

Cultural Homelessness: Migrant Children in China

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A thesis submitted for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in Psychoanalytic Studies

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January 2025

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Abstract

China's migrant population is huge, yet migrant families and their dilemmas are largely invisible in Chinese society. This research aims to bring these children and their difficulties into the light and also seeks to understand the experience of migrant children aged between 6 and 15 years old. By analysing 42 migrant children's House-Tree-Person drawings and their dreams and dream drawings, we attempt to explore the psychological state of migrant children and the dilemmas they face both inside and outside the family. During the analysis process, we find that considering the images from a Jungian perspective can bring out insights and interpretations that are inaccessible using the House-Tree-Person approach alone. Their drawings and dreams showed some surprisingly varied characteristics according to age and city. Overall, the cultural homelessness of Chinese migrant children does not only refer to the entity of the home, but also implies the atmosphere, culture and all connections contained therein. Life dilemmas, which exist within families and society and are influenced by history and culture, have brought difficulties that are visible or have been shown in the mental health census, affecting the psychological development of migrant children. Practically, the findings of this research can help frontline workers better understand Chinese migrant children, thereby providing them with targeted support. They are also expected to have a positive impact on future policies and promote deeper exploration of the cultural complex of cultural homelessness in

Chinese society.

Acknowledgement

I am very grateful to my supervisor Mark Saban. Without his detailed suggestions and patient combing, this thesis would not be presented in such a clear context.

Thanks to Ms Qiao, Linlin, and Mr Han, Yongkai, for helping me get in touch with interviewees in Shenzhen and Qinhuangdao. Thanks also to the Evergreen Center for Sustainable Development in Xicheng District, Beijing, Ningxin Community Neighborhood Activity Service Center in Jiading District, Shanghai, and their staff Ms Wang and Mr Peng.

The sharing from three Jungian analysts influenced my analysis direction. They are Ruth Calland, Marilyn Mathew and Julia Ryde.

Finally, I would like to thank the late David Henderson, who gave me sincere supervision and selfless help. He would be happy to see it finished, if he could.

Dedication

To Mom Liu, Ping and Dad Shi, Minxuan, for giving me life and strength;
to Grandpa Shi, Youyi, for encouraging me to pursue my dreams 20 years ago;
and to my darling partner Lu, Jianya, for joining me on an adventure of living our
lives together.

Introduction

As of the latest census, China's migrant children are reaching 138 million. However, Chinese society still pays insufficient attention to them. This research aims to conduct an in-depth and multi-faceted exploration of their psychological state, from the influencing factors within the family to the socio-cultural factors. We interviewed 42 migrant children aged 6-15 and their parents, trying to explore the dilemmas in their lives from multiple perspectives based on their drawings and dreams. Children are invited to do the House-Tree-Person drawing in our first interview. In the second meeting they are encouraged to tell a dream and draw it down. During the analysis, the Jungian perspective is combined with the House-Tree-Person approach to bring out deep insights and interpretations. The focus is on migrant children's expressions of the image of home, the manifestations of cultural homelessness in them, and the differences between cities and genders and their influencing factors. In general, migrant children suffer from frequent nightmares, and their drawings and dreams have various characteristics in different ages, genders and cities. Migrant children are not only abused and neglected within their families, but also suffer from multi-dimensional maltreatment in the entire society from culture, atmosphere and all other connections. This leaves them lacking a psychic refuge, displaying characteristics of cultural homelessness and showing complex feelings about their "hometown".

Chapter 1 Introduction: Migrant Children in China

1.1 Migrants in China

Human history is characterized by migration (Shyryock & Smail, 2011). When confronting a “stranger”, ambivalence, anxiety, and related “unknown” and “uncanny” could be triggered (Lebiger-Vogel et al., 2020). We project the undesired aspects of self and the Stranger image (Kristeva, 1991) onto strangers (Appadurai, 2013; Bohleber, 2010). In fantasy, strangers break-in and “contaminate” the “pure idyll of the homeland” or the “mother and fatherland” (Lebiger-Vogel et al., 2020). They are regarded as voracious, greedy invaders, who plunder work and wealth and use our social system (Lebiger-Vogel et al., 2020).

The migrants, who have left their registered place to live in other places, are the strangers in Chinese society. They usually move from rural areas to cities, from economically underdeveloped areas to economically developed areas, and from central and western regions to eastern coastal areas.

The life of traditional Chinese society limits people’s scope of activities, with little contact between regions (Fei, 1992). China’s traditional society thus possesses great differences in customs and cultures between different regions. Users of different branches of the Chinese language usually cannot understand and talk to each other. This phenomenon has led to

different Chinese dialects being seen as different languages (DeFrancis, 1986). The rise of capitalist industry and the development of urbanization have gradually triggered changes in the social structure, and the gap between different regions has reduced. However, after the founding of the People's Republic of China, characterized by the division of household registration, urban and rural areas have once again undergone a process binary separation (Liu et al., 2013). Factors such as the strict household registration system and different dialects have caused migrants within China to become "immigrants" to some extent. Their children, the so-called migrant children, are the group that this study focuses on.

1.2 Definition of Migrant Children

Migrant children, also called children of migrant population (workers), was once categorized into preschool, compulsory education and post-compulsory education according to their education stages (Zhou & Rong, 2011). There is still no unified definition of migrant children in China. Generally speaking, it refers to children whose current place of residence is different from that of their household registration, but excludes "the population whose current place of residence is different from that of their household registration but within the same or different district(s) of the same municipality or prefecture-level city" (National Bureau of Statistics of China et al., 2023, p. 1). However, some studies limit the age of migrant children to 6 to 14 years old (Zhou & Rong, 2011; Ministry of Education, 2016), that is, school-age children in the compulsory education stage; others believe that children under the age of 18 whose current residence and household registered place are separated can be

called migrant children (National Bureau of Statistics of China et al., 2023). The requirements for the length of time that migrant children must live in their current residence also vary, ranging from 3 months (Lu, 2014) to 6 months (National Bureau of Statistics of China et al., 2023; Zhou & Rong, 2011).

In addition, China implements nine years of compulsory education, and in some areas, children start school at seven instead of six (National Bureau of Statistics of China et al., 2023). Children in these areas may not complete compulsory education until age 15. Thus, in this research, migrant children are considered as the children of migrant workers living and studying in regions different from their registered place of residence; they are school-age children in the compulsory education stage, aged between 6 and 15 years old, who have lived temporarily with their parents or other guardians in the current residence for more than half a year.

1.3 China's Household Registration System and its Impact

To understand the situation of migrant children, we first need to introduce China's household registration system (which is “*户口* hukou” in Chinese). This is a legal system to collect, confirm, and register basic citizen population information, which closely links to the distribution of resources and benefits (Lu, 2008). Public services and social welfare depend on household registration status rather than actual residence. Household registration is first divided into two attributes: agricultural and non-agricultural (Chan, 2009; Cheng & Selden,

1994). Yet the definition of these attributes now is not completely consistent with the personnel's actual occupations. Besides, each citizen's hukou has a unique registration location, which is the citizen's official "permanent" residence (Chan, 2009). The place of residence is usually determined by the parents' hukou at the time of children's birth (Huang, 2012).

