Black people did not eat in the same places as White people.

According to Chat, Chinese students were not as discriminated against as the Black students at Ole Miss because Chinese students were a small number, and they did not “make any trouble” with White people. Chinese students became friends with each other because they went to class together. There were certain things that Chinese male students were not supposed to do, for example, not to date White girls and join fraternities. Chinese students did not experience any discrimination when they got admitted to UM, just like many of the Chinese children were admitted to White public schools in the Mississippi Delta. Chat thought the higher education institutions in Mississippi decided that the Chinese were basically good citizens and would not make any trouble. Only some small communities in the Mississippi Delta would not allow Chinese children go to White schools, so the Chinese parents sent their children to church schools. In Chat’s hometown, some White people sponsored the Chinese children to go to White public school.

Life after Graduations

After Chat finished his B.S. degree at Ole Miss, he spent a year in law school, but he and his best friend decided to change their master’s program to Political Science. After Chat finished his Master’s degree in Political Science, he taught Political Science and Government in a college in Georgia for a few years. After teaching in Georgia, Chat realized that he did not want to be a professor. He wanted to help people so he went to Florida State University in 1970 and got a graduate degree in Student Personnel. Chat has had abundant experiences working at university settings. He was a Director of Housing in two universities, including the University of Alabama and the University of Louisville in Kentucky. Chat also had experience working in a Career Center. He retired from the University of Florida.

Chat enjoyed helping students and was interested in teaching U.S. multicultural history and the immigration history of different ethnic groups that make up the United States. Chat believed his experiences growing up in Mississippi influenced him a lot to become more acceptable to other ethnicities of people. Looking back at his years in Mississippi, Chat sometimes got upset in the way that White people treated Black people. As Chat learned more about the history of the civil rights movement of the 1960s and 1970s, he gained a better understanding of the history and got over his feelings of anger at that period.

Chat did not have much chance to go back to visit the campus, but he went back to visit Ole Miss in the summer of 2010. He was pleased and impressed to see the changes and improvements of campus. When he was a student at Ole Miss, the University was very small and did not have money for all the big buildings. Chat believed that the former Chancellor, Robert Khayat, had great leadership and made a lot of improvements at UM. During his visit at Ole Miss, Chat did not only visit the campus, he was also able to see a lot of friends. Chat enjoyed his life at Ole Miss, but if he were to choose again, he probably would look at other choices because he wanted to get broader experiences.

Chat feels very thankful for his parents' sacrifice for their family as they came to the States. He thinks that his life would have been very different if he had grown up in China. He is glad that his father immigrated to the States so that Chat could do a lot of things that he wanted to do. Both he and his wife had higher education degrees, and their children are very successful. He feels very lucky that his children are doing very well.

Gene Wing

Gene was born in Jonestown, a small farm town in the Mississippi Delta, in 1948. Gene came to study at UM in 1966, and graduated in 1970 with a Bachelor's Degree in Accounting.

Childhood Experience

Gene's parents owned a grocery store in Jonestown, so he remembered working a lot in the grocery store and trying to support his parents as a young child after finishing his school day. Even in his college days, he went back to work in his family-owned grocery store every weekend because it was about a one-hour drive home from Ole Miss. During the summer vacation, he worked in the grocery store and got an allowance. When his elder siblings moved out from his family, only his parents were working in the store at the time. As the youngest child in his family, Gene always felt he had an obligation to help the family business. Most of their customers were Black, and the grocery store stayed opened for long hours from 7:30 in the morning to 8:00 in the evening. On Saturday night, they closed at midnight.

Even though Gene spent most of his time working in the store as a child, he had a lot of friends that he played baseball with. He remembered going to his friend's farm to ride a horse and pony for the first time. He always liked to visit his friends and play on the farm. As a child, Gene hoped to get a four-wheeler so his father asked him to pay for the four-wheeler by himself. Gene worked and used the money from his paper route to get the vehicle. Having a four-wheeler gave him the freedom to go to the farm where his friends lived. Working in the grocery store gave him some incentive that he wanted to do something besides the family business. Even though the grocery was pretty profitable, he was not interested in continuing the family business. Gene wanted to go to college to do something that he was interested in. Some of his Chinese friends took over their family businesses, but many of his Chinese friends had the same thought as Gene. They went to pharmacy school, engineering school, or medical school to begin professional vocations.

Forefather's Stories

Gene's grandfather was the first person in the family who came to the States. However, Gene did not understand his grandfather's stories very well because Gene could not speak Cantonese, and his grandfather spoke very little English. They could communicate with each other, but could not sit down to talk. Gene's grandparents lived with them when Gene was very young. His grandfather was the patriarch in the family: everyone respected and obeyed him. On Sunday, all the family members came back to visit him and got together; therefore, everyone knew each other very well. Gene always went out to play with his cousins. His uncles and aunts told stories about their own childhoods and Gene's grandfather's stories in China. Because Gene was very young, he did not pay too much attention to the stories or history of his family. As Gene got older, he learned more of his family history from his uncle who told Gene about his journey from China to Mississippi. Gene's mother also told him about her stories in China before she came to America to get married. Gene's understanding about his family was mainly from word of mouth. He felt regretful that he did not know his ancestors very well.

Growing up in a Chinese family, Gene had very pleasant experiences because they were a very close-knit family. When Gene defined his family, he included extended families, like his uncles, aunties and their children. They were all in a big family. As time went on, many of his family members moved to other places for their careers, but some of his cousins still lived close to Gene's hometown. They got together for several occasions a year.

Remembering his father, Gene said that he and his father had very good relationship. They were always very close. Being the youngest child in the family, Gene felt that he had got his own way to get what he wanted. Gene's father always let him try different things, but his mother was the disciplinarian in their family. If Gene did something wrong, his father would

simply tell him not to do it again. However, his mother would punish him if he did not behave. Gene believed that his mother wanted to build his character.

Gene has one older brother and two older sisters. He is very close to his siblings. He and his oldest sister now live in the same town, and they look after their mother who is now living in a condominium by herself. Gene and his brother are four years apart. When they were children, they each had their own friends. Gene did not have much chance to know his sisters as a child because they were so much older than him. However, when they grew older, they got along well. Gene and his siblings have very distinct personalities. Gene thought that he and his second older sister were most alike. They were more carefree and sometimes acted “crazy.” His other sister, being the oldest, was more reserved and serious. Gene’s brother moved to western Arkansas a couple years ago, so they do not meet each other as often as they used to do. Still, they talk to each other on telephone. They keep in touch and got together on different occasions, like Thanksgiving, Christmas, and birthdays. They always try to get together for holidays.

Gene feels more American than Chinese because there were not many Chinese children in his hometown when he was at grade school. All of his friends were Caucasian so he had more American friends than Chinese friends as a child. When Gene was in high school, Chinese people in the Mississippi Delta started to organize parties for Chinese children. For this reason, Gene’s relationships with Chinese friends started to develop. Even though Gene considered himself an American, he knew that there was some discrimination against Chinese people. The discrimination was not the same as between Black and White people. He knew that there were differences between being Chinese and White. Chinese people were neither Black nor White; they were somewhere in between. The parties for Chinese children not only helped him to

develop his relationships with other Chinese children but also developed his awareness of being Chinese.

The way Gene sensed the differences among Black, White, and Chinese people was not racial difference in Mississippi; instead of that, Gene considered the distinction was more a financial matter than a racial one. The rich people were usually White farmers, and the poor were usually the Black people who worked for White farmers. The Chinese, merchants in the middle, supplied food for both Black and White customers and had inseparable relationships with both races. In the past, Gene used to consider the relationship between Black and White simply a social/financial structure in the Mississippi Delta; however, as he grew older, he felt that Black people were treated unfairly. He thought that White people created that problem, and Chinese people were in between, accepted by both Black and White people. When Gene went to the public school in his hometown, Chinese students were allowed to go to the White public school, but Black children had to go to the Black public school. Gene had dates with some Caucasian girls in high school, but he never considered them girlfriends.

Life at Ole Miss

Growing up in the Mississippi Delta, Gene always wanted to go to Ole Miss because his older sister and her husband had gone to Ole Miss. He visited them many times and sometime stayed with them during the summer. Gene's second older sister also went to Ole Miss. For this reason, going to Ole Miss had become a family tradition. When Gene was in high school, he took book-keeping class and became interested in numbers. He thought that accounting might be a good fit for him. When he enrolled at Ole Miss, he was a major in accounting. When he started to take accounting courses at Ole Miss, he felt that accounting was right for him.

The first day at Ole Miss as a student was pretty scary for him because he did not know who he was going to room with. When Gene arrived at Ole Miss, it was the first time that he met his roommate. Gene was pretty timid and shy; however, his parents surprised him by driving him to dinner after he had settled in. His parents helped him go through the rest of the day. After Gene and his parents came back from dinner, Gene was called to gather in the Student Union. At the time, there was a “ritual” for all incoming male freshmen where they were gathered in the Student Union and senior students shaved the freshman students’ hair so that the male freshmen were set apart from the senior students. Gene’s hair was cut off and he had to wear a beanie hat. The first day at Ole Miss was unforgettable and frightening for him.

Gene’s first roommate was from the North, and they got along pretty well. They talked a lot about the cultural differences between the South and North. However, his roommate moved away after one semester because he was homesick. After Gene’s first roommate moved out, Gene had a Chinese roommate from Cleveland, Mississippi. In the second semester at Ole Miss, Gene got to know more Chinese friends from the Mississippi Delta.

Gene’s best memory at Ole Miss was in his sophomore year when he started dating his girlfriend, who became his wife. She was a freshman at the time. Gene lived off campus in his sophomore year and had two roommates. One of his roommates was Caucasian, and he owned a trailer. The other roommate was Chinese, and his family also had a grocery store in the Mississippi Delta. Instead of paying the rent, Gene and his Chinese roommate brought groceries from home during weekends and cooked in the trailer for their Caucasian roommate. Gene also had some other Chinese friends who would come over and eat together. They had memorable experiences when getting together with Chinese friends. They were very close and had fun together. In his senior year, he lived in the dormitory because his friend who owned the trailer

graduated. Gene just remembers that the dormitory was located on a hill, but he cannot remember the name of the dormitory where he used to live. Gene's most unforgettable experience was when he got engaged to his wife in his senior year. They got married when his wife finished her Bachelor's degree at Ole Miss.

Gene thought that he was an average student who needed to study very hard to get good grades. In his freshman year, he was a good student because he wanted to get good grades. In his second year, Gene had more Chinese friends and hung out with them more often so he did not study as hard as he had. However, after the end of sophomore year, Gene found that he needed to get better grades for his professional courses, and he started to work hard again. Even though he was not a 4.0 student, his GPA was around 3.1 or 3.2. Gene said that some of the Chinese students were very good students, and they got very good grades without working very hard. His favorite courses were accounting classes. He felt he had more understanding about the professional subjects. When Gene took more advanced accounting classes, he felt he could apply the knowledge he learned in the basic accounting classes.

There were two professors that stood out in Gene's memories, and they were legendary professors; one was Eugene Parrish, and the other was Jimmy Davis. They were the most influential teachers in the School of Accountancy. Professor Parrish, teaching basic accounting classes, would write the formulas on the blackboard with his right hand and in his left hand he had an eraser to erase the formulas. Students could not copy and keep notes at the same time so students had to have their homework done before the class. Dr. Davis had the same teaching style as Professor Parrish. At the end of the class, the professors would not ask students to turn in their homework. However, they would randomly ask students certain questions to make sure students finished their homework. As a student, Gene felt that he spent a lot of time working on his

homework, but the professor did not even ask them to turn in. Even though students felt they wasted time doing all the assignments, they dared not come to class with unfinished homework because they knew if they were unable to answer the questions, they would be in trouble. When Gene came back to Ole Miss to watch football games, he saw Dr. Davis, and he still remembered Gene.

When James Meredith enrolled at Ole Miss, Gene was still very young, and he did not think too much about the incident. Gene thought Meredith, being the first Black student enrolled at UM, also helped other ethnic students, like Chinese students, to be better respected. Gene felt that there were more restrictions for Chinese students at UM than in his hometown. Chinese students did not join fraternities or sororities at UM. Joining the Greek organizations was considered access to become successful. Being unable to join the Greek organization was a restriction for Chinese students to reach certain achievements. However, Gene did not have interest in joining a fraternity. He thought that a fraternity had more of a social function than an academic function. Gene also had some Caucasian friends in fraternities, and he had some interactions and communication with these friends at the dormitory. They would discuss homework and help each other with their studies.

Gene had a lot of fun with his Chinese friends at Ole Miss. At the time when they were living in the dormitory, they loved to cook, but they were not allowed to do so. They cooked and opened the windows to let the smoke out because they did not want to get caught. Some of the Chinese boys could cook very well. They used hot plates to cook Chinese food with the groceries they brought from home on the weekends. The resident manager would come to check and asked them not to do it again. However, the manager would forget to check on them, so the boys started to cook. The Chinese students sometimes brought food to the manager, and he liked the food too.

The resident manager could understand that students sometimes needed to cook for themselves. Besides cooking, they also liked to play poker in the dormitory. In Oxford, they sometimes went bowling and ate at the Beacon Restaurant. There were not many restaurants, so they liked to cook for themselves. Gene got along very well with his Chinese friends at Ole Miss.

Life after Graduation

After Gene finished college, he was drafted into the military during the Vietnam War. At the time, the government gave American men a lottery number. If you had a low lottery number, you had to serve in the military. He served in the Army for nineteen months. He moved to California and then to the East Coast. After graduating from Ole Miss, Gene moved far away from his hometown and was not involved at Ole Miss activities. Gene has one son who also graduated from Ole Miss, so Gene felt a close tie to the Ole Miss family.

Gene felt that Ole Miss was a good experience for him, and he got a good education at UM. Now living in Jonesboro, Arkansas, Gene has a lot of friends who graduated from Ole Miss. In fact, one of his Ole Miss friends gave Gene a heart surgery, and he has become one of Gene's close friends from Ole Miss. The successful operation gave Gene a new life. Gene said that he is pretty a die-hard Rebel. When Gene enrolled at Ole Miss, he was not involved with the university activities very much because he had to go home to work in the grocery store during weekends and summers. Now Gene has moved back closer to Ole Miss and gotten to know more Ole Miss alumni, so he has a lot of communication and interaction with them, and they do a lot of things together. For example, during home football weekends, everybody is very involved and cheers for Ole Miss. Gene's wife is also a very active member of the Ole Miss Alumni Association.

If Gene could revisit the campus, he wanted to see the old historical buildings and landmarks from when he was a student. Gene had got a good education at Ole Miss, which was rewarding to his career and helped him improve his management skills. Studying accounting provided him with a lot of opportunities to do different things. Looking back at his career, Gene served the government for thirty-three years. After he retired at the age of fifty, he worked for a hospital in Jonesboro to help their medical system. These two different employments offered Gene different experiences. Gene thought that without the education at Ole Miss, he probably would not have had the opportunities of his profession. If he were to choose again, he would choose Ole Miss. Ole Miss had a great influence on his career and kept him out of the grocery business. Gene hoped to be remembered as a genuine student who always tried his best to try everything.

Esther Quon

Esther Quon attended Ole Miss in the spring of 1971 and graduated in 1975 with a B.S. degree in Business Administration and Marketing.

Childhood Experience

Esther was born in Clarksdale, Mississippi, in August 1953. Clarksdale was a pretty diverse town when she was a small child. She had a wonderful childhood experience and remembered working a lot in her family-run grocery store. Her grandparents worked until they retired. Besides working in the grocery store, school was a major part of her childhood experience because her parents always emphasized education.

When asked what she wanted to do when she grew up, Esther remembered the impression of the department store having an impact on her dream job. The first time when she went to a department store in Tennessee at age five, she was very excited and thought it was a great place.

She saw a lot of merchandize that she did not have in their small grocery store. She knew when she was very young that she wanted to do something associated with department stores in the future. After graduation from Ole Miss, she did work for a department store that was similar to the first department to which she went.

Esther came to understand her forefather's story mostly from her grandmother, her father's mother. Esther's grandfather came to the United States in the 1930s. Esther's great-grandparents told her grandfather that they did not have the money to send him to the college since he was the second oldest son in the family. They could only afford for the eldest son to go to college. However, Esther's great-grandparents were able to pay for Esther's grandfather's passage to the United States. They expected that their second son could do whatever he wanted in the States. Esther's grandfather's passage from China to the United States began the family journey in the Mississippi Delta.

Growing up in a Chinese family, Esther felt they were very family-oriented, working in the grocery store most of the time. All of the children were expected to do well at school. Because there were a plenty of Chinese families in Clarksdale at the time, her family associated with other Chinese families in town. Esther perceived herself as a Chinese American because of the influence she received in public school and higher education. Esther thinks she is more American than Chinese.

Esther told a story about her grandfather's experience on the public bus when he first came to Mississippi. Seeing Black people sitting in the back and White people sitting in the front, his grandfather had no idea where to sit. Even though Esther did not know where her grandfather sat exactly, she knew he managed to find a place to sit in the bus, not in the front, but not in the back either. As a Chinese American, Esther considered herself not Black or a White. Chinese people in

Mississippi were pretty much by themselves. Esther thought that Chinese were somewhat but not fully accepted by both sides. It was unique situation and a little bit difficult at the time.

Life at Ole Miss

Esther had heard about Ole Miss all her life when she grew up in Mississippi. Choosing to study at Ole Miss was simply a practical matter because of the convenience of the location. Before going to Ole Miss, Esther's father told her that he was not going to buy her a car. She needed to choose a college that was close to her hometown. Luckily, Esther had a lot of friends at Ole Miss, and some of them owned cars, so she was able to go to the campus with her friends. When Esther first came to Ole Miss, she wanted to major in Journalism because she loved writing. However, remembering back to how much she loved department stores, she wanted to do something in business. She loved department stores simply because she loves the idea of the stores, not because she loved shopping. In addition to the idea, Esther thought her family background in retail influenced her decision to choose a major. Because of her affection for department stores and her family background, she started her major in Business.