Since the 1980s, the functions of household registration management have been gradually transferred from the central government to the local authorities (Chan, 2009; Wang, 2005). This makes China's household registration system quite complicated, and policies in various regions may have huge differences. First, there are the "open registration" cities, which mainly include small and medium-sized cities with a population of less than 500,000. Their policies are relatively loose, migrants are easier to settled. Then there are also "control registration" cities, which are mainly large cities that control their population size, including Beijing, Shanghai, Guangzhou, etc.. For example, the household registration policy in some cities only allows the rich and those with higher education (master's degree or above) or employees of state-owned enterprises and large private enterprises to transfer their hukou to the new city.

The household registration system has brought about what is described as China's "social-spatial hierarchy" phenomenon (Cheng & Selden, 1994). This includes urban-rural differences, and hierarchical differences in urban hukou caused by the relative closedness of urban resources (Lu, 2008). Due to lack of support in social, institutional, and cultural

systems, migrants cannot enjoy complete local citizenship rights (Lu, 2005), such as children's education, medical treatment, house purchase and social security (Chan, 2013; Li & Qiu, 2010). Their capacities for development and their opportunities for upward mobility have also been restricted (Wang, 2006) and they usually engage in so-called "3D jobs" (dangerous, dirty and demeaning) (Roberts, 2001). They can only live on the fringe of the city, forming a clear separation from urban residents (Lu, 2006a; Lu, 2006b; Lu, 2010; Guo & Chu, 2004). As a result, they became the scapegoat for urban social problems (Wang, 2006). Despite their indispensable role in China's economic growth, they are still considered "backwards" and are negatively described by indigenous urban residents (Lu, 2006b). As migrants are not accepted and recognized by urban residents (Lu, 2006b), they gradually turn to identify with ingroups to seek emotional and social support (Wang, 2006).

Thus, although China's household registration system reform has gradually relaxed restrictions on population movement, it still largely affects urban structure and social integration (Lu, 2008). A large number of migrant workers and migrant children, although they can work, study and live in different cities without relocating their hukou, still encounter various social exclusion and social stigma. This makes them live in a high degree of uncertainty and instability.

1.4 Current Situation of Migrant Children in China

Coming from a two-generation migrant family, I have shared the same situation with migrant

children in China. My family first moved from southwest China to the desert area of the northwest. More than a decade later, my parents followed the factory's relocation to a remote suburb on the eastern coast. This often leads to embarrassment because I can only speak Mandarin and, wherever I am, I am treated as an outsider by the local population. This situation of having no sense of belonging is what initially aroused my interest in the psychological state of migrant children.

Since the 1990s, more and more migrant workers have turned from migrating alone to "family migration" (Sheng, 2014), and as a result, the number of migrant children rose sharply (Duan & Liang, 2004). In 2020, the number of children of migrant population reached 138 million, accounting for about 1/2 (46.4%) of China's child population, of which there were 71.09 million migrant children (National Bureau of Statistics of China et al., 2023).

However, most of the existing research consists of dialogue, description, and summary from the perspectives of statistics, developmental psychology, and sociology. They are concerned with migrant children's education (He, 2005; Liu & Jiang, 2005), physical health (Lu, 2014; Luo, 2005), mental health (Zeng, 2011; Han et al., 2020; Zhang et al., 2015; Shen et al., 2015; Lin & Weng, 2004; Zhou, 2010), personality traits (Chen, 2006; Li et al., 2008) and social adaptation (Zhou & Zhang, 2003; Zhuang, 2016) from the perspectives of institutional factors (such as implemented policies; Xiao, 2018) and non-institutional factors (such as family background; Shi, 2002).

However, current studies on China's migrant children from anthropological, sociological and psychological perspectives have different focus and neglect (Zhou, 2012; Zhou & Rong, 2011), and have not combined various factors to explore their psychological status and self development from multiple angles. How do family factors intertwine with institutional and policy factors in children's lives to influence their development? Also, from a depth psychological viewpoint there remains an important question about the state of their psyche. Are they talking behind a persona, or being limited by abilities, which prevent their true soul from being seen?

Unlike the early migrant population, migrant children have a desire and tendency to keep living in cities (Duan & Yang, 2008) and become permanent residents of the places they "migrated into". Their cultural identity usually is regarded as having the characteristics of "mixedness", including identification with their current residence and their hometown. There is a need to identify with the mainstream culture of current residence for real survival, but there are also the subconscious memory and retention of the culture of hometown, a resistance to the culture of current residence, etc., and even a contradictory "intermediate state" between the two (Zhuang, 2016). After living in the city for a while, migrant children begin to explore their identities. They might form a stable identity through personal subjective construction, or they might just become confused. When individuals identify with a particular social group, they are more likely to accept and utilize help from in-group members (Levine et al., 2005). Thus identification with the current residence is conducive to

the sociocultural adaptation of migrant children, while identification with their hometown will hinder this process (Yuan et al., 2010; Fan et al., 2012). This stage would cycle back and forth throughout their entire life course (Liu et al., 2013). Then questions appear: How do they feel about their registered place and current residence? Is their self-development affected?

Given the lack of in-depth and multiple angles research into their psychological state in China, I turned my attention to similar groups internationally. Due to the particularity of China's household registration system and the huge cultural differences between provinces, China's "internal migrants" are, in some ways, like international immigrants. These immigrants all experienced culture shock, adaptation and self-identity issues.

Immigration and its process are accompanied by a shocking loss of meaning and cultural systems (Akhtar, 1999; Volkan, 2017; Hicks et al., 1993; James, 1997). "Uprooting" (Handlin, 1951) may trigger individual emotional crisis (Orfanos, 2019) and chaos (Lebiger-Vogel et al., 2020), and this in turn tends to lead to trauma (Volkan, 2017). The containing function of the culture and its symbolic meaning system may be lost or lose its function during the migration (Bion, 1962). Immigrants, refugees, migrant children, etc. often face challenges related to cultural adaptation, language, poverty, and broken attachment (Achotegui, 2019). Immigrants and their children also have to adapt to a new cultural environment (Berry, 1990; Pawliuk et al., 1996). Discrimination and restrictive policies prevent them from integrating into mainstream groups or developing the group identity of the

mainstream group (García Coll et al., 1996; Harrison et al., 1990; Tom, 2006; Stevens & Vollebergh, 2008). At the same time, a perception of the low status of their own group can also alienate migrant children from their original group identity. This can trigger identity conflicts and result in maladaptive situations (Leong & Ward, 2000; Berry et al., 2006). Some children give up integrating into the new environment as they are worried about betraying their parents' homeland (Lebiger-Vogel et al., 2020). These are similar to the situation of migrant children in China just mentioned.

These factors have in effect made them culturally homeless. Cultural homelessness is a term proposed by Vivero and Jenkins (1999) that describes the experiences, feelings, and thoughts of individuals who do not belong to any single racial, ethnic, or cultural reference group. Differences in family, social values, interaction styles, and social roles can lead to incompatibility between the culture of immigrant families and the host culture (Guarnaccia & Lopez, 1998), and this may lead a new alienation in the immigrants (Davies & McKelvey, 1998). In China, the rejection of migrant children by urban residents can cause migrant children to form marginalized social identities, experience identity crises and thus fail to integrate into urban society (Zheng & Du, 2009; Wang, Wang, & Han, 2009). They neither identify with the identity of urban people nor can they return to the rural community as members. This gives them the characteristics of cultural homelessness.

However, some immigrants with high cross-cultural competence and developing multiple-cultural tend to be able to cope with these experiences in creative ways

(LaFramboise et al., 1993; Akhtar, 1999; Werbner & Modood, 1997), rather than showing a persistent pursuit of the original culture (Grinberg & Grinberg, 1989) or complete identification with the new culture (Grinberg & Grinberg, 1989; Leuzinger-Bohleber & Hettich, 2018). Each individual's experiences and solutions to personal problems are unique (Vivero & Jenkins, 1999; Jung, 1969). For the culturally homeless, transcendence will be possible after giving up the search for a spiritual home (Henderson, 2016). Thus this study also concerns the following: Are China's migrant children in a state of cultural homelessness? How do they express this? Can they break out of the cycle of continuous self-exploration and find a unique foothold that transcends their dilemmas?

Migrant children also face difficulties in attending school. Previous studies have found that because the admission requirements of public schools are very strict (Chan, 2012), nearly 40% of migrant children cannot meet the requirements (Wang & Holland, 2011; Nie, 2007). These children can only go to private schools with poor conditions and unstable teaching (Chen & Yang, 2010). Besides, migrant children face stricter procedures, more demanding conditions and heavier financial burdens during high school enrollment. According to the college entrance examination system, migrant children are not able to take this examination locally. Even if they are attending high schools in the local area, they still need to return to their hukou location to take the examination (Peng et al., 2013; Xu, 2013).

Due to differences in cultural background and hukou status, those migrant children who have managed to enrol in public schools are still treated as a special group (Guo et al., 2005; Guo,

2009). Lei Youguang (2004) found that up to 75% of migrant children feel ridiculed, and the primary reason is “I am an outsider (my translation)” (67.3%). Unfriendly social environment and residents have created numerous obstacles to their adaptation and have hindered their smooth integration into local life (Wu & Liu, 2007; Guo et al., 2005), and this has also contributed to conflicts in social identity (Liu et al., 2012).

Therefore, migrant children of different ages have different feelings about their situation. Migrant children in primary school are in a carefree childhood stage, with less consideration for practical problems and lighter academic burden (Wang & Zou, 2010; Peng et al., 2011). However, they are shifting from parental relationships to peer-centred relationships and, on top of this, residential instability can harm socialization processes (Parente & Mahoney, 2010). China’s migrant children who are in the last years of primary school are facing the possibility of being forced to return to their hometowns, leaving their familiar residence and their peers. Some children have migrated multiple times. When the divergent information appears, from, for example, cross-cultural experiences or a multicultural environment, they might experience difficulty understanding the world around them and learning the important social rules, assumptions, values, and behaviours that are appropriate for survival in their environment (Vivero & Jenkins, 1999). Can migrant children get through them smoothly?

In addition, although the conscious goal of voluntary immigration is the attainment of better economic opportunities (Ipp, 2016), immigrants are still often oppressed by extreme poverty (Orfanos, 2019). Many people face other troublesome factors after immigration, such as

uncertain living conditions, social isolation, work, fear of discrimination (Orfanos, 2019).

They usually lack reliable and experienced caregivers, such as grandparents, close relatives, and friends to provide support for the daily lives. If parents cannot digest their migration experience well, they may not be able to support their children (Hicks et al., 1993), and even pass on the heavy impact of migration on to the next generation (Kogan, 2010; Leuzinger-Bohleber & Hettich, 2018).

Moreover, if the attachment between parents and children is what provides a basic sense of security, reduces the effects of pain and trauma, and makes the development journey safer (Orfanos, 2019), the negative effects of migration can affect this attachment and cause major emotional and physical consequences (Steele & Steele, 2015). In China, changes in the social integration of parents are consistent with their children (Zhou, 2012). Sufficient parent-child communication can also help migrant children integrate better into their current residence. However, can China's migrants effectively digest their migration experience? Do they communicate adequately with their children? When, because of education, there is forced separation, will this crucial attachment be affected?

It should be said that the impact of migration is not entirely negative. The developmental discontinuities can potentially become beneficially challenging (Vivero & Jenkins, 1999).

They might encourage or stimulate open-mindedness, cultural empathy, and creativity. When immigrant families possess a coherent and supportive family culture, this can protect children from development dilemmas (Hackett et al., 1991; Harker, 2001). Nonetheless, to

the extent that migration is seen as the accumulation and continuous experience of losses and trauma (Fraiberg et al., 1975; Felman & Laub, 1992), this fear and pain can have a profound and lasting impact (Orfanos, 2019), and the necessary mourning process during and after immigration may be hindered by unresolved trauma (Volkan, 2017). The mourning of loss is important in the transition phase, during which people can develop new experiences in innovative ways (Grinberg & Grinberg, 1989). A further question then is whether China's migrant children have enough support and adequate space to mourn to prevent them from suffering psychological development difficulties?

In short, from the research mentioned above, China's migrant children share many development dilemmas with transnational migrant children. There are numerous theories to explain why immigrant children exhibit more or fewer development dilemmas than local children (Aronowitz, 1984; Barrett et al., 2000; Guarnaccia & Lopez, 1998; Hicks et al., 1993). However, the specific characteristics of each family, policy differences in host countries, gender and age are all thought to have an impact on children's living conditions (Achenbach et al., 1987; Stevens & Vollebergh, 2008). For those children, the ideal state is to obtain resources from both old and new cultures at the same time (Feliciano, 2001).

All in all, this study is intended to explore these issues: Are there sufficient external supports for migrant families in China? What influence does the family (e.g. parents) have on children? How do migrant children feel about the image of "home"? Are there any commonalities to be discerned? Do migrant children experience cultural homelessness? What causes it? How do

they experience their self-identity and sense of belonging? Are there issues of poor integration and identity crisis? Do policy differences between cities, specific characteristics of families, gender and age have an impact on their living conditions?

1.5 Methods of Exploring the Unconscious

Among the factors involved above, regional policy differences, age and gender are easy-to-control variables. To manage this, I a) selected migrant children located in different cities from south to north in China, b) made the gender ratio of the interviewees as balanced as possible, and c) selected a group within a certain age span. However, the challenge was to find a way to delve deeper into their psychological state and hear from their unconscious?

Previous studies of migrant children used questionnaires. However, these may lead to the following problems: First, children's understanding of the questionnaire and expressive skill are limited by their academic level, thus the questionnaire may not truly reflect their feelings; Second, they may hide their true thoughts in order to gain social approval; Third, if the interview process is highly structured, it will limit the range of participant's response; Fourth, from a development perspective, children tend to be more adept at expressing themselves in images.

The research method of creative interviewing can make up for the shortcomings of traditional interviews. Traditional interviews rely on language as the primary medium for

creating and communicating, which ignores the multiple dimensions of our daily experiences that are worth exploring but not always easily expressed in words, including visual and sensory dimensions (Eisner, 2008). Introducing non-verbal dimensions into research allows us to access and present different aspects of experience and brings insights to the analysis process (Bagnoli, 2009; Gauntlett, 2007).

Furthermore, in childhood studies, participatory visual methods can not only evoke how others experience the world (Belin, 2005; Mizen, 2025; Pink, 2004; Rose, 2010; Mannay, 2015), but also help ensure the voice of the child is prioritised (Mannay, 2015). Children are experts in their experiences, associations, and lifestyles (Thompson, 2008; Harper, 2012). Inviting images from children empowers participants to create, helping to address power and positionality issues (Lomax et al., 2011), and providing different ways of cognition and understanding (Gauntlett & Holzwarth, 2006).