Esther remembered she was very excited on her first day at Ole Miss as a freshman. Esther went to college with some very close friends. She was very happy and excited because being a college student was the first time that she could be on her own. She did not feel homesick because she was pretty close to home. She went home almost every weekend to help with the family business.

Esther had a lot of good memories at Ole Miss. The best memory was meeting her husband. Other than that, Esther had a good time hanging out with her friends. She had a lot of fun trips with her friends. For example, if they wanted to watch a new movie, they went to Memphis. Overall, she had good memories about Ole Miss.

Esther was a good student at Ole Miss. She enjoyed most of the business classes she took. However, there were some classes that Esther really enjoyed, for example, Business Speech, Philosophy and Psychology. Esther felt that she learned a lot in these classes because she did not have much knowledge about these subjects before taking them, and they also helped her personal and academic growth.

The first three years, she lived in a campus dormitory, and the last year she lived off campus. The residence hall in which she lived is now called Crosby Hall, but at the time it was called New Dorm. Esther and her roommate lived on the second floor. Esther remembered that back in the 1970s the male college students liked to go streaking across the campus. There was a streaking night when Esther and her roommate were looking at these guys running across the campus, and she cannot forget the scene. It was forbidden to do so at the time, but probably there were too many guys doing this on campus for the police to catch them.

At the time when Esther enrolled at Ole Miss, Oxford was a very small town. For this reason, if students wanted to watch movies or eat something different, they usually needed to go to Memphis or Tupelo. Esther usually ate in the school cafeteria. At the time, there were some local restaurants in Oxford. Esther remembered they sometimes went to eat at the Beacon. They also went to a restaurant that is now located in the Holiday Inn. They could choose a meat and three side dishes. Esther remembered it was a pretty good deal for college students.

Like other Chinese American students, Esther and her roommates cooked in the residence hall. They had a central kitchen in the residence hall, but they usually brought food from home and cooked with hot plates. They had simple food, like salad or heating up food from the refrigerator. Esther's close campus friends were her girlfriends from Clarksdale. In fact, these

girlfriends were also Esther's close friends that she grew up with. Esther met her husband in her sophomore year, and it is her happiest memory at UM.

Esther remembered some of the professors at UM. Dr. Davis stood out in her memory. She thought that Dr. Davis was a very good instructor, but he was also very loud. He was able to wake up students in the early morning because of his loud voice. Reflecting on James Meredith's attendance at Ole Miss, Esther thought it was a significant event. When Meredith attended UM in 1962, Esther was a child, so she was not aware of this incident. When Esther went to Ole Miss in 1971 after Ole Miss was integrated, Chinese students were not allowed to join Greek organizations. This circumstance was not unusual in the southern universities, and Esther was already aware of this situation before she attended Ole Miss. Even though most of Esther's close friends were Chinese, she also had some White and Black friends. Esther felt Ole Miss at the time she enrolled was a pretty diverse campus even though the majority of students were White.

Esther did not feel any discrimination at UM. If there was any discrimination, Esther felt it was more socioeconomic discrimination. Students in the Greek organizations were usually economically advantaged. For this reason, there was more socioeconomic and racial discrimination between rich and poor students. Esther felt that Ole Miss was a great university and became more diverse. Esther hoped that people would not merely remember the negative perspectives of the Ole Miss history because of the historic integration of James Meredith.

Esther was not a big sports fan, and she did not attend Ole Miss football games, but she watched some baseball games and followed some tennis games because she played tennis. Esther described herself as an ambivalent rebel although she said that it was strange to have a black bear mascot because she was used to having Colonel Reb. Esther did not understand the reason why Colonel Reb was taken away.

Life after Graduation

After Esther finished college at Ole Miss, she went to Jackson, Mississippi, to work in a department store. Esther was working in the cosmetic department until a major transfer department opened a position. Esther became a buyer at the department store for seven years. After working in Jackson, Esther moved to Houston to work for several years. Later on when Esther and her husband decided to marry, they moved back to Mississippi.

Esther feels that Ole Miss is a beautiful campus. The landscape was very different when Esther studied at UM from today. There are more buildings on campus right now. Esther highly valued her education at Ole Miss. Esther's grandparents had very little education, and her parents did not have chance to receive higher education. Esther and her siblings were the first generation of college students in her family. Higher education had great influence on Esther and her siblings' careers. If they did not have college degrees, they could never have their careers. Esther felt her education of Ole Miss had a positive impact on her life in that she had more choice in her life. Esther thought that the more education she received, the more she could realize that there were many answers and solutions to approach the problems she had. If she were to choose again, and she had a different situation, she might choose another college. However, Esther had wonderful experience and had no regrets over studying at UM.

Esther hoped that she would be remembered as a good student who never got into any trouble. Esther would like people to know that Chinese American students in her generation who came to Ole Miss in the 1970s benefited from a good education. All of them had successful careers and families, and certainly they would not have achieved these accomplishments without their education at Ole Miss.

Jeff Wong

Jeff was born in Drew, Mississippi in 1954. Jeff studied at UM from 1971 to 1975. His major was Business Administration.

Childhood Experience

Jeff grew up in Drew, Mississippi. The population in Drew was around 3,000 people at the time. There were about four or five Chinese families in the town, and these Chinese families ran grocery stores or restaurants. Life's pace was slow in Drew because it was an agricultural town. Almost everybody knew each other. Jeff's family owned a grocery store. Jeff went to the White public school in Drew even though public schools in Mississippi were segregated at the time. In 1969, Jeff called it a "soft integration" when some Black children came to study in the White public school. However, it was not until 1970 that the public school system in Drew was full-blown integrated.

As a child, Jeff liked to play baseball and football games with his friends in the backyard after school. There was a movie theater across from their store, so they sometimes went to watch movies. He also helped his family in the grocery store, for example, dusting and sweeping the floor and stocking groceries. When Jeff grew older, he was assigned other duties, like cutting meat. Children in the grocery store learned to work at a very young age. Working in the grocery store was a big part of his childhood.

Growing up in American society, Jeff's family tried to keep Chinese traditions and customs, especially Chinese food and festivals. During the Chinese New Year, they would have a lot of Chinese food, and the elderly people would give children Red Envelopes to bring good luck. Jeff felt that it was interesting to get exposure to Chinese culture in America. What Jeff understood most of Chinese culture was from the food he ate. Until today, Chinese food is Jeff's

favorite food. He remembered a dish that was made of glutinous rice, pork and baby shrimp. Even though he did not know exactly the name of the food in Chinese, he would order the dish whenever he ate in a Chinese restaurant.

Forefather's Story

For many years, Jeff thought he was the first generation Chinese American who was born in the United States. It was not until four years ago that Jeff found out that he was actually the third generation. Even though Jeff's father was born in China, Jeff's grandfather was actually born in the United States. Jeff did not know exactly when his forefather first came to the United States. However, he knew that like many Chinese families in the Mississippi Delta, his family started a grocery store business because it did not require much education and knowledge of English skills in a foreign country. Both of Jeff's parents were born in China and did not have much formal education. Jeff remembered his parents worked very hard to help their family. Imagining his parents' situation working in a foreign country without speaking the language, life was very difficult. He believed that his parents did make a very bold move to Mississippi, uncertain about the future, but they strived to survive. Jeff appreciated his parents' sacrifice for their children to go to college. Even though Jeff's parents did not receive much formal education, all of their children went to college and have successful careers.

Jeff felt he was no different from other Americans in the United States because he considered himself an American. He never felt he was separated from his American friends. According to his observations of the ethnic-relationship in the 1960s, it was a pretty difficult time because of the racial issues. Jeff's family-owned grocery store mostly catered to Black customers, and there were very few White customers. When it was segregated in Drew, the town separated the Black and White communities by the railroad tracks. The separation therefore

provided the Chinese people in Mississippi a place for business, serving Black people. In fact, Jeff's family-run grocery store was located in the Black community, and the Black public school was close to their store. However, Jeff was able to attend the White public school, which was farther from their store.

Life at Ole Miss

Growing up in the Mississippi Delta, Jeff knew about the local universities in Mississippi. Jeff's older brother went to Mississippi State University, but his older sister was already studying at Ole Miss when Jeff was in high school. Originally Jeff was supposed to finish high school in 1972, but he skipped his senior year and went to study at Ole Miss with another elder brother in 1971.

Because of his background in the grocery store, Jeff chose business as his major. He thought that science was not his strong suit, and he felt that business came naturally for him since he was more familiar with it. Coming from a small town, Jeff's first day at campus was pretty scary. Because his first class was in the early morning at eight o'clock, Jeff wanted to make sure that he would not be late. Jeff remembered that his first class at Ole Miss was a huge biology class in Fulton Chapel, and he saw hundreds of students in the auditorium. He never forgot the scene because the class was totally different from the ones in the high school he had attended.

Jeff played intramural sports at Ole Miss, for example, baseball and flag football. He enjoyed being a student at Ole Miss. Jeff also had a lot of Chinese friends coming to Ole Miss, and they would do a lot of things together. At the time when Jeff enrolled at Ole Miss, there was a big group of Chinese students. As Jeff and his cousin counted the Chinese students attending Ole Miss from the freshmen to senior years in the 1970s, they found there were about fifty to fifty-five Chinese American students from the Mississippi Delta.

Jeff considered himself an average student, but he was also a straight-A student. Jeff said that he studied when he needed to. At the School of Business, Jeff enjoyed economic class most and also took a lot of courses in accounting. Jeff did not join a social fraternity at Ole Miss, but he was a member of the business fraternity.

Jeff lived in the dormitory as a student at Ole Miss. He had a lot of fun because Jeff and his roommate did not do a lot of crazy things in the dorm room. Jeff brought food from home and cooked in the dorm to save money even though cooking was not allowed. Jeff was glad that his hair was not cut like many early male students at Ole Miss. The ritual was discontinued when Jeff was a freshman at Ole Miss.

Jeff would sometimes go to Memphis to have fun because it was not far. There were not many things that they could do in Oxford. For entertainment, they usually ate out and watched movies in town. In Jeff's first year at Ole Miss, he had a car, but it was shared with his two sisters and a brother. Jeff's two sisters graduated in his freshman year, so the other three years only Jeff and his brother shared the car. Jeff and his brother usually went out together.

Jeff has some close campus friends who he played intramural sports with. Jeff still keeps in touch with some of his campus friends, but most of his campus friends are now spread out in the United States. Jeff remembered some of the accounting professors because they made the courses more fun to learn. Jeff believed that these professors' teaching methods helped students learn well.

Graduation was the most unforgettable event for Jeff. He was glad that he met his future wife at Ole Miss. They later found out that his wife's grandfather and Jeff's father were good friends. They knew each other when they were in China. Many of the Chinese in Mississippi were connected to each other because most of them were from the same village in China.

Ole Miss Integration

Jeff did not remember what happened when James Meredith was admitted to Ole Miss because he was a second grader in elementary school. As he grew older, he recognized that it was a big headline in the country's history. Jeff knew that Meredith's purpose was to integrate Ole Miss. The event was significant in the era of segregation. Jeff believed that later on when people reviewed the event, they would recognize that it was a part of American history.

Jeff did not feel discriminated at Ole Miss. However, there was an experience when he wondered whether he was treated differently. One evening when it was close to ten o'clock, Jeff and his Chinese friend went to a restaurant, and the owner told them that the restaurant was closed and refused to let them in. Jeff and his friend were not sure whether they were refused because it was close to closing time or because they were Chinese. The experience was the only time that he felt treated differently. However, this incident did not bother him because he did not think too much about it.

Jeff loved and had a great time at Ole Miss. Going to Ole Miss was the first time that Jeff left his family, found new friends, learned and grew in a different place. Jeff felt strongly attached to Ole Miss. He enjoyed the sports events at Ole Miss. When Jeff's daughter was choosing a university, Jeff hoped his daughter would go to Ole Miss too.

Life after Graduation

Jeff got a job offer and went to work two weeks after graduation. In the spring break during Jeff's senior year, he got a job interview. When it was close to graduation, he got a phone call informing him about the position. Jeff worked as an accounting clerk in an office. His basic duty was book-keeping and overseeing budgets and finance. When his family opened a restaurant in Jackson, he worked for his family for fifteen years. Now he is working in food

distribution, selling food to restaurants and schools. Jeff has been in the food business for a long time.

Jeff went back to Ole Miss for sports events and his relatives' and friends' graduations. His wife's uncle lives in Oxford, so when they visited their uncle, they would stop by to visit the campus. When Jeff went back to visit the UM campus, he liked to go to the Grove and see all the changes that have been made over the years.

Jeff felt that the education he received at UM was very helpful for him to make connections with other people. The education he gained was not only theory, but helped him to gain different experiences and deal with the problems he faced. The influence of education at UM was very important in various aspects of Jeff's life. He learned to plan his life and grew socially and professionally. Jeff has no question that he would choose Ole Miss if he were to choose again. Jeff certainly respected his children's decisions for choosing a college, but he hoped that his children would study at UM. Jeff has three children, and his oldest child studied at UM.

Jeff hopes that he is remembered as a good representative of the school and a successful business person. He feels proud of being an alumnus and has good memories at UM.

Gwendolyn Gong

Gwendolyn (Gwen) Gong was born on August 29, 1954, in Boyle, Mississippi. She enrolled at the University of Mississippi in 1972, and graduated in December 1975, with two distinguished majors, English and Communicative Disorders.

Family History

The 1927 Mississippi River Flood destroyed homes of many residents, yet a story of young love began as the flood brought two families together. The story happened in Marigold,

Mississippi. Gwen's grandfather Sit, a former missionary, decided to take his family back to China without the intention to return to America, so he took his family to the Mississippi Delta for a "grand tour" to visit and see their family and friends for one last time. However, they were trapped by the flood. A customer of Grandfather Gong came to his store and told Grandfather Gong that a family needed a place to stay. Without hesitation, Grandfather Gong said that if it was a Chinese family, then they needed to stay with them. The Sits stayed with the Gongs during the flood, and that was how the two families got acquainted. After the water receded, the two grandmothers looked at the young people, Gwen's parents, and thought they looked good together. Grandmother Gong therefore gave Gwen's mother a toy-ring and arranged for the young couple's marriage. Both Gwen's parents were twelve years old at the time. After they said goodbye to each, the young couple did keep their promise and write to each other. The young love of Gong and Sit continued to develop, and they finally married in Cleveland, Mississippi. Gwen's mother wore the first western white wedding gown in their wedding and a beautiful Chinese dress for the reception. They had a wonderful marriage and had eight children. Gwendolyn is the youngest child among the eight children.

Childhood Experience

Growing up in Mississippi, Gwen remembers she lived in her own small world as a child. She worked in the grocery store and played by herself in the backyard because her elder siblings were grown up and moved to other places for work. In her young age, traveling to Memphis was considered a major trip for the Gong family because the family did not travel much across the state-line. However, Gwen had best friends in her childhood. Her best friend was Majorie Riley. Because of Majorie Riley, Gwen was able to try a lot of different things. Gwen learned to ride a bike that she had been afraid of because one of her elder brothers was killed in an accident.

Margery insisted Gwen learn to ride a bike, so she showed Gwen how to ride. Gwen learned to ride a bike in between the cotton fields so she got a lot of scars from falling. From her best friends in her childhood, she learned a lot of leadership skills that were very beneficial when she went to college.

Gwen has a lot of wonderful memories about her parents. Both of her parents were born in the year of the Dragon. According to Gwen, they were competitive and fierce people because they were very dedicated and strong individuals in their own way. Gwen remembers her father told her about his childhood story when he and his brother could not go to the public school in Mississippi. They were sent to Chicago to stay with their relatives so that they could go to the public school there. Gwen's father and his brother had to go through different ethnic neighborhoods on their way to school every day. They needed to fight all the way to school and fight back to home again. It was common at that time when different ethnic groups of people were ganging up. Their relatives in Chicago thought it was too hard for the young boys to go through these experiences, so they sent them back to Mississippi. After they came back to Mississippi, Gwen's father and his siblings felt fortunate to have White teachers teach them at home. The public school teachers knew the Gong family, and they came to their house to teach the boys after a full day's work. They gave the Gong children formal instruction so that they were able to receive a basic education.

Gwen always remembers her father's influence on her when he told her that he trusted her. When Gwen first enrolled at Ole Miss, she chose Communicative Disorders to satisfy her mother's wish because her mother always wanted her to be a doctor. She chose a major that related to science, and she was doing very well in her first major. She liked her classes in Communicative Disorders because she thought it was a purposeful major. On the other hand, Gwen liked reading and writing, so she took English as her second major. During her last semester, Gwen was doing some clinic work and taking English classes. One day in her English class, her professor, Dr.

Murphy, noticed that Gwen was different and talked with her after class. Gwen told Dr. Murphy that she was unhappy because she had some very difficult cases in her clinic work. Dr. Murphy suggested Gwen step back and think about what she really enjoyed doing. After the talk with Dr. Murphy, she went back home to discuss with her father and told him that she probably could not be a medical professional and should change her degree program to a master's in English instead of Communicative Disorders, even though she did get a fellowship in the Communicative Disorders program. Gwen remembered her father told her something that she would never forget, "we trust you if you feel this strongly. We trust you." The words of Gwen's father saying "we trust you" were the strong motivation that kept Gwen working hard because she would never want to disappoint her parents. She treasured her parents' words and dedication to her passion in her choice.

Life at Ole Miss

Studying at Ole Miss was a family tradition to the Gong family. Gwen had many brothers and sisters who attended Ole Miss before her. When asked why she chose Ole Miss, Gwen said that her choice was between Ole Miss and Delta State University. It was terrible to admit that she did not want to study at Delta State University simply because she did not want to stay home and commute. She wanted to go to a different environment. For this reason, she decided to go to Ole Miss.