It thus seemed appropriate to explore the children's fantasy world through drawing and dreams. Fantasy has always been written in two ways, “fantasy” or “phantasy”, and there is controversy over their respective meaning. Despite this, it is one of the central focuses in psychoanalysis (Spillius, 2001). Freud’s sometimes equates unconscious phantasy with unconscious desire (Sandler & Nagera, 1963; Spillius, 2001; Freud, 1908), or he believed that phantasy was mainly conscious or preconscious daydreams (Freud, 1900). Klein assumed that phantasy is a basic psychological activity in a rudimentary form. Children are accompanied by phantasy in all their activities, and phantasies help with relieving children’s

anxiety (Klein, 1935, 1940). Susan Isaacs (1948) elaborated Klein's phantasy theory, and assumed that the use of words to express unconscious fantasy comes much later than their sensory expression.

In this thesis, I have adopted Jung's general approach to fantasy. In Jung's *Collected Works*, he employed the word "fantasy" as a synonym for "imagination" whether in a conscious or an unconscious context (Adams, 2004). Jung sees fantasy as "a natural expression of life" (Jung, 1935, para. 1249), and as "a natural and vital activity" (Jung, 1935, para. 1249). It "has its own irreducible value" (Jung, 1966a, para. 490), and is a psychic function that is rooted in both the conscious and the unconscious, individual and collective (Jung, 1966a). Thus the development of fantasy can "perfect[ing] our humanity" (Jung, 2020, p. 40). He (2020, p. 302) also promoted the notion that "fantasy has a proper reality". For Jung, reality and fantasy are related to the way we imagine the construction of the world (Jung, 1954b, para. 98).

The three basic ways to work with images (explication, amplification, active imagination) that Jung proposes are based on the principle of fantasy (Adams, 2004). Among them, although active imagination is, in a sense, Jung's rediscovery of the symbolic games of his childhood, the classification of children's fantasy remains controversial. Fordham (1956) distinguished the active imagination of adults from the spontaneous imagination activities in children's play, and believed that children only experience imaginative activity. In addition, when we use an expressive medium, images could appear in a completely spontaneous way

(Jung, 1997), drawing thus can be used as a projection medium for active imagination (Feng et al., 2010; Johnson, 1986; Adams, 2004). However, Schaverien (2005) especially emphasizes the importance of the process of active imagination, and points out that art forms are not themselves active imagination, although their works sometimes reflect the existence of it. Therefore, in this study, children were not guided to engage in active imagination, but focused on analyzing and exploring their fantasy through explication and amplification.

1.5.1 Children's Drawing

There is a general acceptance that drawing possesses a value as a tool to amplify the subjective experience of the participants (Groth-Marnat, 2009). The drawing activity allows participants time to reflect on the issues being explored (Gauntlett, 2007), and the resulting pictures contain clear, condensed information about the drawer's life and are thus considered to have "strong analytical potential" (Bagnoli, 2009, p. 568). Drawing also allows children to communicate in a way suitable for their age, and plays a role in communication mediation (Abell, Horkheimer, & Nguyen, 1998). Children's artistic expressions are regarded as a subjective artistic expression and fantasy process, and need to be considered in the context of children's development, emotion, society, and culture (Chen, 2008). What they show is "more than a picture", but a part of themselves (Lowenfeld, 1947, p. 1). Drawing can help with evaluating their development, interpersonal relationships, and their understanding of themselves and families (Malchiodi, 2012).

The growth of children's artistic ability can correspond to the development of children's organizational thinking process and cognitive ability (Malchiodi, 2012). Children over the age of four are considered to have begun to gradually develop their symbolic representations (Malchiodi, 2012). The youngest age of our interviewees was six, thus their drawings can be assumed to have symbolic meaning.

The first benefit of drawing is to help us bypass language barriers and defenses. Human language has its roots in images, symbols and signs (Moschini, 2012; Abt, 2005), and works of art can open the door to the unconscious (Furth, 2019). Because the idea of drawing is familiar to the students, it's a good way to establish a connection (Yan & Chen, 2019). Compared with words, drawing can broaden one's expressive experience by allowing for the safe expression of emotions and attitudes (Hagood, 2000; Landreth, 2012; Oster & Gould, 2004). Participants don't talk about their emotions and relationships from a distance, but experience them more directly (Rubin, 2005).

Besides, drawing is also a way to encourage children to carry out self-direction and self-evaluation (Landreth, 2012). Some therapists believed that when working with children, "efforts must be made to invite and promote self-expression" (Gil, 1991, p. 66). It's important to obtain the information from children themselves, and this information should be given priority (Tharinger & Stark, 1990). In addition, those caregivers who have had or are having painful experiences may not be able to pay enough attention to their children because of their own psychological suffering (Roysircar, Podkova, & Pignatiello, 2013). Thus, our

focus fell on migrant children's own drawings and expressions.

In addition, given my interest in specific aspects of their lives and the inability to perform long-term follow up, propositional drawing rather than free drawing may be a more appropriate approach to gaining as much information as possible. The topics I wished to explore focused mainly around their views about home and hometown, their self-perception, living environment and psychological development. Hence the House-Tree-Person drawing came into my mind.

At the beginning of the 20th century, drawing began to be used as a form of art therapy combined with psychoanalysis. Participants' personality, perceptions, and attitudes were expressed visually by drawing specific images or common themes (Malchiodi, 2012). This approach is also known as a "projective test", which includes drawing, sentence completion tests, the Rorschach test, the Thematic Apperception Test, and word association tests, etc. Among these possibilities, the House-Tree-Person Test, first published by John Buck, has not only been widely used, but is also considered to have good cultural applicability in evaluating children's drawings due to its cross-cultural adaptability (Chen, 2008; Dewaraja et al., 2006; Cohen & Phelps, 1985; Kline & Svaste-Xuto, 1981; Yama, 1990).

John Buck was a psychologist in the State Colony for the Epileptics and Feeble-minded near Lynchburg, Virginia (Rowe, Crews, & Finger, 1993). In December 1938, he tested "criminally insane" patients at Southwestern Hospital, and realized that drawing might have

diagnostic value. Houses, trees and people begun to appear as themes in the drawing test he developed, the name of the House-Tree-Person test also officially appeared in the 1946 (Annual Report, 1946, pp. 16-17). In October 1948, his House-Tree-Person drawing test's manual was published in *Clinical Psychology Monograph No. 5*. The participants were asked to draw houses, trees, and people on three blank sheets of paper. The houses and trees were considered to represent their perception of the family and the environment, while people represented the self-awareness (Buck, 1948).

The HTP test now has been developed into different forms. The Synthetic-HTP test requires participants to draw houses, trees, and people on the same paper; the Color-HTP Test requires them to color the drawing, and the color characteristics are also used as a factor in analysis (Marzolf & Kirchner, 1971); the Kinematics-HTP test requires the visualized dynamic relationship between the elements, which aims to do the comprehensive analysis (Snow, 2009). Today, HTP tests are often used in the field of children's psychological research (Dewaraja, Sato, & Ogawa, 2006; Louw & Ramkisson, 2002), also widely used in research on children and childhood trauma in China (Wang, Xu, & Wang; 2010; Wang, Xiang, & Liu, 2007; Yan & Chen, 2013; Yan, Yu, & Chen, 2014).

The HTP drawing is a technique suitable for focusing on the inner psychological world of children, which is not always the focus of other tools (Burns & Kaufman, 1970; Koppitz, 1968; Terr, 1990). It minimizes linguistic demands and eliminates parents/teachers/clinician report biases (Yama, 1990; Tharigner & Stark, 1990), and usually used for children between

the ages of 3 to 15 (Bluestein, 1978), which is consistent with the age range of our interviewees. The concepts of the house, tree, person are neutral and familiar for participants, so they could project their feelings and fantasy into their creation (Devora & Fryear, 1976, 2006; Groth-Marnat, 2009; Groth-Marnat & Roberts, 1998). Not only can these images reflect the symbolism independently, but their interaction can also be observed by drawing them on the same piece of paper. Thus the HTP could assess “an individual’s degree of personality integration, cognitive maturity, and interpersonal connectedness” (Oster & Crone, 2004, p. 92), and also locate “common factors in an identified group of people” (Oster & Crone, 2004, p. 92). Therefore, HTP drawing is suitable for exploring the migrant children’s unclear psychological state.

Finally, the three images of HTP have profound symbolic meanings for the psyche. Jung’s (1910) psychodynamic perspective was a big influence on the technique as a projective measure of internal and non-cognitive variables (Klopfer, 1973). He showed that associative responses yield not only information concerning cognitive processes, but also emotional matters (Jung, 1907a). The perspective of analytical psychology can thus be usefully introduced to HTP analysis.

I developed my way of using the HTP test in combination with Jungian picture interpretation. In Chapter 3, we will look more closely and explain the precise method of interpretation I have chosen and why I have chosen it from a Jungian perspective. Here we are going to briefly go through these three images to consider their potential analytical directions.

1.5.1.1 House Image

There are multiple different perspectives for analyzing the house image. By analyzing the size, style, structure, distance, environment and the particular part of the house, it is possible to understand the participant's self-image among family members, as well as the relationship between fantasy and reality (Yan & Chen, 2019). For example, children from unstable lives or who are homeless may draw houses floating on the ground, or surrounded by chaotic lines (Malchiodi, 2012). Besides, children will naturally weave stories to describe the life in the house and the surroundings, thereby providing their understanding of themselves and the environment (Malchiodi, 2012).

Jung once referred to the content of house images when discussing children's dreams. In his opinion, a house can be a symbol of the Self (Jung, 2008). After Jung, various researchers developed the idea of the house-self continuum. Clare Cooper (1974) regarded the house as the basic protector of the inner environment and believed that the house is used as a reference point to construct people's own world. She refers to Gaston Bachelard's divisions of the inside and outside of the house as self and nonself: the inside of the house symbolizes self, and the outside is the persona we choose to show to others. In addition, the interior decoration of the house often symbolizes the occupants' feelings of self, which means that we project some of our own things onto its physical structure.

1.5.1.2 Tree Image

The tree first can be seen as a symbol of individual life (Luo, 2005). The parts of the tree can be seen as symbolizing the human body (Luo, 2005). Trees and magical plant also can be described as a process of the growth of Self (Jung, 1954a). The tree in alchemy is often equivalent to the philosopher's stone, a symbol of integrity, which has the dual meaning of original matter and ultimate matter (Jung, 1954a). The philosopher's stone is made and perfected by itself. Similarly, every aspect of a tree grows and transforms from one seed (Jung, 1954a). Jung believed that this archetypal tree gets projected onto the empirical world and can trigger a holistic view that includes all organic and inorganic natural and "spiritual" worlds (Jung, 1954a).

All in all, the most common associations with tree's meaning are, according to Jung:

"Growth, life, unfolding of form in a physical and spiritual sense, development, growth from below upwards and from above downwards, the maternal aspect ... old age, personality, and finally death and rebirth. (Jung, 1954a, para. 350)"

1.5.1.3 Human Image

The drawing of a person is first related to the self-image and how they see themselves in terms of their surrounding environment, including psychological and physical performance.

In addition, some drawings of the person are an expression of the drawer's ideal image; some

are the people have particular significance for the drawer; some also reflect the drawer's attitude towards the characters. Children's impressions of neighbors, teachers and peers not only reflect their own state and emotions, but again also how they observe and experience the people and environment around them (Malchiodi, 2012). Besides, special attention should be paid to the compensation mechanism. Things are considered "good" in the society but that are not possessed by participants might be deliberately painted on paper (Yan & Chen, 2019).

In addition, some archetypal images may also appear in the drawings (Abt, 2005). These are not conscious creations, but unconscious spontaneous products. Therefore, when analyzing children's drawings, we also focused on symbols that may come from culture or even the collective. Key information about the psychological state of migrant children may be hidden in it.

1.5.2 Children's Dreams

As well as looking at children's drawings for the reasons I've mentioned above, I also decided to elicit great memories of dreams from the children. This is because children's dreams are considered to be important in terms of understanding their psyche. Anna Freud (1965) discussed the importance of dream content in understanding children's unconscious. Klein (1932) emphasized that the content of play, painting, fantasy and dream all reveal the unconscious introverted content of children. Through derived characters and stories, the

content of dreams may be able to show children's developmental conflicts, and provide clear and simple reflections on a child's conflicts, ego structure, and developmental issues, thus serving as a diagnostic measure of a child's ego-functioning, defensive style, and coping ability (Catalano, 1984). Also, dreams' unobvious continuity (Rittenhouse et al., 1994; Llewellyn, 2013) is considered based on the same emotional basis (Nielsen, 2013). The integration of images and the emphasis on emotional foundations coincides with the theory of complexes in analytical psychology. Groups of individual psychological contents can be gathered together, characterized by specific or painful moods, to form different complexes. Therefore, Jung's theories are also helpful in exploring the symbolic meaning of dreams.

Freud saw children's dreams as "A reaction to an experience of the previous day, which has left behind it a regret, a longing, a wish that has not been dealt with. (Freud, 1916-1917, p. 128)" He also obtained information about the child's life experience by asking the mother or child. Background information provided by significant others can help us gain a deeper understanding of the child's dreams. Besides, he believed there was no distortion in the dream of normal children before age 5 (Freud, 1916-1917; Freud, 1900). From age 5 to 8 years, children's clear and simple dreams become progressively distorted, and possibly are similar to adults' in distortion, length etc.. As our participants were all older than five years old, their dreams might be more than direct wish fulfillment.

According to the relationship between the unconscious response and the conscious situation, Jung gave four meanings for dreams (Jung, 2008). The dream first could be the unconscious

reaction to a conscious situation. Besides, it could depict a situation that originated in a conflict between consciousness and the unconscious. In addition, it could depict unconscious processes that show no relation to the conscious situation. The dream also might represent that tendency of the unconscious that aims at a change of the conscious attitude. These four types of dreams have five sources: the body's perception, state; other physical stimuli; some specific psychological phenomena in the environment; past things; or pointing to the future activities or situations of dreams (Jung, 2008).

For dream analysis, the first step is to look at the dream itself. Then we look at the images and the dream's contents by carefully checking the details. In Jung's view, dreams represent ways of handling the complex. He completed the dream observation by exploring the dreamer's associations with images in the dream. The next thing is the symbolic cultural background of dreams and the method of amplification is used to do that. This method "is an expansion, a conscious enrichment" (Jung, 2008, p. 237), and is different from free association. The dreamer must always focus on the image and "bring up all associations linked to the image" (Jung, 2008, p. 237).