Her first day at Ole Miss, she was pretty excited. She had been looking forward to Ole Miss even though she knew she would face some challenges. Gwen remembers her brother Steven, who was probably a junior at the time, drove his car and moved Gwen and himself to the school. Gwen stayed in Brown Dormitory, which was a new dorm at the time. Her roommate was Josie Moy,

Steven's future wife, so Gwen had some friends before going to Ole Miss. Ole Miss was a very welcoming place for Gwen.

Gwen described herself as a student of two contrasts. She could be very bookish as she was a loner in a way that made her into an academic. She loved to read and write. On the other hand, she was very sociable. She felt very lucky to have wonderful friends at Ole Miss. They went to concerts together. Gwen also had a group of Chinese friends in the Chinese Student Organization because her brother and his girlfriend were organizers at the time. Most of the Chinese students at Ole Miss were from the Mississippi Delta. The students organized various ball games and meals together. Even though the Chinese Student Organization might not be officially recognized by Ole Miss, they were a pretty formally supportive and organized group for Chinese students to socially interact with each other. Like other Chinese students, Gwen cooked in the dormitory even though it was illegal. She sometimes ate in the cafeteria with her friends because they were scholarship students who had free meals to share with Gwen.

Gwen joined a lot of student activities at Ole Miss. She was in student senate and served as an officer in her department, so she had a lot of opportunities to interact with students and professors. She liked to spend her time purposefully. She was also a student ambassador, so Ole Miss sent her to different towns to help recruit students. These experiences helped her improve her leadership skills. Besides Chinese friends, she had a lot of friends in her department. Gwen had a friend in the English Department, and they spent a lot of time studying because they shared the same interests. Gwen did not date at Ole Miss at all. She considered herself a little intimidating to other people on campus. Growing up in a big family, Gwen felt herself pretty group-oriented, and she enjoyed social life more than dating.

Gwen had a lot of favorite classes. She enjoyed her classes both in the English Department and Communicative Disorders Departments. Gwen remembers Dr. Gloria Kellum because she was a very passionate professor. Gwen nominated Dr. Kellum for the Teacher of the Year Award, and she won. Gwen felt it was amazing because she was from a small village and her voice was heard. This experience was very important for her. Perhaps her favorite and best professor in the English Department was Dr. Murphy because she saved Gwen's life. Gwen remembered that she made a perfect score in Dr. Murphy's class, and Dr. Murphy shook her hand after handing Gwen her paper. That was a significant moment when Gwen felt she liked English more than Communicative Disorders.

Gwen had great memories at Ole Miss and Oxford. Her favorite place in Oxford was Rowan Oak. She remembered that as a graduate student in the English Department, she gave tours of Rowan Oak at the Faulkner conference in the summer. It was such a beautiful and peaceful place, and she enjoyed sitting out there and seeing the beautiful trees. She was able to imagine how William Faulkner wrote in his imaginary world. Her second favorite place was Faulkner's grave. Gwen remembers after she defended her master's thesis, she had nobody to celebrate with, so she drove herself to Faulkner's grave. It may sound pretty silly to do so, but these were sweet memories for Gwen at Ole Miss.

There was an occasion that Gwen felt she was not treated well. In a class, Gwen's professor gave students an example by saying that "if you say 'ouch' to a Chinaman, he would not know what you meant." Using the term "Chinaman" was usually the Chinese people making fun of themselves. For example, Gwen remembered she had an older uncle who would use china-man to laugh at himself. However, it was not appropriate for well-educated people to use the word; especially when the professor was giving an example in class and was not aware that there was a

Chinese student in the class. After that class, Gwen's classmates asked her why not just walk away because it was an insult. Gwen did feel a sting hearing her professor say Chinaman while she was the only Chinese student in the class. She thought her professor probably was not aware of what she was saying. However, Gwen made a determination that she wanted to make as perfect a score as possible in the class, and she did. Later on when she was working in the clinic, the professor was her supervisor, and they kept very good relations though they never talked about the incident afterward.

Life after Graduation

After Gwen finished her master's degree at Ole Miss, she immediately went to Purdue University to continue her studies in the Ph.D. program in English. Gwen felt that her education at Ole Miss in both the B.A. and M.A. programs had well prepared her to be a Ph.D. student at Purdue University. She remembered in the very first class at Purdue University, Gwen's professor asked a question that was pretty simple for her, but her classmates who were from many prestigious universities were unable to answer the question. Gwen answered the question assertively and recognized that she was able to compete with other Ph.D. students from prestigious universities.

During her studies at Purdue University, all of her professors were very responsible in the way that they wanted to make sure the Ph.D. candidates would get job placements after they graduated. The professors urged students to get all A's in their course work in order to get their papers published in journals. Gwen remembered that she wrote an article about Phyllis Wheatley and was very satisfied with the paper; however, she got a B plus on it. She was disappointed, but at the time, she started to reflect whether or not she should continue her studies in English. Also, she thought about how much she loved Linguistics because she had the clinical science background in

Communicative Disorders. She reassessed everything and evaluated her job opportunities in a pragmatic way. Gwen therefore decided to move to Linguistics and focus on Rhetoric because Purdue University has the number one program in Rhetoric in the U.S. Gwen did her first presentation in the spring of her first year as a Ph.D. student. Indeed, her achievement of doing the presentation was considered very early for a Ph.D. student. Even though it was hard to let go of her love in literature, Gwen made a very easy transition to Linguistics.

The influence of education at Ole Miss was in many aspects in Gwen's life. Academically, the UM education gave her the love of southern writers and the appreciation of literature as well as enabled her to work in different academic areas. Also, her UM education helped her with her social and leadership skills because she had various organizational and networking experiences with different groups of people. Looking back on her life at Ole Miss, she highly valued her experiences and time there because she grew a lot and was well-prepared academically for the Ph.D. program at Purdue University.

Gwen hopes that her professors at Ole Miss would say that they had good memories of her because they had changed her life in many ways. If she were to choose again, she probably would choose another place because she had traveled and lived in different places. Her world is different now. Gwen was pleased to know that many people were doing research about the Mississippi Chinese because she thought they were generally known as an enclave, not being recognized as they should. Chinese people's contributions were usually in a silent way. She hopes that the contributions of the Chinese in Mississippi would be always remembered.

Summary of the Interviews

Throughout the interview process, each narrative was to tell a story of the participant's past. During the interview, I, as an interviewer, was invited to trace back to a time in the past in

his/her childhood, collegiate experience and life after graduating from Ole Miss. The eight participants took me on various journeys of time through their younger years. From their stories, I tried to envision how early Chinese in Mississippi initiated their life in the Delta as well as at Ole Miss. Their stories also reflect the changes of the Ole Miss campus through the 1940s, 1950s, 1960s, and 1970s, as well as what kind of students they were. Things had changed, but memories remained to recount what they did as a college students and the influence of Ole Miss upon their lives. Each of the stories is unique, yet the participants shared some common themes in their childhood experiences and younger lives. These in-depth interviews and follow-up questions allowed me to meditate on their significant roles in the UM history. Their perspectives of their family history and their lives on the UM campus provide a deeper understanding of minority students' voices. The following chapter, I will discuss the research themes and analyze the findings from these interviews.

CHAPTER IV

General Themes and Discussion

The narratives of oral history/histories of Chinese American students at the University of Mississippi (UM) in Chapter Three presented unique voices that have not yet been heard within the southern university context. Reflecting on the participants' voice, several themes were emerged from the individual stories. This chapter aims to analyze the themes from the findings in the previous two chapters on the archival research (Chapter 2) and oral history (Chapter 3). Memories of the participants are the key to collecting individual stories. After closely reading the stories, eight themes emerged, and they are interconnected and interwoven to each other because of the unique historical background of the Chinese in Mississippi. The analyzed themes described the history and experiences shared by the Chinese American students at Ole Miss, which is expected to help future generations recognize the pioneer Chinese American students' stories and the past of the early Chinese immigrants in the Mississippi Delta.

Eight interviews were conducted in the oral history portion. The original proposal was to include the time frame from 1946 to 1972. However, because Gwen Gong, the youngest participant, enrolled in Fall 1972 and graduated in Spring 1975, the study period therefore was expanded to 1975, approximately thirty years from the beginning to the end. The time period of the participants' enrollment is beneficial to review the changes of the University over the time-span. The number of Chinese/Chinese American students enrolled at UM increased, and student activities varied in different decades. Regarding gender, four male and four female

former students were recruited. The different perspectives from female and male students also provided different stories and experiences. Their perspectives enrich the understanding of Chinese American students and bring connections to the history of Chinese in the Mississippi Delta.

For the purpose to discuss the studied themes, a brief profile of participants is presented to help summarize the participants' genders, times of enrollment, majors, hometowns, times after graduation, and occupations.

Table 1

Profiles of Participants: Chinese American Students at UM from 1946 to 1975

Name	Sex	Time of enrollment	Major	Hometown	Years post graduation to 2012	Occupation
Luck Wing	Male	1946-1950	Pharmacy	Jonestown	62	Retired pharmacist
Juanita Dong	Female	1957-1960	Pharmacy	Boyle	52	Pharmacist
Frieda Quon	Female	1960-1964	Library Science	Greenville	48	Retired librarian
Chat Sue	Male	1961-1965	Political Science	Clarksdale	47	Retired professor
Gene Wing	Male	1968-1972	Accounting	Jonestown	40	Retired accountant
Esther Quon	Female	1971-1975	Business Administration	Clarksdale	36	Department buyer
Jeff Wong	Male	1971-1975	Business Administration	Marks	36	Business
Gwen Gong	Female	1972-1975	Communicative Disorder/English	Boyle	36	Professor

Analyzed Themes

Growing Up in the Grocery Store Background

All of these eight participants possessed a childhood background in the grocery store setting. Their parents or grandparents owned and worked in grocery stores located in the Mississippi Delta. Because of unique historical circumstances in Mississippi, there were markets for Chinese people to operate grocery stores and cater to Black customers. The grocery business required few language skills, yet hard-work and long hours were crucial, and the Chinese immigrants' strong work ethic enabled them to manage the business well. Jung (2008) described Chinese people's management of grocery stores

Blacks often lacked enough money to pay cash for good supplies, which [W]the merchants required. Chinese store owners were willing to extend credit to [B]lack customers, and let them have grocery items when they were needed and allow them to settle their account when they received their pay at the end of the week or month. (p. 40)

Early Chinese grocers in the Mississippi Delta provided Black customers credit business and treated them better than White merchants (Jung, 2008). For this reason, Chinese grocery stores were operated well in the Black neighborhoods.

In addition to Chinese people's management skills, family involvement and support were also important factors contributing to their success in grocery businesses. The participants started to work in the grocery stores in very young age. Also, in their interviews, most of the participants mentioned they chose a college that was not far from their hometown, so they could go home to help grocery store business during the weekends. Gene also talked about his part-time job to work in the grocery store during the summers in college. He felt he had obligation to help his

parents because he was the youngest child in his family while his elder siblings had moved out of home. Besides his sense of obligation, he deeply appreciated his parents' sacrifices for the children, so helping out in the grocery store was a way to support and give back to his parents. And Jung (2008) explained well about how grocery store created a unique family experience for the Chinese people in Mississippi,

Much of the success of Chinese grocery stores could be credited to family, broadly definitely, involvement. Many of these businesses were family enterprises that involved the labor of wives and children. Some stores included extended family members such as brothers, uncles, nephews, and cousins who often came to other parts of the country of from China. (p. 43)

Growing up in Mississippi, all of the participants had experience working in grocery stores in their childhood. They remembered that they were assigned to do different jobs in the store. Luck, Gene, and Chat recalled that they worked very long hours in the stores, particularly on Sundays when they were open until midnight because there were some cotton pickers shopping after they finished their day's work. They still needed to open the store early the next morning to serve customers. Jeff said that he was asked to do different jobs as he became older, from sorting groceries to cutting meat. Esther remembered working as a cashier and collecting money. Juanita said that everyone in her family had an apron and had different responsibilities to take care of their business so that they could make sure all the customers were taken care of.

The participants knew most of their ancestors' stories by word of mouth from their grandparents, parents, uncles or aunts. All of the participants had some idea regarding from where their ancestors were and when they came to the United States. Seven of the participants were born in the United States. Chat was the only participant born in China, and he came to the

United States with his mother when he was seven years old. Before he and his mother came to Mississippi, his father was working in the grocery store by himself. The participants knew their ancestors came from small towns in the Guangdong Province in China. Juanita Gong and Gwen Gong, two sisters, did not know how and when exactly their ancestors came to the United States, but they knew their maternal grandfather was a former missionary in Mississippi. Their paternal grandparents operated a grocery store in Marigold, Mississippi, where their parents first met each other when they were twelve years old. After their parents got married, they operated a grocery store in Boyle, Mississippi. All of the participants shared similar experiences growing up in the grocery background.

In addition to their ancestors' stories, three of the participants knew that their fathers were "paper sons," who obtained false documents to enter the United States illegally. "Paper son" stories expressed an extraordinary circumstance in which Chinese immigrants came to America to search for their American Dream. However, back in the early nineteenth century, Chinese people were excluded from immigration to the United States. "Paper son" was a way to seek new opportunities. Luck felt that his father attempted to hide his true identity because he told his children he was born in Greenville, Mississippi. It was not until recently that Luck found out his father's true story. Frieda knew her father entered the United States with his elder brother as a "paper son" when he was a teenager. Frieda's father later returned to China to marry her mother. As a matter of fact, both Luck and Frieda discovered both their fathers' real surnames were "Pang," and they believed that they were related. Chat's father also entered the United States as a "paper son," and he worked in Mississippi by himself a couple of years before bringing his family to the United States.

Chat further explained the background of “paper son” in the history context. When the 1906 San Francisco earthquake happened, fire destroyed local public records so that many people lost their identification documents. Many Chinese people therefore claimed they were born in San Francisco and obtained citizenship. With the U.S. citizenship, “the paper fathers” traveled back to China and then claimed they had children born in China. (Sometimes they traveled back and forth to China several times so they could claim more than one son.) Chat continued to tell the story about the “paper sons” that they needed to memorize all the detailed information about their family background, including the description of the house they lived in order to pass the questions that the Immigration officers asked. Using the falsified documents to enter the United States, the “paper sons” lived and worked in Mississippi for a period of time. Chat reflected that it was later during a “confession period” that his father reclaimed his true surname, which is Chow instead of Sue. The “Chinese Confession Program” was administrated by the Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) from 1955 to 1970 (Lau, 2006). During this time, “paper sons” confessed their true names, ages, and personal data (Chiu, 2000). Lau (2006) further illustrated that

If the authorities were convinced that the confessor had not engaged in subversive activities, the confessor was given legal status as an immigrant, granted immunity from deportation, and allowed to reapply for naturalization. (p. 117)

Chat said that his father had to reapply for his U.S. citizenship after confession. Although he did not speak in depth about the process of reapplication of the U.S. citizenship, Chat’s father did become a U.S. citizen.

The historical “paper sons” showed that the early Chinese immigrants faced obstacles imposed by U.S. immigration policies and practices from the 1882 Chinese Exclusion Act, which

lasted till the Chinese Exclusion Appeal Act of 1943, the year China became an official allied nation with the United States in World War II. The 1943 Appeal Act allowed Chinese to be naturalized. Moreover, the “paper son” status marked the Chinese community in the Mississippi Delta during the 1870s and 1920s as a “bachelor society” (Jung, 2008). Early Chinese immigrants were young males who were probably unmarried or left their families to come alone to the United States. Men were the primary labor in the Chinese grocery stores in Mississippi. It was not until the 1920s that more Chinese grocers brought their families to Mississippi. The Chinese population in Mississippi increased because of the growth of these Chinese families. As a consequence, more Chinese American students in Mississippi attended the university after the 1940s, approximately twenty years after the growth of Chinese families in Mississippi. The increase of Chinese American students at UM in the 1960s and 1970s consequently echoed the growth of Chinese population in the Mississippi Delta.

Even though working in grocery stores required a lot of hard work, the participants believed the work experience helped them choose majors at college. For instance, Gene said that he developed an interest in book-keeping and gained some accounting concepts when working in the grocery store, so he chose to major in accounting. Esther liked the idea of department stores because of her childhood experience working in the grocery store and visiting department stores in Memphis. Her passion for department stores continued to grow, and she worked in various department stores after graduation from Ole Miss. Jeff’s childhood experience working in the grocery store helped him work in the food industry. He helped his family run a restaurant for about fifteen years, and he is now working in food distribution. Jeff felt that the food business came naturally for him because of his childhood experience working in the grocery store, so he chose business administration as his major.

The other three participants had different stories when they talked about the reasons for choosing their majors. Luck chose his major in pharmacy simply because he wanted to satisfy his parents. Luck became a pharmacist and had a drugstore in a small town. Frieda chose her major in library science because she was interested in reading as she often visited the local library as a child. Chat, interested in literature and writing, chose his major in political science and wanted to become a lawyer. Juanita's decision about her major was to consider a profession, and her choice was between a med-tech and a pharmacist. Because she preferred UM to Delta State University, she decided to finish her degree at UM. Gwendolyn chose communication disorders to satisfy her mother, who always wanted Gwen to be a doctor or scientist. However, Gwen also followed her passion in writing, so she chose English as a second major. Gwen also said that she wanted to major in communication disorders because she found it a purposeful field. Gwen did not become a doctor as her mother wished, but she was able to combine her passion for language and goal in life to pursue a career. Gwen considered it vitally important that she never disappoint her parents, so she worked very hard to achieve her goal.

From the participants' stories about choosing majors, I found most of the participants had ideas of what they wanted to do after they graduated from college. They also chose majors to satisfy their parents for practical reasons. For instance, Luck and Juanita wanted to be a pharmacist to make a living. Gene wanted to be an accountant. Jeff knew that business was suitable for him. Frieda, Chat, and Esther followed their passion and pursued careers that they enjoyed. None of the eight participants returned to their hometowns to work in grocery stores. Even though they worked in different professions and did not return to the Delta, many of them chose to stay in Mississippi. Among the participants, Luck owned a drugstore in Sledge; Juanita worked in Jackson; Frieda worked as a librarian in Cleveland; Esther worked in Jackson; and Jeff

is working and living in Jackson. Five of the eight participants are still living in the Mississippi area. Gene is living in Arkansas, about two hours from Oxford, Mississippi. Chat is living in Texas, and Gwen, being a professor, is living overseas in Hong Kong. The work experience in grocery stores helped the participants to pursue careers and dedicate their lives to them.