The specific motivation of the dream cannot be derived from the general meaning of the image, but from the amplification of the individual, the context and the personal situation of our interviewees (Jung, 2008). Only to understand the child's psychological condition, can the relevant practical problems be dealt with. Therefore, just as in Freud's view, it's important to ask children themselves, parents and others. However, in dealing with children's

dreams, the personal relevance is missing in many cases. Therefore, amplification is necessary to explore the meaning of dreams through the exploration of symbols and myths. However, it's not necessary to discuss or mention these myths or symbols when interviewing. The relevant myths remains the "theoretical tools" (Jung, 2008, p. 271) for the reflection of the interviewer.

The developmental changes of children's psyche may also be reflected in dreams. Our interviewees have already started school, and their consciousness is gradually moving upward "from below to above ... from the dark into the light" (Jung, 2008, p. 131). However, this elevation is only a partial fantasy that cannot be sustained for long, because another part of the child's personality is still in the shadows (Jung, 2008). During adolescence, the ego gets liberated from the collective unconscious and becomes partially independent (Jung, 2008). Thus we hoped to find some content in the dreams of adolescent children that "dreamed out of the depth of the personality" (Jung, 2008, p. 160).

Research and clinical practice on children and adolescents since the time of Jung has also contributed to understanding children's dreams. As "psychological development is based upon successful progression through each sequential stage of development (Catalano, 2013, p. 8)", and some scholars believe that the content of children's dreams indicates psychosocial development (Elkan, 1969; Foulkes, 1982; Mack, 1974). Catalano (2013) assumes that the content of children's dreams reflects a developmental continuum similar to waking behavior. Thus children's dreams become a tool to help them adjust to the successive development

changes. It could reveal developmental functions and stages, help children master the tasks and conflicts that have not been resolved in previous stages and are difficult for the child to grasp or control. After nearly a century of development, this developmental approach works well in conjunction with the psychoanalytic perspectives. In a detailed analysis, we can focus on the “mechanisms evident in the dream material of children, as well as acknowledging the developmental continuum, its associated tasks and conflicts, and the presence of instinctual drives and wish fulfillment” (Catalano, 2013, p. 27).

All in all, dreams and the symbolic expressions of fantasy as images express unconscious effects. This enabled us to pursue a path for the further exploration of the psyche of Chinese migrant children: analysing their HTP drawing and analysing their dreams. Our interviewees were facing life dilemmas caused by multiple factors. Attending school, becoming adolescents, being potentially separated from parents, combined with the migration experience, brought about enormous transformations in their lives. In such an environment of conflict, if they achieve a sense of homeless, it could grow again as a unity. This is what our interviewees needed to experience. However, before introducing our participants and the methods of data collection and analysis, it is first necessary to provide an overall and in-depth introduction to the situation of migrant population in China.

In this chapter, we proposed our research questions and explained roughly how we are going to try and engage on a deeper and unconscious level with children to find out what’s going on in their psyche. In the next chapter, we are going to look at the particular problems of

migrant children in China and the cultural complex of cultural homelessness. Then in Chapter 3, I will integrate and explain in more detail and precise ways in which I undertook the interviews and how I made those decisions. Chapter 4 is about the general characteristics of the children's drawings and dreams. I will then focus on the home image for migrant children in Chapter 5, and also discuss the whole situation and living dilemmas of migrant children in Chapter 6 from different angles. The last chapter will review and summarize the entire study.

Chapter 2 Participants and their Sociohistorical Situation

After the introduction in Chapter 1, we have gained a preliminary feeling of the overall living environment of migrant children in China and the current research on this group. However, social policies vary from city to city, and the social atmosphere between cities also has subtle differences.

The participants of this research came from four different cities in China, and this chapter is aimed at further introducing these four representative cities to lay the foundation for the psycho-social analysis below. Given that the city's policies we are concerned about are intertwined with the interviewees' experiences, participant recruitment strategies and other participant background information are both included in this chapter rather than in the methodology. We can thus avoid unnecessary repetition and gain a better understanding of the specific social and cultural environment.

2.1 Participants

2.1.1 Overall Introduction

Participant Recruitment: Participants were recruited through schools and local public welfare organizations for migrant children. After obtaining the consent of the school and the

relevant person in charge, we got in touch with frontline teachers and staff. Class teachers and staff contacted parents of eligible children via WeChat or phone calls and sent information to them. The information included my identity, the research topic, the content that participants need to provide, and a description of the time required. The second type of recruitment came about by accident. After interviews with some children, the participants returned to their classes or peer groups to encourage others to participate in this “fun activity”. Some new participants joined my research because of it. We first obtained the parents’ consent through telephone, WeChat, etc., and then further agreed on the specific time and location of the face-to-face interview. The whole interviews were recorded by audio.

The participants in our research were migrant children. Because they are a vulnerable group, we implemented appropriate ethical considerations. The British Psychological Society lists respect, competence, responsibility, and integrity as four key ethical principles in social science research (British Psychological Society, 2021). Throughout the research, we have always respected “the dignity of persons and peoples”, ensured “that duty towards others is always paramount”, and while “acting with integrity”, we kept improving our “ability to provide those specific services to a requisite professional standard” (British Psychological Society, 2021, p. 5-7). On this basis, the ethical principles of “honesty, sympathy, and respect”, which are proposed by Hollway and Jefferson (2000, p. 102) from the perspective of psychoanalysis, effectively supplement our ethical considerations. During the interviews, observations, and analyses, we maintained an open attitude based on the principle of enquiry,

paying attention to information often overlooked. Since some of the interviewees were members of the same community or organisation who knew each other, we also paid special attention to confidentiality when collecting data to ensure that the information learned about them from other members would not be disclosed (Hollway & Jefferson, 2000).

Before starting the interviews with parents, we explained the study to the interviewed parents, let them read the Participant Information Sheet and obtained information about their voluntary participation. Parents first signed the informed consent form. Because our interviewees were minors, we asked parents to give consent for both themselves and their children. At the same time, before the first interview with each child, I briefly introduced the interview's content to them and obtained their oral consent.

The intersubjectivity experience, a reality created by both interviewees and me (Carter, 2010), is particularly important in interviews. My wording often attempts to reflect the "reality" of interviewees' emotional experiences (Hollway & Jefferson, 2000). Therefore, although the interviews were structured and conducted in a way to avoid placing unnecessary pressure on the children, and attention was paid to whether certain conversations caused discomfort or stress during the interviews, the research still revealed some painful and upsetting experiences. Such experiences can be uncomfortable, but when we provide the participants with a container for their painful memories, it can also help them feel that their "meanings had been emotionally understood" (Hollway & Jefferson, 2000, p. 50).

During the interviews, parents and children could suspend the interview and withdraw from the research at any time. In addition, considering that children may still feel upset during or after the interview, before the data collection process, I contacted a local analysts' group focusing on children in need. They expressed their willingness to provide voluntary services. Ultimately, none of the participants dropped out during the interviews, and to this day no reports of trauma as a result of the interviews have been received. Therefore, this support plan has not needed to be launched.

Data were collected during the pandemic brought about by COVID-19, which also limited our recruitment of participants. Under the influence of China's strict zero-clearance policy, outsiders represented risks. If we carried the virus and passed it on to students or teachers, the entire school would be shut down and quarantined. Therefore, many schools refused me entry. In the original plan, I would also go to Xi'an, a representative city in western China, to obtain a more comprehensive sample representation. But before I could travel to Xi'an, a new wave of the epidemic broke out within China. Considering that the 42 children's drawings and dreams obtained were sufficiently representative and diverse, the trip to Xi'an was ultimately cancelled.

However, such restrictions also bring unexpected benefits. Affected by the epidemic and policies, I became an unwelcome outsider and was ostracized and rejected by various cities. This allowed me to share an unwelcome social atmosphere with the migrants, and also gave them some intimacy with me. The same fear and confusion brought us closer to the

interviewees and also facilitated our recruitment.

Participants: From late November 2021 to January 2022, I conducted interviews with 42 children and their parents in Shenzhen, Qinhuangdao, Beijing and Shanghai (in order of interview). All child interviews were face-to-face, while parent interviews were conducted by telephone. Of all the children interviewed, 9 are from Shenzhen, 7 are from Qinhuangdao, 11 are from Beijing, and 15 are from Shanghai. Unlike many previous studies, more than half of the interviewees this time were born in the town where their parents worked rather than their hometown. These children and their siblings were born, raised, go to school in their parents' work city and there was a high possibility that they would return to their hometown after elementary school.

China currently has a total of 34 first-level administrative regions, including 23 provinces, 5 autonomous regions, 4 municipalities, and 2 special administrative regions. The 42 participants in this study have their registered residences located in 19 first-level administrative regions, including 16 provinces, 1 autonomous region, 1 municipality and 1 special administrative region. These migrant children have covered more than half of the provinces and are fairly representative. Its migration characteristics are consistent from west to east, north to south, and economically underdeveloped areas to more economically developed areas.

Our participants were aged between 6 and 15 years old, including 22 boys and 20 girls; 19

children were in the lower grade of primary school, including 9 boys and 10 girls; 16 children were in the upper grade of primary school, including 10 boys and 6 girls; 7 children in the junior high school were all from Qinhuangdao, including 3 boys and 4 girls. It can be seen that there are fewer children in the junior high school age group among our interviewees. This is largely because the vast majority of migrant children from ultra-first-tier cities are unable to attend local middle schools. With the exception of SZ2's sister, the siblings of all the interviewees who were studying in middle schools; the rest have returned to their registered place to study, or had entered technical schools in order to stay in their current residence.

China's fertility policy has undergone continuous changes in recent decades, and these changes are also reflected in the number of siblings of our interviewees. After the one-child policy lasted for nearly 40 years (1979-2015), China's birth control policy started changing in 2011, from the one-child policy to the two-children policy that required parents to meet different conditions to have a second child, to the two-children policy that allowed everyone to have a second child, and finally to the three-children policy on May 31, 2021. However, what must be emphasized is the one-and-a-half-child policy implemented in rural areas in the mainland of China. This refers to the flexible family planning policy adopted in 1984: those whose first child is a boy are not allowed to have another child, while those whose first child is a girl are allowed to have a second child after an interval of 4 to 5 years. Therefore, the parents of BJ2 (seven-year-old) had a boy as their first child, so if they didn't want to violate the policy, they had to wait until the two-children policy was implemented before they can

have a second child; but the parents of SH1 (eleven-year-old) whose first child is a girl could legally have a second child 4 to 5 years after their daughter was born.

For example, the parents of BJ2 (seven-year-old) have a boy as their first child, so if they don't want to violate the policy, they have to wait until the second-child policy is implemented before they can have a second child; but the parents of SH1 (eleven-year-old) whose first child is a girl can legally have a second child 4 to 5 years after their daughter is born, that is, before the second-child policy is implemented. A total of 24 of the 42 children interviewed had siblings. However, only one family had three children. There were three girls in SH3's family. Although overall the gender of the participants were nearly balanced, their gender distribution still had regional characteristics. Both Shanghai and Shenzhen had more boys, while more girls appeared among the interviewees in Beijing. In addition, almost all the younger girls in the families interviewed were born after the universal two-child policy was opened, while many boys were born as "extra kids" before that.

2.1.2 Basic Information about Four Cities

Migrant populations in different regions of China have experienced different events and policy changes, which were reflected to some extent in the drawings of the interviewees. To analyze the social factors that appear in migrant children's drawings, we first need to understand what they have experienced. Beijing, Shanghai, and Shenzhen are the three largest first-tier cities in China, distributed in China's three major economic circles. Among

them, Beijing and Shanghai perform the worst in terms of education for migrants children and equalization of basic public health services (Xiao, Xu, & Liu, 2021). Besides, some migrant children and their parents in my hometown Qinhuangdao were interviewed. The participants from this fourth-tier city well demonstrate a particular aspect of the migrant population. These parents did not lack qualifications to settle down, but wanted their children to return to their hometowns to take the college entrance examination. It is because different provinces have different scorelines for the college entrance examination.

Beijing: The migrant population in Beijing has experienced more than one “clearance”, such as the demolition of Zhejiang Village as early as 1995 (Zhang, 2001). The city government declared victory in their crackdown on disorder and crime in Zhejiang Village. It also claimed that through this method, “decaying” and “polluted” areas in Beijing were cleaned up, completely protecting the interests and safety of residents (Zhang, 2001). What followed was the closure of the Sun Palace Farmers Market in October 2013 (Yan, 2022), and the liquidation of the “low-end population” (低端人口) in November 2017. In 2017, the Beijing Municipal Party Committee and Municipal Government conducted an investigation and cleanup operation on group rental housing in Beijing. All of the interviewees in Beijing experienced this incident. Their parents are so-called Beijing’s low-end population, and are also reported as Beijing’s low-end labor force. This usually refers to people living in Beijing with low incomes, low education, and engaged in low-end industries, or the migrant population absorbed by small businesses and small stores. The term “low-end population” appears in Beijing government documents and is also widely used by the media and scholars

(Fangshan District People's Government of Beijing Municipality, 2011; Wei, 2012; Shao, Su, & Deng, 2016). However, it has caused controversy because of alleged discrimination against the poor.

Beijing used to have many public welfare organizations serving the migrant population. Since the epidemic, it has been difficult for public welfare organizations to raise funds and a large number of them have closed down. The activity center I went to is affiliated with the Evergreen Center for Sustainable Development in Xicheng District. According to staff, it had also been difficult for them to raise funds for two years. This resulted in massive layoffs and the closure of living centers. Social support for migrant children has also been curtailed.

Shanghai: Compared with Beijing, Shanghai uses the more euphemistic expression “optimizing population structure (my translation)” to express its policy of cleaning up the migrant population (Shanghai Municipal People's Government, 2018). In addition, the government's great attention to the imbalance in the age structure of the ageing population has further reduced the social support that migrant children may receive. The participants in Shanghai were recruited by the Ningxin (凝馨) Community Neighborhood Activity Service Center in Jiading District. The migrant population near this project site accounts for more than 66% of the total population, and the number of migrant children within the coverage area exceeds 200. Staff member Mr Peng told me that public welfare organizations struggled to survive. Because the current government policies were oriented towards the issue of population ageing, projects for needy children often lacked funding. Before their project was

launched, no one cared about the children in this area for seven or eight years. Even if the project is implemented, they can only borrow the space in the neighbourhood centre and cannot make their own layout.

Among the four cities I visited, the hygiene situation of children in Shanghai worried me the most. More than 80% of the children I interviewed had poor hygiene. Besides, some parents' expectations of their children were different from traditional Chinese parents. Generally speaking, Chinese people attach great importance to their children's education, but some parents in Shanghai are different. They did not expect their children to receive higher education or even thought they needed to finish high school. These parents expressed dissatisfaction with school education, believing schools did not provide students with "very important and necessary" money education.