The first theme, *growing up in the grocery store back ground* reflected the participants' experiences growing up in the Mississippi Delta. They knew their father or grandfather came from Guangdong Province in China and operated grocery stores mostly in the Black neighborhoods in the Mississippi Delta. The early work experiences motivated the participants to pursue a higher education degree and enter a profession as well as to value the importance of hard work and industriousness.

A Close-Knit Community Keeping Chinese Traditions

The second theme that emerged from the interviews is the idea that a close-knit community keeps Chinese traditions, which is closely related to the common background of grocery stores operated by Chinese families in Mississippi. Most Chinese grocery stores were located in small towns, and the Chinese families usually lived in the back or second levels of their grocery stores for the convenience of taking care of their businesses. The combination of the business and family made the family members stay together most of the time. The participants said that their parents always knew what their children were doing. Besides the families, most of the people in the town knew each other, so the parents knew other children well. Even though the participants worked long hours in grocery stores, they felt they were close to their parents. They also had some relatives or Chinese families living close by, and they would meet each other for special occasions. Jung's (2008) description of family lives in the grocery stores helped to understand the value of Chinese parenting and success of grocery businesses:

Working together everyday in the store, parents knew where their children were and could monitor their activities. The children acquired discipline and responsibility by doing their share of work, which contributed to financial success of the store, and they observed how hard their parents had to work. In the process, family members formed strong bonds to each other that endured over their lives. The grocery store experience proved to be a veritable school for learning about life in which children acquired attitudes, habits, and values that led to much success in school and in their future careers. (p. 108)

When the participants talked about their parents, they all appreciated their parents' sacrifices for them to pursue better lives in the United States. All of the participants believed that they had a better chance to fulfill their dream. They could not imagine what profession or life they could have if they were to live in China. The grocery store business required long hours of hard work, but parents and grandparents were dedicated to their work and family without any complaints. The participants reflected that it was apparent that their family histories initiated with the grocery business in the Mississippi Delta, and all of the participants felt it was hard to imagine how their grandparents or parents managed to survive in a foreign country where they had little knowledge of English. Despite the difficulties of running a business in a foreign country, their parents and grandparents strived to uphold Chinese traditions and customs at home. All of the participants mentioned that their mothers cooked traditional Chinese meals, and they ate a lot of rice when they were young. Luck said that he ate two meals of rice a day when he was a child. Jeff said that his favorite food today is still Chinese food. Memories of food brought the connection to Chinese culture. Most of the participants remembered the food their mothers cooked when they were young.

In addition to food, the participants' memories of Chinese holidays reminded them of Chinese traditions and customs. They remembered the way they celebrated the Chinese New Year and the food they ate for special occasions. Like most traditional Chinese families, mothers cooked the major dishes for the Chinese holidays. Even though it was hard to buy traditional Chinese food in the Mississippi Delta, parents ordered special ingredients from New York or California so that they could make special dishes for the families during the Chinese New Year. As far as some of the participants could remember, they celebrated the Chinese New Year for two weekends. Relatives and friends would come over and have big meals together. As a Chinese custom, the elders would give children some "lucky money" in red envelopes to wish them peaceful and successful years to come. The participants said that they had good memories about the Chinese New Year.

Most of the participants said that they spoke Cantonese when they were young. However, when they went to college, they had less chance to speak Cantonese. Also, as their parents and grandparents became deceased, they did not speak Cantonese as often as they used to. For this reason, they gradually lost the ability to speak Cantonese. Most of them can still understand simple Cantonese. However, Esther is an exception among the participants because she still can speak the Cantonese dialect fluently with her parents and mother-in-law, who speak little English. Esther said that she is able to translate Cantonese and English for her family.

In traditional Chinese families, fathers were the authoritative figures. Luck recalled that he always obeyed his father's decisions. When he planned to operate a drugstore, his father asked him to open one close to his hometown. After he was married, he brought his family to visit his parents every weekend. They had meals together, and his children played with their cousins. For this reason, their family was very close. Another participant, Gene, Luck's nephew, also

remembered that their family was very close-knit. Gene defined his family by including his immediate family as well as his uncles' and aunts' families. Because Gene's grandparents lived with his parents, Gene remembered his uncles and aunts visiting them very often. Gene had great childhood experiences with his cousins. Gene felt that his father was not as strict as his mother, but his grandfather, Luck's father, was an authoritative figure in the family, and everyone listened to him. As for Chat, he remembered his father did not talk very much, but everyone in the family highly respected him. Juanita and Gwen said their father supported them in everything they needed and helped them get a good education.

Traditional Chinese mothers, on the other hand, played a compatible role to the fathers. They were good helpers for their spouses and worked hard. Chinese mothers, like Chinese fathers, had high expectations of their children and were willing to make sacrifices for their children. Even though they had limited language skills and cultural barriers, they managed to overcome obstacles to help their children succeed. Frieda recalled that her mother tried to expose her to different places, like the zoo and library, so she could develop her interests in various things. Chat remembered that his mother learned to drive before his father did. Getting a driver's license was a big achievement for Chinese people because at that time most citizens did not have any access to drive cars in China. Moreover, driving provided the liberty to explore the world outside of their grocery store. Chat's mother, for example, was able to travel to different towns and visit friends and relatives to enlarge her life in Mississippi. Luck remembered his mother did all the housework and cooked for the family. Gene recalled that his mother was stricter than his father because she wanted to discipline him. In fact, Gene's father went back to China to marry his mother. Gene's mother came to Mississippi without speaking any English, but she overcame language barriers and adapted to American culture very well. Gene also said that his mother

learned English by interacting with customers in the store. Gene felt amazed that his mother learned English very well and spoke English well. Juanita and Gwen's mother had very high expectations for the children and wanted them to do well. Juanita always remembered her mother told the children that they had to be twenty percent better than others to be successful. For this reason, Juanita had set a goal to be a pharmacist and wanted to achieve excellence. Gwen also remembered that her mother was like the Chinese "tiger mother" who has strong discipline and high expectations of performance for her children—in reference to the now popular book *Battle Hymn of the Tiger Mother* by Amy Chua (2011). Like today's "tiger mom," Gwen's mother was dedicated to her children's education and encouraged them to strive for success. Gwen's mother expected them to be excellent and made sure all of her children had the chance to learn all the skills like other American children in their town. Besides being a strict mother, Gwen recalled that her mother was a quick learner. For example, she would ask her customers for recipes for the groceries they bought, and then she would cook the dishes. If she ate a new dish in a restaurant, she could duplicate the dish by herself. Gwen's mother could make very good southern food. From the participants' narratives, their mothers were traditional women who worked hard and supported their families.

Most of the participants mentioned their relationships with their siblings. The participants each have four to eight siblings and are very close to each other. Because the families got together for several occasions a year, they also kept good relationships with their cousins. Furthermore, their parents expected them to marry within their own race, so they usually chose Chinese people as their dates and mates. Also, because parents were willing to support and host Chinese parties, they were able to know more Chinese people in Mississippi, Arkansas, Texas, and Louisiana. As a result, they developed relationships with Chinese in the South. Chinese

American people were family-oriented and very supportive of their children and other Chinese families. Even though the early generation became deceased, the younger generation still keeps in touch and joins family events occasionally.

The second theme, *a close-knit community keeping Chinese traditions*, revealed the unique experiences of the pioneer Chinese American people in the Mississippi Delta that they kept Chinese traditions and embraced American culture in the South. The combination of the grocery store background and close-knit families in the early days helped Chinese parents to work with and discipline their children. From the participants' stories, they appreciated for their parents' sacrifices and supports and were willing to give back to their families.

School was a Big Part—Value of Education

The third theme of the study is the high value of education and career, which is closely relevant to Chinese culture and beliefs. In the Chinese culture, education is highly emphasized because of the influence of Confucius thinking that scholars are placed at the top of Chinese society. Most Chinese parents are willing to help their children to receive good educations even if they did not have much education. The pioneer Chinese immigrants in the Mississippi Delta worked very hard to manage their grocery businesses and endured the pain of limited English skills in a foreign country. For this reason, first generation immigrant parents were devoted to their children's education. They did not expect their children to continue the family businesses. Rather, the parents encouraged their children to pursue occupations that required higher education and were viewed as professional. The parents considered grocery stores as means for survival and tool for aspiration. From the interviews, the participants remembered that school was such an important part in their childhoods that parents made sure children did well at school. Even though children needed to help with grocery businesses, they were also expected to finish

their school work on time. As college students, the participants managed to complete studies throughout the week and went back home to help family businesses during weekends.

The participants considered the educations they received at Ole Miss as very important. They believe that their higher education degrees offered them opportunities to get into professions that they liked. Gene and Jeff said that the education at UM prepared them for their professional and social skills in business. They found that the classes they took were beneficial for their management and business development. In addition, the professors had positive influences on their lives. For instance, Luck, Juanita, Frieda, and Gwen remembered that they had close relationships with the faculty members in their departments. Because UM was a small campus from the 1940s to the 1970s, students had more interactions with the faculty members. Luck felt that the Dean of the School of Pharmacy was like a father to him. Frieda remembered being invited to the department chair's farm for dinner. Gwen said that a professor in the English department helped her reflect on her interests and make a hard decision when she was struggling with whether she should study communicative disorders or English for graduate school. Gwen felt that the professor [Dr. Murphy] saved her life by encouraging her to follow her passion. After the participants received their higher education degrees, all of them worked in a profession that closely related to their majors.

The third of theme, *school as a big part— value of education* reflected the Chinese mindset about education. They believed that education helped them get better opportunities to enter a professional field. The participants remembered their parents' high expectations in education and they did well at school. They also considered their UM education to play an important role in terms of their personal, academic, and professional development.

Not Black, Not White—Being Chinese, American, and Chinese American

How Chinese/Chinese Americans in Mississippi identify themselves is discussed much in the literature (de Sanchez, 2003; Jung, 2008; Loewen, 1972; Quon, 1982). The Chinese in Mississippi were defined as neither Black nor White, and they were positioned in the middle between Black and White in the Mississippi Delta community. When asked how the participants perceived themselves, they usually replied, “both Chinese and American.” I found the participants were able to embrace American culture, but also to preserve Chinese culture. Luck, Frieda and Juanita said that they were constantly reminded they were Chinese when they were young. All of the participants said that they were aware that they were Chinese and knew they were different from Black and White people.

According to the participants, even though they were well accepted by both Black and White communities, they did not feel fully belonging to either of them. Chat and Jeff expressed that they catered to mostly Black customers in their grocery stores, but they went to White public schools. They found it an odd circumstance that their grocery stores were close to Black public schools, but they were allowed to go to White public schools. At the time when the participants went to grade schools, the public schools in Mississippi were not fully integrated. Frieda recalled that when she went to first grade in a Greenville White public school in 1948, it was the first year that the Chinese children were admitted there.

Jung (2008) discussed that the Chinese in the Mississippi Delta were better accepted after the 1940s for several reasons. First, China became an ally with the U.S. to fight against Japan. Second, many of the young Chinese men from the Delta served in the war. Third, “Chinese children proved themselves highly capable academically” (Jung, 2008, p. 121). Luck was the only participant who attended elementary school before the 1940s, but he went to the White

school without any problems. Luck thought it was because in the small town in which he lived, different ethnic groups of people got along well so that Chinese people were not discriminated from attending the White public school. Juanita attended the Chinese Mission School in Cleveland because Chinese children were not allowed to go to the White public school there. Juanita's family moved to Boyle when she was in third grade so that she and her siblings could attend the White public school. All of the participants in the oral history interviews attended a White public school in Mississippi. The reasons that the Chinese people in Mississippi were better accepted could be attributed to the relationships between the U.S. government and China, as Jung (2008) explained above. Nevertheless, from the interviews of the participants, I found that Chinese people's hard-working nature and dedication to families helped them gain respect from both the Black and White communities. The White community, as Frieda described in her story, supported Chinese children to attend White public schools in the 1940s. For this reason, Chinese students attended White public schools before the Mississippi public school systems were fully integrated.

In addition to school segregation, Esther's story of her grandfather riding in the public bus in the Mississippi Delta in the 1920s was an example to illustrate how Chinese people positioned themselves. Esther said that when her grandfather first took the public bus in Mississippi, he did not know where to sit. Esther further explained that her grandfather did not sit in the front or in the back, but he somehow managed to find a seat for himself in the middle. In the Jim Crow era, there were no segregation regulations for Chinese in Mississippi public settings; therefore, a gray area existed as Chinese people had to take the liberty to find a place for themselves in the society. The story of Esther's grandfather was similar to a Japanese American, Mary Tsukamoto's journey to Jackson, Mississippi, in 1943, which reflected the social status of

Asian Americans in the Deep South. According to Tsukamoto, when she was wondering where she should sit, the bus driver smiled and told her “to sit in the seat behind him” (Tsukamoto and Pinkerton 1987, p. 176). Tsukamoto’s personal experience that Asian Americans were not treated as “colored” in the Deep South was “shocking” to her (Tsukamoto and Pinkerton ,1987).

Tsukamoto first thought that she was not allowed to sit in the front of the bus, but later found that she seemed to have the privilege to sit in the White section. Her personal encounter in the racial dilemma was an example of Asian/Chinese people’s ambiguous position in Mississippi in mid-century. The Chinese were not perceived as Black or White; however, they were not treated as Black or White, either. The ambiguity offered the Chinese people a place for themselves in the Mississippi Delta. The space was not clearly defined, but Chinese people were able to find their place to survive.

The fourth theme of *not Black, not White, being Chinese, American, Chinese American*, portrayed the unique position of Chinese people in the Mississippi Delta. They were not treated as Blacks, but they were not treated as Whites. Rather, they were in the middle, between Blacks and Whites. Chinese people in the Mississippi Delta assimilated American culture; however, they also preserved their Chinese heritage and were always aware of their differences from Blacks and Whites.

Different Treatment

When I asked the participants if they had ever experienced any discrimination, most of them replied that the discrimination was not a necessarily racial, but rather related to socioeconomic differences. Gene and Esther considered the gap between Black and White in Mississippi was mainly because of poverty. The White people were usually rich farmers, and the Black people were poor field workers. Most of the participants did not feel discriminated

because of being Chinese. However, there were some circumstances under which they felt treated differently. Chat mentioned that Chinese people were not allowed to buy houses in White neighborhoods. For this reason, their families lived in the back of their grocery store for years. However, Jung (2008) explained the location of grocery stores in the Black community proved to gain some advantages. Jung (2008) stated,

Locating their stores in [B]lack neighborhoods was not entirely a deliberate choice or strategy of the Chinese. Segregation prevented them from living in [W]hite neighborhoods so they were forced to live in [B]lack areas. This barrier proved to be advantageous for many reasons. It was more convenient to live close to their primary customers, the [B]lacks, and the store rent was lower than it would have been in the central business district. Additionally, by living in the backs of their stores, they also saved the expense of renting another space for living quarters. (p. 41)

Even though Chinese grocery stores in the Mississippi Delta were located mostly in the Black neighborhoods, Chinese people were able to manage their businesses and take care of their customers.

Jeff remembered that he and his friend were rejected by a restaurant, but they were not sure whether it was because the restaurant was going to close or because they were Chinese. Even though Jeff still remembers being treated differently, the experience did not have a lasting or significant impact on him. Gwen remembered that her professor gave an example of “Chinaman” in class that was a painful experience; however, that experience motivated her to work harder and get an excellent grade in the course. The experience did not discourage Gwen but stimulated her to work harder. Gwen said that the professor later became her supervisor in the clinical setting and had a good relationship with her even though they never talked about the incident afterward.

Juanita, the first female Chinese pharmacy student at UM, expressed that her discrimination experience was not racial but gender discrimination because she chose a male-dominated profession at that time. Juanita recalled that in her class at the School of Pharmacy, there were only four to five females out of 40 or 50 students. In addition, when Juanita reflected on her time at UM in the late 1950s, many veterans had just returned from the Korean War, and men needed jobs to support their families. Female pharmacists, at that time, were considered to be taking the positions of men. For Juanita's case, discrimination was not about race; rather, it was because of gender difference.

As for campus life, former Chinese students knew beforehand that they were not allowed to join fraternities or sororities. Nevertheless, they said that they did not care about joining Greek organizations. They realized the borderlines existing among Chinese, Black and White, and did not want to go across the boundary. Even though there were some restrictions for Chinese American students to join some campus activities, the participants did not limit their friendships to Chinese students only. They made friends with students from different regions of the United States. For instance, Gene mentioned that his first roommate was from New York, and they discussed cultural differences between the North and South. Frieda had a roommate from Thailand, and she was invited to visit her family in Washington D.C. Chat had a lot of Caucasian friends who helped him get involved in the student senate. Gwen had many friends in various student organizations and her departments in both English and Communication Disorders. The organization experiences helped her with leadership competence. From the stories, the participants did not confine themselves in the Chinese student group as college students. They made friends and were well accepted by others. None of them talked about being excluded by other students. Their positive acceptance by others during their collegiate experience might be

contributed to their grocery store backgrounds and grade school experiences. They went to White public schools in the Mississippi Delta, so they had exposure to American cultures and made friends outside the Chinese community.

Frieda reflected on her life at Ole Miss when there were a bigger group of Chinese American students from the Delta attending UM in the 1960s. *The Ole Miss Yearbooks* data also echoed Frieda's memory because the Chinese American student enrollment continued to grow after 1960. The *1960 Ole Miss Yearbook* showed only six Chinese American students recorded, but the 1970 volume saw the growth to forty-three students, which was close to Jeff's memory of around fifty-four to fifty-five, as he counted his friends at Ole Miss. Gwen, a 1975 graduate, remembered a large enough group of Chinese American students at UM that they could officially form an organization. Even though the Chinese American student group was not officially recognized, the group was well-organized and provided social functions for Chinese American students, such as meal gatherings and sports events. The participants who attended UM during the early 1970s all remembered that they had a strong affiliation to the Chinese American student group and enjoyed their group activities. Most of the participants felt their roots in the Mississippi Delta made them feel connected, and they were a close-knit student group at UM.

Asking the participants about their experiences of discrimination, they generally did not feel that they had been discriminated against. However, there were some circumstances under which they were treated differently. For example, the early Chinese/Chinese Americans students were not allowed to join Greek organizations. However, they did not feel they were mistreated or isolated from others. The group of Chinese American students at UM at that time had strong network and support each other.

James Meredith and Ole Miss

Among the eight participants, one came before James Meredith, three of them witnessed James Meredith's admission, and four of them studied at UM after integration. Because of the age variation of the participants, in 1962, four of the participants were adults and had memories of when the 1962 riot took place. Luck knew the story mainly from the newspaper and radio reports. Juanita was working on Oxford's square at the time and remembered feeling sad. Both of them wished that this incident could have been handled in a better way and believed the tragedy could have been avoided. Frieda and Chat were college students at the time. Reflecting on the time, they remembered being very scared and confused. They could not understand how and why the incident happened. Frieda and Chat had seen Meredith in person on campus, but they felt that Meredith was isolated from others. Seeing Meredith's appearance in the cafeteria, Chat recalled that he had a strange feeling because he was taught that Black people could not eat with White people. Chat meditated on his thoughts and realized that his education in the Mississippi public school had a great impact on his understanding of race. After Chat graduated from Ole Miss and moved to several places in the States, he had more time to reflect on the racial climate in Mississippi. He felt that Black people had been mistreated by White people in Mississippi, but Chat gained more knowledge about the racial history of U.S. and resolved his angry feelings about the past.

Other participants who came to Ole Miss after integration did not have vivid impressions about UM historical integration. They knew about the historical event when they grew older and gained the information from newspapers and books. Gene thought that Meredith's admission at Ole Miss helped White students respect students of other races. Jeff and Esther felt that Ole Miss was pretty diverse when they were students. Esther also hoped that people would not keep

negative impressions of Ole Miss merely because of the 1962 riot. She believed that Ole Miss has a lot of good traditions and positive changes over time. Participants in different decades had different understandings about UM integration. They remembered the history, too, and considered the changes at Ole Miss over time to be positive.

Participants who enrolled at UM before, during, and after UM integration had different points of view and understandings of the historic integration. Being adults, Luck and Juanita, felt the tragedy could be avoided and the integration could be handled in a better way. Being college students, Frieda and Chat, were scared and confused. They saw Meredith in person, but felt he was isolated from others. The participants who enrolled at UM in the late 1960s and 1970s did not have any impression about UM integration in 1962 because they were young children at the time. They came to understand the history from the newspapers and magazines when they were older. They generally felt Ole Miss was pretty diverse when they were students.

Good Times at Ole Miss

When asked about the participants' collegiate experiences, they overall felt it was a good experience. Going to Ole Miss was the first time leaving their small hometowns; they were excited, nervous, and scared, but looking forward to new lives. They described themselves as "below average, average, and good students." Luck said that he was a below average student and glad he could graduate. Luck still keeps his UM student identification and his student card for Turner Center. Luck said that Ole Miss was a big part of his life. Gene honestly said that he needed to study hard to get good grades. Jeff said that he studied when necessary, but he was a straight-A student. Frieda said that she got better grades when she took professional classes within her major. Frieda also remembered some of her Chinese American friends got into academic probation because they did not work hard. However, these students determined to work

hard to improve their grades, and they did. Chat and Esther felt that they were good students and did all the requirements of the classes. Chat also said that he worked very hard and needed to go home during weekends so that he did not hang out with friends very often. Juanita and Gwen were outstanding students who were on the honor roll. Their parents had very high expectations so they were self-disciplined to do well. The participants generally were good students who did not make any trouble.

As freshmen, most of the participants remembered their first days on campus. Ole Miss was not far from home and, thus, was not strange to them. They had some chances to visit the campus before becoming UM students. One of the reasons they chose to study at UM was familiarity and closeness to home. Luck said that Ole Miss was simply like a second home for him. He remembered meeting his first roommate and the residence hall room where he lived. He also remembered meeting Chancellor J.D. Williams in the cafeteria on his first day at campus. Luck's brother was already an Ole Miss student when Luck became a freshman. Juanita was the first person in her family studying at UM, and some of her younger siblings came to study at UM. Chat said that he came to UM with his cousin, and they were roommates for four years. Esther had some friends in her hometown, and they went to Ole Miss together. Even though most of them had some Chinese American friends they knew before coming to Ole Miss, they were able to meet new people and build friendships with others. As more Chinese American students studied at UM, the participants had a group of Chinese American students with which they had fun.

When the participants reflected on their lives at Ole Miss, they generally remembered it as a simple life, yet they could always find ways to entertain themselves. Male participants, Luck, Gene, and Jeff, remembered playing a lot of cards in the residence halls. They went out with

their friends who owned cars. They would not travel far away, but a trip to Memphis or Clarksdale was a fun trip for them. Some of the participants remembered Handy Andy and the Beacon restaurant, and they occasionally ate there. Cooking was not permitted, but most of them brought food from home to cook in the dormitory rooms because they all had access to groceries and wanted to save money. Even though I did not include a question about dating in college, five participants shared their stories of meeting and dating their future spouses at Ole Miss. Thinking about that time provided sweet memories. They all felt very happy and lucky to meet their spouse and have happy marriages.

Thinking about their younger lives at Ole Miss brought sweet memories when they first left home to college, lived in the residence hall, met new friends, met their future spouse, and explored a new world. The seventh theme concluded *good times at Ole Miss* when life was simple, yet they found entertainment and fun in their collegiate lives.

A Family Tradition to Attend Ole Miss

From the participants, I also found that going to Ole Miss was, and still is a family tradition to many of them. As mentioned earlier, Juanita was the first family member attending Ole Miss. Some of her younger siblings later went to Ole Miss too. Many of the participants' children or grandchildren studied at UM. Luck's children and grandchildren went to Ole Miss. He also said that two of his grandchildren did not go to Ole Miss because Ole Miss did not have the majors they wanted to study. Frieda's husband also received a degree at UM, and their two children are Ole Miss graduates. Jeff has one daughter graduating from Ole Miss. Esther's nephews and nieces also went to Ole Miss. The family ties of Ole Miss also reflect the bond of Chinese in Mississippi that they chose a college close to their hometowns and take the pride of being Ole Miss graduates.

When I asked if they would choose to study at UM again, some of them answered without hesitation that they definitely would. Some of them said that it was hard to say because their ideas changed after they have traveled and lived in other places. However, when they came back to visit the Ole Miss campus after graduation, they were all impressed and glad to see the changes and improvements. The Ole Miss campus was very different from the time when they were students. None of them felt regret for being students at UM.

Attending Ole Miss is a family tradition to most of my participants, and this tradition reflected the participants' high esteem of being an Ole Miss graduate. Even though not all of them said that they would choose to study at UM if they were to choose again, they all valued the education at Ole Miss and were proud of their alma mater.

Summary of Themes

Reviewing the interview transcriptions, eight themes emerged from the stories of the participants who attended UM between 1946 and 1975. The themes included: 1) growing up in the grocery store background; 2) close-knit community keeping Chinese traditions; 3) school was a big part—high value of education; 4) not Black, not White—being Chinese, American, and Chinese American; 5) different treatment; 6) James Meredith and Ole Miss; 7) good times at Ole Miss; 8) a family tradition to attend Ole Miss. Themes were arranged by the participants' early life in the Mississippi Delta, collegiate life at Ole Miss, and life after graduation. Each story is a personal history that unveiled the participants' memories. Their stories are various windows into perceptions of UM history and also illustrate how UM education influenced their lives.

These themes were repeatedly described by former Chinese American students because they shared similar backgrounds growing up in the Mississippi Delta. The themes were also related to one another because of the participants' common experiences of being Chinese people growing

up in the South. Each story was unique, yet the themes of the stories reveal the connection and ties of a special ethnic group of students. Furthermore, each story provided a distinct perspective on the historical context. These traces of their lives were remembered through the recording of their voices.

Discussion

Different Perspectives from Female and Male Students

Generally speaking, male and female students' collegiate experiences were similar. They had a simple life at Ole Miss, cooking in the dormitories, having fun with their peers, studying for exams, and going home for the weekends to help their families' grocery businesses. However, two male students, Gene and Chat, remembered well about their hair being cut on their first day on campus. It was a tradition at Ole Miss at the time because the older students wanted to distinguish themselves from the new male students. When I asked Luck if his hair was cut, he said that he was skipped because the senior students thought Luck was his older brother. Luck felt he was lucky to escape the haircut; otherwise, it would be a pretty frightening experience. Gene and Chat remembered it was an unforgettable experience because they felt very nervous about it on the first day. Jeff, who attended UM in Fall 1971, said that the tradition was discontinued when he was a student. Other than the haircut experience, Jeff said that he enjoyed playing intramural sports a lot, which was not mentioned by other participants.

Different Perspectives from Older and Younger Former Students

As time progresses, the participants' memories of Ole Miss are fading; however, their memories help to perceive the changes at Ole Miss. Luck remembered that when he enrolled at UM, there were few students. (The institutional record showed 3,213 students in the 1946-47 academic year, *UM Institutional Research and Assessment*.) Luck said that during Chancellor

Williams's tenure, UM student enrollment increased a lot, so he perceived the growth of student numbers as a student. (There were 3,582 students at UM according to the institutional data from *Institutional Research and Assessment*.) Luck also remembered he paid fifty dollars for the tuition fee when he was a freshman. He could have a good meal by paying one dollar, so the tuition was comparably low at the time as compared to today. In addition, because Ole Miss was a small campus at the time, Luck, Juanita, and Frieda remembered that they had close relationships with the faculty members in their departments. Juanita said that there were about forty to fifty students in her classes, and there were only four to five female students. Furthermore, the School of Pharmacy was a four-year program, so their classes were very intensive. Luck, Juanita, and Frieda felt that they gained a lot of attention from their professors and were influenced by them.

As mentioned earlier, the first participant enrolled at Ole Miss in 1946, and the youngest participant graduated in 1975. For this reason, there was approximately thirty years difference in the range of time experienced on campus. Because of the smaller group of Chinese students at Ole Miss in the 1940s, Luck interacted more with White students. As time progressed, there were more Chinese students enrolled at UM, so the Chinese American student group organized more activities and social gatherings.

The participants were more active in campus organizations. For example, Chat was the first Chinese student senator and very involved in student activities. Chat said that even though he was not allowed to join fraternities, he had a lot of fraternity friends who invited him to join student senate. Gwen was also very active in student organizations. Gwen recalled that she wrote a letter to the University to install lights on campus for safety purposes, and the appeal was accepted. She felt amazed that she could make a difference by a student voice. Chat and Gwen

felt that the leadership experiences at UM were beneficial for their career development.

As the UM campus became more diverse, Frieda recalled that there were some international students on campus. She had a roommate from Thailand, and she also knew some Chinese students at UM. During the interview, Frieda considered that the Chinese students at UM were from China; however, it is more likely that in the period 1946-1975, Chinese students were mainly from Taiwan. The *Ole Miss Yearbook* showed these Chinese students' hometowns were Taiwan or ROC, Republic of Taiwan (see Chapter 2), and most of them were graduate students. Ole Miss became a more diverse campus after the 1960s. Frieda felt that Chinese students and Chinese American students were different in the way that Chinese students worked harder academically and did not get involved in campus activities as the Chinese American students did. Because of language barriers and cultural differences, the Chinese and Chinese Americans did not interact very much in the 1960s.

Difference from the Archival Research and Oral History Stories

Conducting oral history interviews is beneficial to reaffirm the data collected from *Ole Miss Yearbook* with the participants. Dissimilarities between the archival research and oral history interviews were present. First of all, there were some misrepresentations of the data in the yearbooks. For example, in the 1947 *Ole Miss Yearbook*, Luck Wing first appeared as a freshman major in Engineering. After confirmation with Luck, he said that he was a Pharmacy student during his enrollment at UM and did not change his major. Esther enrolled UM in 1971, but her student picture was not shown in the yearbook. Esther said that she did not have her student picture taken because it was not a requirement at the time. The two examples echoed my assumption about the limitations of yearbook research: data misrepresentation and incapability to reveal the exact number of Chinese American students enrolled during this time period.

Moreover, the oral history portion of the study added information that was not available in the archival research. For instance, Esther mentioned her vivid memory about college students streaking on the 1970 UM campus, which was not depicted in the *Ole Miss Yearbooks*. Esther remembered that from her dormitory window she saw a group of male students running across the campus. She did not know why the students went streaking, but it was such a funny scene that she could not forget it. Streaking events on the UM campus were not depicted in the yearbooks; however, from Esther's narrative, streaking was a special incident of student life in the 1970s. The Chinese American students' memories in the time period revealed their experiences of campus life and some of the changes on campus. Their stories offered different windows on the UM history from the 1940s to 1970s that were not officially recorded.

Summary

The different perspectives from female and male participants, older and younger participants, and dissimilarities between findings from archival research and oral history interviews presented different dimensions of participants' campus lives and showed some of the changes of the UM campus. The external changes were obvious: the increase in Chinese/Chinese American student enrollment, the diversity of student/faculty body, the modernizing of the buildings and facilities, and an enlarging campus. The "New Dorm" (Crosby Hall) is no longer a new residence hall now, and new residence halls are under construction to welcome and meet the needs of continuing growth of the current student body. The participants told the stories about the places where they had classes, studied, lived and dined. Some of the buildings are still standing on the UM campus, verifying the participants' stories of when they were younger. Being adolescents, their unforgettable, scary, happy, and bitter experiences at UM were all a part of their collegiate experiences.

From the stories of the participants, Ole Miss played a major part in their lives. Looking back on the time, they enjoyed being an Ole Miss student and were thankful for their UM education, which prepared them academically and professionally. The former Chinese American students' stories revealed different perspectives of UM history and were beneficial for future generations to understand a minority group of students' lives during the 1940s to 1970s. The themes of their stories presented the unique experiences of being Chinese American students in a southern university. The various perspectives illustrated the changes of the Ole Miss campus before, during, and after the historical integration. Even though Chinese American students were a small group at UM campus, they demonstrated their affiliations with the Ole Miss family and pride at being an Ole Miss graduate. Their stories help current students remember the footsteps traveled by minority students at UM before them. The next chapter, which is the last chapter of this study will provide an overview of the study and discuss the research questions in the study as well as summarize the study.

CHAPTER V

Conclusion

“History is the witness that testifies to the passing of time; it illuminates reality, vitalizes memory, provides guidance in daily life, and brings us tidings of antiquity.”

Cicero

The purpose of this study, which included archival research and oral history interviews, was to explore the history of Chinese/Chinese American students from 1946 to 1975, a time before, during, and after the University of Mississippi’s (UM) historic integration. I used *Ole Miss Yearbooks* as primary resources to collect UM Chinese/Chinese American student enrollment data because of the unavailability of institutional records. The data collected from *Ole Miss Yearbooks* showed the growth of Chinese/Chinese American student enrollment, student majors, hometowns, and student campus activities. The archives research included both Chinese and Chinese American students. Chinese students, categorized as international students, mostly came from Taiwan or Hong Kong during the period of study. The oral history interviews focused on Chinese American students to get rich information. Most of the Chinese American students in the period of study were from the Mississippi Delta, and the oral history portion captured the stories of their collegiate experience. Eight participants were recruited to tell their childhood experiences in Mississippi and campus lives at Ole Miss. Among the eight participants, Luck Wing, the first Chinese American student at the University of Mississippi, was invited to reflect

on his life at UM in the late 1940s. The youngest participant, Gwen Gong, who attended UM in 1972 and graduated in 1975, also told her family history and collegiate life in the 1970s. For this reason, the oral history portion included stories of participants enrolled over a 30-year time span. Regarding gender, four males and four females were recruited. The participants' stories shared some common themes, yet each story was unique from one another. In this study, I discussed the common themes and analyzed the differences among the individual stories.

The University of Mississippi's historic integration brought both national and local attention when James Meredith was escorted onto campus by Federal Marshalls in Fall 1962. It was not widely known that Chinese American students attended UM earlier than African American students because the former never drew public attention. In addition, the Chinese in Mississippi were considered neither Black nor White. What set the Chinese American student apart from Black students that they could get admitted without any trouble? The archival research and oral history of former Chinese/Chinese American students told stories from a different racial perspective, neither Black nor White, in an extraordinary time.

This chapter includes a brief summary of the study and reviews the themes of the stories. A discussion of findings and process of research is also presented. In addition, I include a discussion of current efforts of Chinese/Chinese communities to preserve the Chinese heritage in the Mississippi Delta and promote Chinese American culture and history. Finally, implications for future research and higher education are provided.

Overview of the Study

Chinese/Chinese American students at UM were never a big group on campus. They seemed to be a quiet group who were admitted, enrolled in classes, participated in campus activities, studied, and then graduated from Ole Miss. Their footsteps at UM, nevertheless, were

records of ordinary students, and their eyes witnessed the changes of the UM campus. Professor David Sansing (1999) described the University of Mississippi from 1946 to 1975 as a modernizing university, which was characterized by change, conflict and continuation. According to Sansing (1999), the University started to recruit faculty members with Ph.D. degrees and increase the library collections and books to promote UM's academic reputation (p. 248). In addition, the University aimed to increase student enrollment during this time. UM was expanding rapidly in this period; however, as minority and underrepresented students, former Chinese American students' observations and memories provided different dimensions to tell the stories of the University over time.

Discussion of the Research Questions

This study asked a primary research question: what is the history of Chinese /Chinese American students at the University of Mississippi? The history of the Chinese/Chinese American students is presented from the data collected from *Ole Miss Yearbooks* and oral history interviews. The pioneer Chinese/Chinese American students at UM played a significant role in part of the University's history. History also helped to gain an understanding of a minority group of students' origins in China and roots in Mississippi.

Primary Research Question: The History of Chinese American Students at UM

The study began with the first Chinese American student at UM, Luck Wing, when he enrolled at UM in the Summer of 1946. World War II had just ended, and many of the veterans returned to the U.S. For this reason, Luck perceived that most of the male students were much older than him. As a seventeen-year-old freshman, Luck remembered feeling much younger than the veterans and learned a lot of things from them. In addition, because there were very few Chinese students at the University of Mississippi in the late 1940s, Luck had more Caucasian

friends on campus. Luck remembered there were two other Chinese students, William Fang and Rosie Gong, when he was an Ole Miss student. William studied at UM in 1947 after he was discharged from the Navy. He used the G.I. Bill to attend UM. He majored in pharmacy and became a pharmacist after graduating (Wong, 2011). Rosie was the first female Chinese American student at UM. Her major was commerce (Wong, 2011). Luck graduated in 1950, and he was deployed to Germany a few months later when the Korean War started. The wars in which the United States was involved had significant impact on Ole Miss students' lives during this time.

Juanita Dong, the first female Chinese student major in pharmacy, also had a distinct experience at UM. She first enrolled at UM in Fall 1956 as a transfer student. At that time, the Korean War had just ended, so again there were many veterans returning to higher education institutions during Juanita's time of study at UM. Furthermore, there were very few female students at the School of Pharmacy. As a female pharmacy student, Juanita was told that she had taken the position of men who needed to take care of their families. Juanita sensed discrimination as a woman in a man's field. Luckily, Juanita was able to get a job in downtown Oxford as a pharmacist. For this reason, Juanita was living in Oxford during the 1962 riots. She remembered being sad when the riots took place.

The Chinese American students who were enrolled at UM during its integration witnessed James Meredith's enrollment. Frieda Quon and Chat Sue remembered being confused and scared at the time. From their perspectives, Meredith was isolated from the rest of the University's students. Both Frieda and Chat had seen Meredith in person when they were students, but they never had any chance to get close to him. As college students, they could not fully understand why Meredith was treated differently. Chat believed that his education in the

Mississippi public school system influenced his understanding of racial issues when he was young. He was taught that Black people were inferior. Chat felt that Black people were treated unfairly, and he was angry about this. Both Frieda and Chat said that they gained a better understanding of the American civil rights movement when they were older. Former Chinese American students who attended UM after integration did not experience the riots in 1962 because they were very young, but they felt that Ole Miss was a pretty diverse campus when they were UM students.

Student lives and collegiate experiences differed because of historical events and backgrounds. World history and American history changed the landscape of a southern university, and student lives were influenced by the major events of the time as well. The stories of the former Chinese American students at UM recorded a part of the history of UM history, which may help future generations know more about the past.

Research Question One: Shared Experiences

The first research question asked what campus life experiences were shared by the Chinese American students of the study. The memories of the participants were the keys to their stories. After carefully reading the participants' stories, I identified eight common themes and shared experiences of the early Chinese American students from the Mississippi Delta. These themes were: 1) growing up in the grocery store background; 2) a close-knit community keeping Chinese traditions; 3) school was a big part—value of education; 4) Not Black, not White—being Chinese, American and Chinese American; 5) different treatment; 6) James Meredith and Ole Miss; 7) good time at Ole Miss; 8) a family tradition to attend Ole Miss.

The themes revealed unique experiences of the Chinese American students at UM. They all grew up in the Mississippi Delta where their parents or grandparents owned family-run

grocery stores. The early Chinese immigrants in Mississippi operated grocery stores because of an extraordinary historical background. The racial discrimination of the Black and White in Mississippi provided Chinese people the opportunity to operate grocery businesses, serving mostly Black customers. The grocery store business did not require a lot of language skills and also fit the early Chinese American immigrants' work ethic and capabilities. In addition to their roots in Mississippi, the first theme also reflected on their origins in China. Most of the participants' ancestors were from small villages in the Guangdong Province in China. The early immigrants were mostly men who came to the United States alone and operated grocery stores for a few years before they brought their families to Mississippi. For this reason, the early Mississippi Chinese communities were marked as bachelor societies (Jung 2008). Interestingly, the grocery store theme also portrayed the "paper son" history, which told the stories of the early Chinese immigrants who entered America illegally by using false documents. Despite difficult initiatives, the early Chinese immigrants in Mississippi managed to overcome barriers in the hope of helping their future generations to pursue better lives.

The participants lived in close-knit communities that observed Chinese traditions and customs. Chinese people were family-oriented, supportive and closely connected. The participants remembered that they learned to help with the grocery business at very young ages. Their early work experiences were beneficial for them to value hard-work and industriousness. Furthermore, the parents were willing to sacrifice themselves for their children's education. For this reason, the participants remembered that school was a big part of their younger lives, and most of them believed that education was the only means to help them pursue a better life. When they chose their majors at college, they considered their career plans and tended to choose purposeful majors. The Chinese families in Mississippi also valued Chinese traditions and

customs, and they gathered together for Chinese holidays. They cooked Chinese food by traditional Chinese recipes, taught children Chinese customs during Chinese holidays, and kept Chinese rituals in important events, like weddings and funerals. Unlike many big cities that had Chinatowns to purchase Chinese groceries and provide social functions, the Chinese in the Mississippi Delta congregated in their relatives' or friends' houses for several occasions a year. They were a very close-knit community to provide network and support as well as to keep Chinese traditions and customs in their daily lives.

Growing up in the Mississippi Delta, the participants said that they were aware that the Chinese were different from the Black and White populations. They reported that they generally did not have any discrimination experiences growing up in Mississippi or at Ole Miss, but there were some occasions they felt they were treated differently. For example, Chat recalled that when he was young, Chinese people could not purchase houses in the White community. For this reason, many of the Chinese families lived behind or on the second level of their grocery stores for many years. The combination of the grocery store and house actually helped the Chinese families to take care of their families and businesses. As most of the participants reflected, the families were always together. Parents knew what their children were doing, and the children knew where their parents were. The parents were very supportive of their children. Children were willing to help their parents with the grocery store business because they consider helping as a way of giving back for their parents' sacrifices. In addition, locating the grocery stores in the Black neighborhoods proved to have some advantages as Jung (2008) explained,

It was more convenient to live close to their primary customers, the [B]lacks, and the store rent was lower than it would have been in the central business district.

Additionally, by living in the backs of their stores, they also saved the expense of

renting another space for living quarter. Since they worked long into the night, it was safer to sleep in their stores than to go home late at night and risk assault. Being on the premises 24 hours a day also enabled them to protect their merchandise from burglary.
(p. 41)

From the interviews, I learned that Chinese grocery stores in the Mississippi Delta might experience different levels of financial success and profitability. For instance, Juanita recalled that their family had the first television set in town, and many people came to see their television. Her family was considered fairly prosperous for the time. The participants' ability to attend and graduate from UM resulted from the success of their family's grocery businesses.

As for different treatments at college, Chinese students were not allowed to join fraternities or sororities. The participants said that they were aware of this regulation before attending Ole Miss; however, they were not bothered by this restriction. As for individual stories regarding different treatments, Gwen Gong recalled when her professor used "Chinaman" as an example in class. She felt that was a painful experience for her because the expression of "Chinaman" was an insult for Chinese people, but that experience stimulated her to achieve excellence in that class. From the participants' stories, I found that early Chinese American students generally did not feel discriminated against at UM even though there were some special treatments and exclusive regulations for them. In addition, the Chinese American student group at Ole Miss provided them with support and friendship to help develop their senses of identity and cherish Chinese cultural heritage.

From the interviews, most of the participants said that they had good experiences at Ole Miss and did not regret attending Ole Miss. When they went back to visit the campus years after they graduated, they were impressed to see the changes and developments at Ole Miss. For some

of the participants, going to Ole Miss was a family tradition, and their siblings, children, or grandchildren also had studied at UM. They were proud to be Ole Miss alumni and considered the education at UM a great influence on their lives in terms of personal, academic, and social development. They believed that they would not have a career if they did not have a higher education degree.

Research Question Two: Different Experiences

The second research question sought to ask how the campus life experiences of Chinese/Chinese American students differed. Despite participants sharing some common childhood experiences growing up in the Mississippi Delta and collegiate experiences at UM, there were some distinct experiences by individual participants. Luck Wing, the first Chinese American UM student, remembered vividly when Chancellor J.D. Williams first became the chancellor because of Luck's most embarrassing experience at UM. Luck said that he met Chancellor Williams at the Cafeteria and asked him whether he was one of Mississippi's sheriffs because there was a sheriff conference at Ole Miss on campus. Luck also remembered the tuition and living costs when he was a student. He paid 50 dollars for tuition the first year, and could have a good meal by spending a dollar. Juanita remembered the 1962 riots at Ole Miss. Frieda Quon and Chat Sue, being undergraduate students, also witnessed James Meredith's enrollment at UM. As mentioned earlier, Frieda and Chat remembered that they were very scared and innocent at that time. Seeing integration at Ole Miss was the most unforgettable memory for Juanita, Frieda, and Chat.

The other four participants, who attended UM in late 1960s and early 1970s, perceived the campus differently. After the 1960s and 1970s, there were more Chinese American students on the UM campus, so the younger participants remembered that they socialized more with

Chinese students and they had some social events on campus. In addition, the participants remembered that they got to know people from different places. For example, Frieda remembered that she had a roommate from Thailand, and she got to know other international students. It is also interesting that former business major students in the late 1960s and 1970s remembered Dr. James Davis, Professor of Accounting, very well. Gene, Jeff, and Esther said that Dr. Davis had a special teaching style that they could not forget. Gene remembered that Dr. Davis was very strict, and he always made sure students had finished their assignments. Jeff felt that Dr. Davis inspired him to become interested in accounting and learn accounting concepts well. Esther remembered Dr. Davis well because he was very loud, and he could wake up students in the morning classes.

The participants' memories of the campus reflected the changes of Ole Miss and Oxford. Luck remembered the residence hall he lived in was called "Bar B Two," which was across from the cafeteria. Esther and Gwen remembered the residence hall they lived in was called "New Dorm," which is now Crosby Hall. Many of the participants said that they did not have much entertainment in Oxford, so going to Memphis was considered a major activity. They could also watch a movie in Oxford, but the students at the time called the movie a "picture show." The former Ole Miss students also gave the "picture house" nicknames such as "One Stick" and "Two Stick" because they needed to use "one stick" to escape the mice; "Two Sticks" was given because they needed to use another stick to clean the seats. The former students' memories reflected their entertainment at Ole Miss. In addition to entertainment in Oxford and at Ole Miss, the participants also remembered some of the restaurants where they used to dine, and some of the restaurants are still open today, like the Beacon Restaurant and Handy Andy. The participants also recalled that some of the restaurants where they liked to dine were pretty cheap. Frieda

remembered a restaurant, now located on College Hill Road, where she and her friends liked to go. Esther said that the Holiday Inn, now located on Jackson Avenue, used to be a restaurant and was popular among college students.

Individual Stories

When I asked the participants what kind of students they were, they described themselves as hardworking, good, and below average students. They all followed instructions and rules and never made any trouble. Chat said that he worked very hard and did not hang out with friends very often because he needed to go back home on weekends to help with the family business. Most of the participants said that they had a lot of fun at UM. Two male participants remembered that their hair was cut on the first day on campus. Chat, enrolled in Fall 1961, and Gene, enrolled in Fall 1968, remembered it as a ritual that senior students cut freshman male students' hair. For Chat and Gene, it was a pretty scary experience because they were homesick on that first day. Jeff, enrolled in 1972, said that the tradition discontinued when he was a freshman, and he was glad that his hair was not cut on his first day.

Female participants had similar college experiences of hanging out with their friends. Esther's memory of a college student streaking reflected a unique student activity in the 1970s. College students streaking was not discussed much in the literature. Also, there were no records showing student streaking in the *Ole Miss Yearbooks* in the 1970s. However, Esther's witness of college student streaking reflected a particular student activity in the 1970s. Esther's enrollment at UM was from Spring 1972 to Spring 1976. Even though Esther did not tell the exact time when she saw Ole Miss student streaking, it was likely that college student streaking events were widespread at American higher education institutions in the early 1970s. Mendoza's (1988) research on college student streaking during the spring of 1974 provided an understanding of the

characteristics, effects and incident of streaking. According Mendoza (1988), American campus streaking was described as a fad which “diffused suddenly, gained quick acceptance, and was short-lived” (p. 569). When and how Ole Miss students started streaking was unknown, however, Esther’s memory reflected an unique college student activity in the era. Esther remembered seeing many students streaking from the window of her resident room. Esther knew that streaking was forbidden, but there were too many students who went streaking, so the campus police were unable to catch them. The scene of seeing a crowd of students streaking was the most unforgettable experience for Esther at Ole Miss.

Research Question Three: Sense of Membership or Belonging

The third research question asked to what extent these pioneer Chinese/Chinese American students at UM felt a sense of membership or belonging to the community. The discussion is related to the second theme and fourth theme of the study: a) a close-knit community keeping Chinese traditions, and b) Not Black, not White—being Chinese, American and Chinese American. As mentioned earlier, the participants said that they were always aware that they were Chinese and different from Black and White people. They were accepted by both the Black and White communities, but did not feel like they belonged to either of them. In Mississippi, the Chinese were not perceived as Black or White; however, they were not treated as Black or White, either. The ambiguous position offered the Chinese people a place for themselves in the Mississippi Delta. Even though their grocery stores catered mostly to the Black community, the former Chinese UM students of the time period went to the White public schools in the Mississippi Delta. For this reason, the Chinese in Mississippi had opportunities of exposure to both Chinese and American culture as well as Black and White communities. The

unique experience helped them to understand different cultures and get adjusted as freshmen at UM.

Research Question Four: Influence of the UM Education

The fourth research question asked how these Chinese/Chinese American students carried their UM experiences into their lives after graduation. This question also reflected on the common themes about their value of education, good times at Ole Miss, and family traditions of going to Ole Miss. The participants believed that the educations they received at Ole Miss had positive influences on their careers and lives. They were able to pursue a career that they were interested in and achieved their goals. They felt that the UM education was beneficial for their intellectual, professional and personal growth. They highly valued the education they received at Ole Miss, and had good times and loved the University. When they returned to the campus many years later, they were glad and impressed to see the changes and developments at Ole Miss.

Research Question Five: Meaning of Larger Significance from the UM/Ole Miss memories

The fifth research question asked what meaning or larger significance can be derived from the UM/Ole Miss memories of these Chinese/Chinese American students. The archival research of *Ole Miss Yearbooks* showed that Chinese/Chinese American students attending UM before Ole Miss was officially integrated. Their participation and involvement in campus activities were recorded in the yearbooks. For example, according to the *1953 Ole Miss Yearbook*, Rosie Gong, major in Commerce, served as the secretary of the Baptist Student Union and was a member of Kappa Delta Pi. Rosie Gong was also the first female Chinese American student at UM. In addition, W.J. Fong and Winnie Yuen were members of the American Pharmaceutical Association. Early Chinese American students' campus lives were captured by the yearbook research. In the proceeding years, Chinese/Chinese American students continued to get more

involved in campus activities. For instance, Chat Sue was the first Chinese student senator and a member of Phi Sigma Alpha, an academic honorary.

Besides student activities, student enrollment trends and development were analyzed in the archival research. In the 1940s, there were three Chinese American students at UM. In the 1950s, the average number of Chinese American student enrollment was 4.4. Nevertheless, from the 1960s forward, the Chinese/Chinese American student enrollment continued to grow and reached 64 students in 1972. The growth of Chinese American students at UM resulted from the second generation of early Chinese immigrants attending higher education institutions. Likewise, the increase of Chinese American student at UM reflected on the growth of the Chinese population in the Mississippi Delta because more Chinese grocers brought their families to Mississippi after the 1920s.

The oral history portion of this study collected memories and personal commentaries through recorded interviews. The participants' narratives reflected their campus lives from 1946 to 1975, and their stories contributed to the underrepresented students' voices that did not gain attention from institutional history. As mentioned earlier, the first Chinese American student studied at UM in 1946, seventeen years earlier than the University's historical integration. It is interesting to note the pioneer Chinese American students' perspectives as they reported that they did not have any trouble getting admitted to UM, yet they were not allowed to join fraternities and sororities. Their campus experiences were different from students of other race/ethnic group because of the influence of Chinese culture, their childhood experiences in the Mississippi Delta, and the unique circumstances of segregation history in Mississippi.

Other Observations

Besides the recorded interviews, some of the observations were made from the process of

the research. From the oral history interviews, I found that the Chinese community from the Mississippi Delta was very family-oriented and took the pride in Chinese heritage even though members considered themselves Americans. Second, community members had a very strong network and good relationships among the Chinese Americans from the Mississippi Delta. For example, when I first contacted Frieda for an oral history interview, she not only agreed to help me, but also was willing to identify potential participants. Because of her assistance, I was able to recruit further participants. Third, the participants were very genuine and willing to answer the questions I asked. After interviews, they were glad to answer any follow-up questions, which was beneficial to reconfirm information from the oral history interviews.

Despite the stories sharing some common themes, each story was unique. The differences among the stories might be attributed to age differences. As mentioned earlier, the oldest and youngest participants were thirty years apart. The younger participants seemed to identify themselves more with American culture. Even though they were different, they were proud of their roots in the Mississippi Delta and took efforts to preserve their cultural heritage in Mississippi. The idea to establish a Chinese American museum came from the efforts that they wanted to keep their cultural heritage.

Other than my observations during and after interviews, there was commentary about Chinese Americans from the Mississippi Delta. Morganti (2010) wrote his observations on Chinese Americans from the Mississippi Delta. He noted that Chinese people had strong senses of family and highly respected their elders and did not consider elders as burdens. He gave an example from his observations that in funerals Chinese people paid respect to their elders. Morganti (2010) also said that the family members prepared envelopes for friends attending the funerals. Inside each envelope was a coin and mint that “symbolize the wishes of the departed

that you have prosperity and sweetness in your life” (p. 2). The example showed that Chinese people in Mississippi kept Chinese traditions that proved they were concerned about their friends and relatives despite having a difficult time.

The original plan to recruit potential participants involved the assistance of the Alumni Association. However, the plan was adjusted because Dr. Michael Metcalf, Associate Provost of the University of Mississippi, introduced the researcher to potential participants. After the first participant was recruited, further participants were referred and agreed to participate in the oral history project. Because of the first participant’s recommendation, letters of invitation were sent, and eight participants were recruited. The method to recruit the participants reflected the strength of network and connection of the Chinese Mississippi community. They still keep in touch, and many of them are dedicated to maintaining Chinese American cultural heritage.

Rethinking about Model Minority

Since the term was first coined in the late 1960s, Asian Americans were generally stereotyped as the “model minority” because of their achievements in education, especially science and math and career (Chung, 2005; Eric Digest, 2002; Porter, 1993; Suzuki, 2002; Wang, 2008; Wong & Halgrin, 2006; Yi, Lee, Tasia, & Hung, 2001; Yu, 2006). Contemporary critics have been discussed the influence of the “model minority” on Asian American students in various aspects and argued that we need to rethink this image (Qin, Way, & Mukherjee, 2008; Wong, 1980; Yang, 2004; Zhao, 2009). This myth perpetuates the stereotype that Chinese American students’ achievements in academic and career were generally more emphasized over their other achievements. However, in contrast to the myth, Chinese American students at UM did not merely focus on their academic achievements nor did the majority of the Chinese American students major in science and math, finding verified in both the archival research and

oral history portion. Luck and Juanita chose to major in pharmacy for different reasons: Luck wanted to satisfy his parents, and Juanita wanted to choose a purpose major. The rest of the participants were majors in Liberal Arts, Business/Accounting, and Education.

From their descriptions, I found most of my participants followed their interests and knew their strength. Their childhood experience also was beneficial for them to develop their interests and learning besides school curricula. They did well at school, but they also had good childhood experiences. As college students, they served and volunteered in different student organizations. Chat and Gwen, for example, were student senators and officers of different student organizations. Finally, the participants described themselves as good students: they followed regulations and completed course requirements. Most of the participants worked hard to get good grades, but they also had some social activities and gathering events. Opposed to academic excellence, Frieda recalled that some of her Chinese friends fell into academic probation in the first year because they were having too much fun at college. However, they decided to study harder, and their grades improved after the second year. Chinese American students were generally good students, but they did not only focus on their academic studies. They were well-rounded students that participated in activities and services that required interaction with other people, such as Chat and Gwen serving as student senators and campus organization leaders. Even though the Chinese American students at UM in the 1960s and 1970s did not officially form any organizations, they had built and maintained a supportive network and had several social gatherings every school year.

Implications for Student Affairs Professionals

Chinese American students at UM during the period under study were a special minority group in that they shared unique experiences growing up in Mississippi. The history of their

enrollment was closely connected to the history of early Chinese immigrants in the Mississippi Delta. Even though some research has studied the history of the Chinese in Mississippi (Cohen, 1984; June, 2008; Rummel, 1966; Thornell, 2008), this study focused on Chinese/Chinese American students at UM and endeavored to reveal the Chinese/Chinese American student enrollment history and depict the pioneer students' collegiate lives. The perspectives of particular ethnic students may increase the understanding of an institution's past. For this point, future research could explore the history of the first generation or pioneer minority students in various types of institutions. The oral history of minority or underrepresented students would help to explain the institutional histories from various perspectives.

Much of the literature has paid attention to the needs and concerns of Asian American communities and students, particularly on the east or west U.S. coasts where Asian/Asian American populations are more intense (Chang & Chang, 2004; Juang & Nguyen, 2006; Liu, 2002). However, the archives and stories reflected that Chinese/Chinese American students at UM had different experiences, but their needs were not addressed. Further research may investigate the adjustment/transitional experiences, cultural competence, and campus experiences of minority students in various institutional types and regions in the United States. The minority students' experiences could benefit practitioners, helping them to better understand various students' needs and promote the understanding of diversity.

Because this study focused on Chinese American students studying at UM, other first generation Chinese American college students attending various institutions might tell different stories. Their collegiate experiences would be beneficial for comparing and contrasting with the oral histories revealed in this study. Furthermore, students' learning experience in different institutional types might help to explain the influence of education on career choice and life

plans. Students' choices about attending different institutions might also benefit future research to discuss the factors and reasons associated with choosing a college or major. Minority or underrepresented students' histories in an institution might help uncover the untold stories of a particular group and help further higher education practitioners to study the needs and concerns of various students.

Chinese/Chinese Americans Today

As many of the Chinese Americans in the Mississippi Delta pursued higher education degrees, most of them did not return to the Mississippi Delta to operate grocery stores. The Mississippi Chinese population changed because the second generation of Chinese Americans moved to other places for jobs. Woo, Green, and Holley (2011) showed the growth of the Mississippi Chinese population from 1870 to 2010, starting from 16 in 1870 to 4,474 in 2010. Woo, Green, and Holley (2011) further discussed the top five Mississippi counties by Chinese population and found that in 1960s and 1970s, Delta counties were listed at the top. However, from the 1980 census, Delta counties began to drop out of the list of top counties, and the 2000 showed no Delta counties on the list (Woo, Green & Holley, 2011). The population report matched the development of Chinese/Chinese American students at UM. As more Chinese Americans from the Mississippi Delta received higher education, they moved away from the Delta upon graduation. Likewise, all of the participants in the oral history portion moved to cities and other states, but they remembered their roots in the Delta.

The Chinese/Chinese American students were a unique ethnic group of students at the University of Mississippi. Nevertheless, the participants, now in their 50s, 60s, 70s, and 80s, have been graduated from UM for a few decades. Their memories and stories at UM inspire future students to overcome difficulties and pursue professional careers. Looking back at their past in

Mississippi, the Mississippi Chinese took efforts to keep their cultural heritage in the Delta. The Chinese American Heritage Museum is an ongoing project to help preserve Chinese American culture. The project seeks to collect objects, photographs, and antiques to tell the stories of the past. This project is sponsored by the city of Cleveland and Delta State University. The museum is expected to be housed in the city of Cleveland.

Conclusion

This study presented a history of Chinese/Chinese American students at UM from 1946 to 1975 by a compilation of student enrollment records and oral history interviews. The themes were analyzed and discussed from findings from archival research and oral history interviews of former Chinese American students at UM. The data collected from *Ole Miss Yearbooks* revealed the development of student enrollment and immigrant history of the Chinese in Mississippi. The participants' childhood experiences in the Mississippi Delta and their memories of UM were recorded. The Chinese/Chinese American students at UM in the period of study were a special group that witnessed changes of their hometowns and the development of the Ole Miss campus. Their stories in Mississippi and UM will help future generations to gain different perspectives of the past and inspire them to work hard and overcome obstacles to achieve personally and professional.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

Appendix A

Invitation for Interview

From: Hsin-Yi “Sandy” Kao
440 Beauregard Circle
Oxford, MS38655
hkao@olemiss.edu

Dear:

My name is Hsin-Yi “Sandy” Kao. I am a doctoral candidate at the Higher Education Personnel Administrative at the University of Mississippi. I am an international student from Taiwan. Currently I am working on my dissertation entitled “Chinese/Chinese American students at the University of Mississippi from 1947 to 1972” under the supervision of Dr. Amy Wells Dolan, Associate Professor of Higher Education and Associate Dean of School of Education at the University of Mississippi. The purpose of my study is to reveal the voices of pioneer Chinese/Chinese American students at UM. Chinese/Chinese American students were actually enrolled to UM prior to the integration at Ole Miss in 1962; however, the stories of Chinese/Chinese American students have been hardly heard. For this reason, I think it is important to record your stories at UM.

Because of your significant role in the UM history, I would like to invite you to participate in this oral history project. If you agree to participate, you will be asked for an interview which will approximately last an hour to two hours. The interview will be audio taped so I can accurately reflect what is discussed. The tapes will only be reviewed by me as a researcher and transcribed by professional transcribers. This study has been reviewed by The University of Mississippi’s Institutional Review Board (IRB). The IRB has determined that this study fulfills the human research subject protections obligations required by state and federal law and University policies. If you have any questions, concerns, or reports regarding your rights as a participant of research, please contact the IRB at (662) 915-7482.

During our meeting for the interview, the questions I plan to include are: 1) your background and growing-up experiences in a Chinese family in Mississippi; 2) your campus experiences at UM; 3) your memories about UM; 4) the influence of UM in your life. I appreciate for your time and consideration for participating in this oral history. I believe your participation will add a new chapter to the UM history. If you have any comments or suggestions, please do not hesitate to reach me at (662)550-4245(H), (662)202-5475 or email me at hkao@olemiss.edu. You may also contact my dissertation advisor Dr. Amy Wells Dolan at (662)915-5710.

Sincerely yours,

Hsin-Yi “Sandy” Kao
Doctoral Candidate, The University of Mississippi

APPENDIX B

Appendix B

Interview Questions

1. When and where were you born?
2. Where did you grow up and what was it like?
3. What were some of your childhood experiences? And what did you want to be or do later in life?
4. How did you come to understand your forefathers' story about coming to the United States and their stories about living in a foreign land?
5. What were your experiences growing up in a Chinese family?
6. How did you perceive yourself as a Chinese American or American? How did you observe the relationship among Blacks, Whites, and Chinese Americans?
7. What did you know about The University of Mississippi before you became a student?
8. Why did you choose to study at the University of Mississippi? How did you choose your major?
9. How do you remember your first day on campus?
10. What were your best memories of college?
11. What were your most unforgettable experiences on campus?
12. What kind of student were you?
13. What were your favorite classes?
14. Where did you live?
15. What did you do for fun?

16. What places did you like to go in Oxford?
17. Who were your close campus friends?
18. Who were some of the professors who stand out in your memory? And why?
19. What were the unforgettable experiences studying at the University of Mississippi?
20. As James Meredith's admission to UM is a big event in UM history, what is your opinion or impression about this?
21. Have you ever felt discrimination at UM?
22. How do you feel about Ole Miss?
23. How do you identify yourself as a Rebel?
24. Let's talk about your life after graduation. What did you do immediately after college or graduate school?
25. How often or at all have you visited Oxford or campus?
26. If you could re-visit UM, what would you want to see or do the most?
27. How did (do) you value education and your career?
28. What is the influence of education at the University of Mississippi on your life? Would you choose to study at The University of Mississippi if you were to choose again?
29. How do you like to be remembered as an alumnus/alumna/student of the University of Mississippi?

APPNEDIX C

Appendix C

Chinese/Chinese American Students at the University of Mississippi from the *Ole Miss Yearbooks* (1947-1972)

	Year	Last Name	First Name	Major	Hometown	Note
1	1950	Wing	Luck	Pharmacy	Jonestown, MS	First Chinese student from the MS Delta appearing at year book
2	1952	Fong	William J.	Pharmacy	Cleveland, MS	Phi Delta Chi. American Pharmaceutical Association
3	1953	Woo	Alice	Liberal Arts	Independent, MS	Wesley Foundation, Y.W.C.A., Phi Sigma
4	1955	Fong*	Bennett S.	Pharmacy	Benoitm, MS	Rho Chi. Phi Delta Chi; American Pharmaceutical Association, Professional
5	1955	Lee	Shirley	Commerce	Lula, MS	Business Education club treasure
6	1958	Lee *	Frank, Jr.	Pharmacy	Lula, MS	Professional
7	1958	Joe	William K.	Engineering	Lula, MS	Mechanical Engineering Club
8	1958	Quon	Mary Sue	Liberal Arts	Moorhead, MS	

9	1959	Dong*	Yick C.	Pharmacy	Drew, MS	Professional
10	1960	Gong*	Juanita	Pharmacy	Boyle, MS	Phi Delta Chi
11	1961	Chu	Pearl Louise	Education	Greenville, MS	
12	1961	Joe	Lilyan Ling	Commerce	Cleveland, MS	
13	1961	Shing	Lou Daniel	Commerce	Clarksdale, MS	
14	1962	Chin	Sham K	Professional	Forrest City, AR	
15	1962	Gee	Chung Lin	Pharmacy	Ruleville, MS	
16	1962	Jue	Ward Q.	Commerce	Indianola, MS	
17	1962	Shing	Lou D.	Commerce	Clarksdale, MS	
18	1962	Chin	New Shing	Commerce	Drew, MS	
19	1963	Jue	Cladys	Pharmacy	Clarksdale, MS	
20	1963	Teng	Chu-Yang	Graduate	Chang Hua, Formasa	First Chinese student from Taiwan
21	1963	Tan	Tze Min	Graduate	Taichung City, China	
22	1963	Dong	Mary	Education	Drew, MS	
23	1963	Loe	Mary	Liberal Arts	Lula, MS	
24	1963	Chan	Shiu Chuen	Pharmacy IV	University	
25	1963	Dong	Fay Chong	Pharmacy IV	University	
26	1964	Seu	Frieda	Education	Greenville, MS	
27	1964	Choo	Lena Bing	Pharmacy 5	Clarksdale, MS	
28	1964	Jue	Albert	Pharmacy	Indianola, MS	

29	1964	Jue	George Henry	Pharmacy	Clarksdale, MS	
30	1964	Chat	Sue	Liberal Arts	Clarksdale	
31	1964	Chan	Johny S. C.	Pharmacy 5	University	
32	1964	Chiu	Chung-Bun	Graduate	Kowloon, Hong Kong	
33	1964	Chu	Joseph Yung-Chang	Graduate	China	
34	1964	Chuang	L.Y. Yang	Graduate	Taipei, Formosa	First female Chinese student from Taiwan
35	1964	Chung	Vince T.	Graduate	Kaohsiung, Formosa	
36	1964	Lee	Chuyan	Graduate	University	
37	1964	Ng	Samuel Y-wait	Graduate	Kowloon, Hong Kong	
38	1964	Shek	Paul Kwok-Chue h	Graduate	Hong Kong	
39	1964	Tai	Chen-Nang	Graduate	Formosa	
40	1964	Tse	Kam-Chuen	Graduate	Hong Kong	
41	1964	Wang	Ching-Ru	Graduate	China	
42	1964	Wu	Mu-Sheng	Graduate	China	
43	1964	Young	Nan-Loh	Graduate	China	
44	1965	Quon	Frieda Seu	Graduate	Moorhead, MS	
45	1965	Quon	John Paul	Business	Moorhead, MS	
46	1965	Woo	Nancy Lee	Pharmacy/Graduate	Belzoni, MS	
47	1965	Chu	Edwin	Pharmacy	Greenville, MS	
48	1965	Gong	Kung Woo	Business	Boyle, MS	
49	1965	Jue	Albert	Pharmacy 4	Indianola, MS	

50	1965	Sue	Chat	Liberal Arts	Clarksdale, MS	
51	1965	Chuang	Lan Yuh Yang	Graduate	Taipei, Formosa	
52	1965	Chuang	Vincent Tsung-chien	Graduate	Kaohsiung, Formosa	
53	1965	Fine	Tah Houng	Graduate	Taipei, Taiwan, China	
54	1965	Hsu	Shih Siu	Graduate	Taiwan, China	
55	1965	Liu	Yuan Hu	Graduate	Ping Tung, Taiwan, China	
56	1965	Su	Mei Quey	Graduate	Taiwan, Free China	
57	1965	Tai	Chen-Nang	Graduate	Hsin Chu, Formosa	
58	1965	Ten	Tsu C	Graduate	Taipei, Taiwan, China	
59	1965	Wang	Min Hue	Graduate	Tainan, Taiwan, China	
60	1965	Wen	Cheng H.	Graduate	Taiwan, China	
61	1965	Wu	Mu-Sheng	Graduate	Kaohsiung, Formosa, Taiwan	
62	1965	Yuan	Chen	Graduate	Taiwan, China	
63	1966	Jue	George Henry	Pharmacy	Clarksdale, MS	

64	1966	Jue	Jessie	Pharmacy	Clarksdale, MS	
65	1966	Pang	Carolyn	Education	Greenville, MS	
66	1966	Seu	Frances	Education	Greenville, MS	Society for Advancement of Management
67	1966	Wing	Joseph F	Business	Jonestown, MS	Business, Director of Photography, WCBH Radio Staff, Phi Sigma Epsilon,
68	1966	Sue	Chat	Law I	Clarksdale, MS	first Chinese American student at low school; classified as senior in 1965
69	1966	Chang	Hunh Chih	Graduate I	University	
70	1966	Su	Mei Quey	Graduate I	Taiwan, Free	
71	1966	Tai	Chen-Nang	Graduate I	Hsin Chu	
72	1966	Teng	Tsu Chi	Graduate I	Taipei, Taiwan	
73	1966	Tsai	Kun San	Graduate I	Taiwan, China	
74	1966	Yuan	I-Cheng	Graduate I	Taiwan, China	
75	1967	Hsu	Dating Lucia	Graduate I	Memphis, Tenn	
76	1967	Hsu	Jason B.	Graduate I	New York, NY	
77	1967	Pong	Shwi Fang	Graduate 2	Memphis, TN	
78	1967	Wai	Kam Leung	Graduate 2	San Diego, CA	
79	1967	Choe	Hyong Kil	Liberal Arts	Oxford, MS	

80	1967	Chang	Hung Chin	Graduate	Taiwan China	
81	1967	Hsu	Chi Mao	Graduate	Taipei, Taiwan	
82	1967	Hsu	Song Yong	Graduate	Taiwan Rep	
83	1967	Kao	Jenny Wir-Learng	Graduate	Taipei, Taiwan	
84	1967	Kong	Shiu Sun	Graduate	Kowloon Hong Kong	
85	1967	Kou	Neng	Graduate	Taiwan, China	
86	1967	Lee	Pan Shyong	Graduate	Taipei, China	
87	1967	Lin	Chhen Hon	Graduate	Tainan, Taiwan	
88	1967	Lin	Jiann Tsyh	Graduate	Taoyuan, Taiwan	
89	1967	Tsai	Kun San	Graduate	Tainan, Taiwan	
90	1967	Yeh	Junezoo	Graduate	Taoyuan, China	
91	1967	Yueh	Chang Loh	Graduate	Taipei, Taiwan	
92	1968	Yee	Albert Duke	Pharmacy 5	Leland, MS	Professional
93	1968	Chinn	Patricia D.	Liberal Arts	Marks, MS	
94	1968	Lou	Paul C.C.	Pharmacy	Clarksdale, MS	
95	1968	Pang	Josephine S	Education	Marks, MS	
96	1968	Chow	Sally Laye	Liberal Arts	Clarksdale, MS	
97	1968	Hsu	Jason B	graduate 1	University	
98	1968	Hsu	Ming Chin	Graduate 2	Taiwan, China	

99	1968	Hu	Kenneth Ta Chin	Graduate 1	Taiwan, China	
100	1968	Kao	Jenny Wei Leang	Graduate 2	Taipei, Taiwan, China	
101	1968	Kong	Shiu Sun	Graduate 2	Kowloon Hong Kong	
102	1968	Kuo	Neng	Graduate 1	Taiwan, China	
103	1968	Lee	Yan Way	Graduate 1	Pingtun Taiwan, China	
104	1968	Laio	Yao Wu	Graduate 1	Taipei Taiwan, China	
105	1968	Lin	Jer Nan Terry	Graduate 1	Taipei Taiwan, China	
106	1968	Liu	Chen Kun	Graduate 1	Taipei China	
107	1968	Tsai	Kun San	Graduate 2	Tainan Taiwan	
108	1968	Wei	Kam Leug	Graduate 1	University	Chi Epsilon
109	1968	Yau	Eddie Tin-Tai	Graduate 1	Hong Kong	First foreign student from Hong Kong
110	1968	Yao	Cherng	Graduate 1	Pingtung Taiwan	
111	1968	Huang	Kan Hsiung	Engineering	Tow Fun Taiwan	
112	1968	Wei	Lan Fong	Liberal Arts	University	
113	1969	Lou	Paul C.C.	Pharmacy V	Clarksdale, MS	
114	1969	Yee	Albert Duke	Pharmacy V	Leland	
115	1969	Quon	Pauline	Liberal Arts	Hernando, MS	

116	1969	Chang	Teh Sen Clement	Graduate I	Taiwan China	
117	1969	Cheng	Chia Yung	Graduate I	Taiwan, China	
118	1969	Chung	Esther Wan Hong	Graduate I	Taiwan, China	
119	1969	Hu	Ta Chin	Graduate I	Taiwan, China	
120	1969	Kong	Shiu Sun	Graduate I	Kowloon Hong Kong	
121	1969	Lee	Yan Way	Graduate I	Taiwan, China	
122	1969	Lin	Terry Jer Nan	Graduate I	Taipei, Taiwan, China	
123	1969	Liu	Chen Kun	Graduate I	Taipei, Taiwan, China	
124	1969	Ng	Kowk Yueng	Graduate I	Hong Kong, China	
125	1969	Shao	Bo-lin Bethel	Graduate I	Taiwan, China	
126	1969	Sung	Samuel Yee	Graduate I	Kowloon Hong Kong	
127	1970	Chow	Sammy Ming	Pharmacy V	Clarksdale, MS	
128	1970	Lee	Man Hee	Graduate I	Bruce, MS	
129	1970	Chow	Sallye Lay	Liberal Arts	Clarksdale, MS	
130	1970	Dong	Janet	Pharmacy	Tutwiler, MS	
131	1970	Joe	Jean Wing	Pharmacy	Clarksdale, Ms	

132	1970	Moy	Lillian	Liberal Arts	Hernando, MS	
133	1970	Wing	Eugene John	Business	Jonestown, MS	
134	1970	Joe	David Son	Engineering	Indianola, MS	
135	1970	Chang	Chargn-An	Graduate I	Taipei Taiwan, China	
136	1970	Chang	Chio-Ying Calli	Graduate I	University	
137	1970	Chang	Simon Shen	Graduate I	Taiwan, China	
138	1970	Chen	Chern Julie	Graduate I	Taiwan, China	
139	1970	Chu	Shu Hong	Graduate I	Oxford, MS	
140	1970	Ding	Guo Isuen M	Graduate I	Taiwan	
141	1970	Ding	Shu-Ming Hu	Graduate III	University	
142	1970	Hsu	Song Yong	Graduate II	University	
143	1970	Kong	Shiu Sun	Graduate II	Hong Kong	
144	1970	Leung	Mow-Wo	Graduate I	Hong Kong	
145	1970	Shao	Bo-lin Gethel	Graduate I	Taiwan, China	
146	1970	Sung	Samuel Yee	Graduate I	Kowloon Hong Kong	
147	1970	Tseng	Hern Huei	Graduate I	University	
148	1970	Wang	Jin Yang	Graduate II	University	
149	1971	Chu	Leroy Dong	Pharmacy V	W Memphis, AR	
150	1971	Joe	Jean Wing	Pharmacy V	Clarksdale, MS	

151	1971	Jue	Helen	Pharmacy V	Clarksdale, MS	
152	1971	Lee	Man Hee	Graduate I	Bruce, MS	
153	1971	Seid	Frank	Pharmacy V	Greenville, MS	
154	1971	Gee	Thomas	Business	Lambert, MS	
155	1971	Gong	Harry Dou	Pharmacy	Duncan, MS	
156	1971	Joe	Johnny Fong	Pharmacy	Cleveland, MS	
157	1971	Joe	Johnny Young	Pharmacy	Greenville, MS	
158	1971	Jue	Edith Jane	Liberal Arts	Clarksdale, MS	
159	1971	Lee	Sue Kee	Pharmacy	Cleveland, MS	
160	1971	Wong	Patricia Jack	Pharmacy	Cleveland, MS	
161	1971	Yee	Becky	Liberal Arts	Dermott, AR	
162	1971	Chen	Chern Julie	Graduate I	Taiwan, China	
163	1971	Hsiac	Hung Fie	Graduate I	Kaohsiung, Taiwan	
164	1971	Huang	Chu- Hsien	Graduate I	Taipei, Taiwan ROC	
165	1971	Jen	Hsianmin Francort	Graduate I	Tainan, Taiwan ROC	
166	1971	Ku	Christine Swang-Piel	Graduate I	Taiwan	
167	1971	Lee	Lu-Yuan	Graduate I	Taichung, Taiwan ROC	

168	1971	Lin	Guey Meei	Graduate I	University	
169	1971	Lin	Horn- Jou	Graduate II		
170	1971	Lin	Shean Jang	Graduate II	Taiwan, China	
171	1971	Mak	Stephen Yu- Chun	Pharmacy V	Kowloon, Hong Kong	
172	1971	Lung	Mon Yi	Graduate II	Kowloon Hong Kong	
173	1971	Tsai	Charles Ming-Hsiao	Graduate I	University	
174	1971	Wu	Yun-Tai	Graduate I	Yong-Ho, Taiwan, ROC	
175	1971	Yang	Chin-Hsing	Grduate I	Taiwan ROC	
176	1971	Yu	Kuo-Ching	Graduate I	Tainan Taiwan	
177	1971	Wong	Andrew Chiwang	Liberal Arts	Kowloon Hong Kong	
178	1972	Choe	Hyong Kil	Graduate I	Sunnyvale, Cali	
179	1972	Gong	Harry Dou	Pharmacy V	Duncan, MS	
180	1972	Joe	Johnny Fung	Pharmacy V	Cleveland, MS	
181	1972	Lee	Ma Hee	Graduate I	Bruce, MS	
182	1972	Lee	Sue Kee	Pharmacy V	Cleveland, MS	
183	1972	Wong	Patricia Jack	Pharmacy V	Cleveland, MS	
184	1972	Chinn	Cedric Vaughn	Pharmacy	Marks, MS	
185	1972	Chow	Andric Hing	Pharmacy	Clarksdale,	

					MS	
186	1972	Chow	Wesley Dean	Liberal Arts	Clarksdale, MS	
187	1972	Joe	Marie	Business	Cleveland, MS	
188	1972	Joe	Rocky Ming	Liberal Arts	Cleveland, MS	
189	1972	Jue	Thomas Shich	Liberal Arts	Rosedale, MS	
190	1972	Lou	Mary C. P.	Education	Clarksdale, MS	
191	1972	Lum	May	Business	Memphis, TN	
192	1972	Moy	Josephine	Pharmacy	Hernando, MS	
193	1972	Wing	Patricia Ann	Liberal Arts	Sledge, MS	
194	1972	Wong	Catharyn Jean	Pharmacy	Drew, MS	
195	1972	Woo	Eddie T	Engineering	Mississippi	
196	1972	Woo	Jimmy Taw	Pharmacy	Inverness, MS	
197	1972	Chang	Tai Chong	Graduate I	Taipei, Taiwan ROC	
198	1972	Cheng	Monica Chien-Hua	Graduate I	University	
199	1972	Chu	Chia-Chi Kathy	Graduate II	Taipei, Taiwan	
200	1972	Hsiao	Hung Fie	Graduate I	Kaohsiung, Taiwan	
201	1972	Hau	Jen-De	Graduate I	Taichung, Taiwan	
202	1972	Hwang	Fu-Jen	Graduate I	Taipei,	

					Taiwan	
203	1972	Kong	Pui Kuen	Graduate I	Hong Kong	
204	1972	Kong	Shiu Sun	Graduate I	Hong Kong	
205	1972	Kuo	Shi-Lan Ann	Graduate II	Tainan, Taiwan	
206	1972	Liang	Tzong Jyi	Graduate I	Boulder, CO	
207	1972	Lin	Guey Meei	Graduate I	University	
208	1972	Lin	Wei- Fang Ann	Graduate I	Taipei, Taiwan, ROC	
209	1972	Ou	In-Ing	Graduate II	Taipei, Taiwan, ROC	
210	1972	Wu	Te Kao	Graduate I	Teng-Shan, Taiwan	
211	1972	Yang	Chin- Hsing	Graduate I	Taipei, Taiwan, ROC	
212	1972	Yu	Kuo-Ching	Graduate I	Taipei, Taiwan	
213	1972	Law	Peter Shiu Wang	Engineering	Hong Kong	

VITA
HSIN-YI “SANDY” KAO, Ph.D.

440 Beauregard Circle, Oxford, MS 38655•662-202-5475•hykao12@gmail.com

EDUCATION

The University of Mississippi, University, Mississippi
Department of Leadership and Counselor Education- Higher Education/Student Personnel
Ph.D. Graduation, Fall 2012
Minor, TESOL (Teaching English to Speakers of other Language)/ESL/EFL

National Sun Yat-Sen University, Kaohsiung, TAIWAN
Graduate study, Foreign Language and Literature, (33 credits toward the Ph.D.) August
2001-June 2005

Fu Jen Catholic University, Taipei, TAIWAN
Master of Arts English Literature, July 1999

Fu Jen Catholic University, Taipei, TAIWAN
Bachelor of Arts English Literature, June 1996

Wen Tzao Ursline Junior College, Kaohsiung, TAIWAN
Associate of Arts Major: English Language; Minor: German, June 1993

PROFESSIONAL EXPERIENCE

The University of Mississippi, University, Mississippi

Graduate Assistant to the Director of Assessment, School of Education, July 2007 to August 2012

- Prepared documents for various types of assessment and student teacher evaluations
- Collected data and performed clerical responsibilities
- Researched current trends and topics related to K-12 and higher education settings

Teaching Assistant of EDHE 660, History of Higher Education, Fall 2011

- Being a moderator in class discussion and reviewed student homework and assignments
- Presented research topics related to American Higher Education
- Provided technology support for Blackboard and multimedia classroom

Practicum Employee in the Career Center, Spring 2009

- Assisted with career fair registrations, preparation, and closure
- Evaluated mock interviews and critiqued resumes and cover letters
- Presented effective interview, resume, and cover letter skills

Student Employee, lab assistant for Orientation Program, Academic Support Center, May 2008-August 2008, May 2009-June 2009

- Assisted new and transfer students with online course registration
- Provided information regarding class and campus introduction
- Served as a greeter to welcome new and transfer students at orientation lunch/dinner

Shih Chien University, Kaohsiung, TAIWAN

Lecturer, Applied Foreign Language Department, February 2000 to July 2006

- *Professional Licenses or Certifications*—Taiwanese Qualifications Certificate at the rank of University Lecturer, No. 067517
- *Teaching*—both introductory courses and upper intermediate courses for undergraduate level; organized and taught survival Chinese to international faculty members
- *Advising*—served as undergraduate class advisor; consulted course schedules and curriculum instructions; advised for emotional management, academic success, and career planning *Testing*—appointed as departmental member for the **oral examine** and **written examine committees**; composed unified exams for English 101 and coordinated exams with faculty members in different majors
- *Administrative*—assigned as an acting chair (July 2004 to September 2004) during the vacancy of department chair; recruited new students and represented department for workshops concerning college teaching and student life
- *Service*—committee member on Equal Opportunity and Sexual Harassment; reviewed

university policies regarding equal opportunity and safe zone environment; attended monthly meetings to discuss and handle reports and appeals of discrimination and sexual harassment cases

Kaohsiung City Open University, Kaohsiung, TAIWAN

Part-time Lecturer, Department of English Language, March 2000 to June 2003

- Taught various English classes such as English Conversation, Introduction to American and English Literature, Listening Comprehension class, and long-distance class for English Poetry

Wen Tzao Ursline Junior College, Kaohsiung, TAIWAN

Adjunct Instructor, Department of English Language, September 1999 to June 2003

- Taught basic to intermediate level English classes for Continuing Education Center students

Fu Jen Catholic University, Taipei, TAIWAN

Research Assistant, September 1996 to June 1999

- Assisted faculty members in collection of research information and bibliography for research topics
- Maintained the research budget and book keeping to ensure the robust usage of funding

Government Information Office, Taipei, TAIWAN

Counselor for visiting journalists in the TNS (Television News Seminar for Friendly Anglophone Nations), September-October 1999

- Served as an interpreter for visiting journalists during the seminar
- Provided assistance and guidance for visiting journalists regarding cultural differences and tourist information
- Worked closely with the Government Information Office staff for emergency services and risk management

RESEARCH

Dissertation

Kao, H.Y. (2012). Chinese/Chinese American Students at the University of Mississippi from 1946 to 1975. Unpublished dissertation, The University of Mississippi, University, MS. (Under the direction of Dr. Amy Wells Dolan, Associate Professor of Higher Education)

Master Thesis

Kao, H.Y. (1999). A Bakhtinean reading on the issue of identity: The time-space continuum, voices and folk songs in Toni Morrison's *Song of Solomon*. Unpublished master's thesis, Fu Jen Catholic University, Taipei, Taiwan.

Conference Paper

Kao, H. Y. (2005). An unavoidable quest: Constance's journey as her pilgrimage in Chaucer's *The Man of Law's Tale*. Annual Shih Chien Creativity and Management Conference. Kaohsiung, Taiwan.

Kao, H. Y. (2011). A comparative study of student loans between the United States of American and Taiwan higher education. Annual North American Taiwan Studies Association (NATSA) Conference, Pittsburg, PA.

Kao, H. Y. (2012). Chinese/Chinese American Students at the University of Mississippi from the archival research of *Ole Miss Yearbooks*. Southern History of Education Society (SHOES), Tallahassee, FL.

Kao, H. Y. (2012). The oral history of Chinese American Students at the University of Mississippi from 1946 to 1975. History of Education Society (HES) Annual Meeting, Seattle, WA.

SERVICE

Committee Member, Title IX Student Committee, the University of Mississippi, Spring 2012

- Attended meetings to discuss strategies that the University can ensure students understand their rights under Title IX, understand how to report violations of Title IX and to ensure that the University takes each complaint seriously and provides a prompt and equitable response in accordance with the requirements of Title IX

Coordinator in Education of Annual Conference for NATSA (North American Taiwan Studies Association), Fall 2011 to present

- Worked with other coordinators in various regions to plan and program the annual conference
- Communicated with the president of NATSA and hosting university for conference details including meeting space, keynote speakers, and conference schedule

Volunteer of SROW (Southern Regional Orientation Workshop), Office of Orientation and Parent Programs, the University of Mississippi, March 13-15, 2009

- Assisted orientation program coordinators with assigned duties during the two-day

workshop

- Served as a greeter and provided assistance to the orientation leaders from the southern region

Volunteer of Study Abroad Fair, Office of Study Abroad, the University of Mississippi, Spring 2009

- Worked with the Study Abroad advisors to set up Study Abroad fair space and registration
- Provided Study Abroad representatives from different countries with the UM information

Volunteer of WorldFest, Office of International Program, the University of Mississippi, Earth Day Spring 2009

- Attended planning meetings to initiate and program WorldFest event
- Supported the needs of the event, such as serving food and welcoming guests

LEADERSHIP AND PROFESSIONAL MEMBERSHIP

- *President*, Taiwanese Student Association, the University of Mississippi, August 2007-July 2008
- Student Personnel Association at the University of Mississippi, August 2008 to present
- National Association of Student Personnel Administrators (NASPA)
- American Educational Research Association (AERA)
- History of Education Society (HES)

HONORS AND AWARDS

Candidate for Exemplary Teacher Award at Shih Chien University, September 2005-June 2006

Recipient of Lamar Memorial Scholarship, University of Mississippi, Summer 2009

Summer Graduate Assistantship Program, Graduate School, University of Mississippi

Awarded for Summer 2010 and 2011

Recipient of Graduate Student Council Research Grant 2010-2011, University of Mississippi,

\$500.00, January to December 2011

Dissertation Fellowship, University of Mississippi, Awarded for Fall 2012