Shenzhen: The Shenzhen Special Economic Zone was established in 1980 after China's reform and opening up. Its permanent population has increased 42 times in the past 40 years, and the non-registered population accounted for more than 63% in 2019. It can be said that Shenzhen is a typical immigrant city. Compared with the first two cities, Shenzhen reflects a certain tolerance. Shenzhen Municipal Bureau of Planning and Natural Resources (2019) proposed to "attach great importance to the preservation of urban villages (my translation)". This preserves the survival and living space of migrants.

Our participants were from a public school in Baoan District, and some of them lived in the

preserved urban villages. The school principal stated that they had “poor student resources” in the past few years, so there were many migrant children in the upper grades. Among China’s vast migrant population, their family conditions and income were above average, thus their children could attend public primary schools. This school had begun conducting psychological censuses every year and was also equipped with professional psychological teachers. However, it is tantamount to wishful thinking to expect two teachers to cover all psychological matters in nearly 90 classes in eight grades from the second grade of elementary school to the third grade of junior high school.

In Shenzhen, the situation of some migrant children is different from that of the majority. Their families were well off, and their parents deliberately went to Hong Kong before the due date to have them born there. Therefore, they have Hong Kong household registration and can enjoy more favorable college entrance examination policies. However, their parents have been working in the mainland, and they did not grow up and attend school in Hong Kong, but followed their parents back to mainland China.

Qinhuangdao: 7 children and their parents from Qinhuangdao participated in the interviews. This is also the only city for which I received data on middle school students. These interviewees came from a key middle school in Shanhaiguan District. Qinhuangdao’s household registration policy is open, and students can enroll in the school as long as their parents hold property in the school district for more than one year. Although the migrant family can settle down as long as they buy a flat locally, as a fourth-tier city, the local welfare

benefits in Qinhuangdao are not good. Regarding the education of migrant children, Hebei Province not only lacks abundant educational resources, but also has one of the most difficult college entrance examinations in China. Therefore, many parents will keep their registered residence in their hometown so that their children can take the examination in their hometown where the score line is far lower than that in Hebei. However, as we will see below, not all children wanted to return to their registered residence to continue their education.

In short, our participants cover various situations from lower to higher income, from north to south, and from those who do not want to change their hukou to those who are unable to change their hukou. Therefore, it can be considered that the interviewees are sufficiently representative to illustrate the psychological state of China's migrant children.

2.2 The Functions of and Changes in China's Family: the Particularity of Migrants

2.2.1 From Rural Society to Modern Society

Agriculture was the foundation of the country in ancient China, thus the agricultural production and rural lifestyle became its core (Wang & Lu, 2010). This long-lasting rural society relied on closeness and long-term living together to coordinate everyone's mutual behaviour (Fei, 1992). In such a society, blood ties are a stabilizing force, which prevents migrants from integrating into the village community (Fei, 1992). When forced to move, the

place of origin also became a spatial projection of kinship, allowing people to quickly find a community to integrate (Fei, 2011). We will discuss the situation and psychological state of the migrants in the next section, but here I will approach the topic with a few terms still used in China today.

In ancient China, 籍(Ji) refers to their status and occupation passed down from generation to generation, and also explains what they need to pay to the government. For example, “salt household” means their job is to make salt and they need to pay salt to the government regularly as taxes. In the poem *The Ballad of Mulan*, Mulan’s family is a military household, so “But last night I read the battle-roll; The Khan has ordered a great levy of men. The battle-roll was written in twelve books, And in each book stood my father’s name.” (Zhang, 2003; Waley, 2005, p. 113) 贯(Guan) refers to the place where a person grows up, such as 乡贯(one’s hometown) and 里贯(neighbourhood where they live). *Ji* and *Guan* together refer to the registration of the place where a person grew up and the type of duty. Since the Wei and Jin Dynasties, the government has strengthened its control over native places of ancestral origin to avoid the loss of duty service and taxes (Wei, 2018).

Ji is not a system unique to China. Fei Xiaotong (2011) cited the theory of Henry Maine. This states that in social reproduction (the process of social metabolism) there is a general tendency for status to become replaced by contract (Bock, 1974; Schmidt, 2017). Status is what a person has at birth, and a contract can be freely entered into. This is a shift from chance and destiny to choice and autonomy. However, as shown in the discussion of family

structure below, Chinese society has not completed this transformation.

China today still pays close attention to the question of population mobility. As a Chinese, hometown is a complex and unavoidable issue. Even if the government does not classify each household's occupation in detail now, it will first roughly divide residents into agricultural and non-agricultural households. Besides, a school-age child needs to repeatedly fill in the place of his or her household registration, his or her father's place of residence, his or her mother's place of residence, and the place of residence of grandfather or the place of origin of the family on different documents. In addition to regulating the migration, this is also one of the manifestations of China's patriarchy, which we will talk about below.

Children are only considered to be descendants of their father's family.

The household registration here is the address of the person's current residence registered with the government. The father's and grandfather's long-term residence is not uniformly defined and divided, but it is often related to the place of origin of the clan to which he belongs. In spoken Chinese, we often ask each other where their “老家 old home” is, which can refer to different vocabulary in different situations. Depending on the participants' feelings and recognition, it can imply a person's place of residence, ancestral place of origin or homeland that gives him or her a sense of belonging in different situations. The meaning of this word is vague, so it is relatively peaceful and will not easily arouse the interviewees' defense. Thus this is also the vocabulary I used in the interviews. Regardless of their age, our interviewees were aware of these differences and clearly remembered the household

registration information of everyone in their family. When asked about this issue, they showed different understandings. Some children told me where they were registered; others told me where their grandfathers lived; a third group of children told me where their father and mother used to live; and the last group bluntly said that they had no hometown and were local.

Along with the strict household registration system, Chinese people have been affected by a strong pastoral complex since ancient times. When people migrated in ancient times, most of them kept their household registration in the native place of ancestral origin, because it was impossible to register a local household registration where they wanted. For example, Chang'an, the capital of the Han Dynasty, did not allow other residents to move in. Thus no matter how high the officials' position was, they would have no choice but to return to their hometown after retirement if they did not have Chang'an household registration. Their children also had to follow their fathers back to their place of origin. Although they were born and grew up in Chang'an, they had no way to settle down there.

Due to the obvious difficulties of migration, Chinese people have a deep preference for farming and their hometown, which gives the tradition of "return to the farm" and the farming-reading culture to Chinese culture (Lin, 1935, p. 36). Farming means owning a certain amount of land and doing agricultural work, and reading means studying, being literate and practising etiquette. Farming-reading tradition is the foremost necessary lifestyle for wealthy peasant families and also is a symbolic life state related to their future

development. Farming was the foundation for living, while reading can bring the possibility of a class jump. This shaped and still influences the image of home, and brought about the emphasis on academic achievement.

However, due to irreversible global trends, China's farming tradition gradually disintegrated in the 20th century (Fei, 2011). Farming-reading increasingly became a pastoral fantasy that the Chinese people could not continue psychologically, the structure of the family has also changed.

2.2.2 Chinese Families' Roles and Structure

The content of family structure always profoundly affects the culture of a place and a person's personality (Fei, 2011). From traditional to modern, families in Chinese society have experienced several stages of transformation. This has further shaped today's Chinese people's complex feelings about home and migration.

From 1900 to 1915, the concepts such as individual, society and rights were accepted within the China's public sphere. However, they made no progress in areas such as family and clan which were regulated by Confucian ideology. "When dealing with personal relationships, especially internal family affairs, there was a conflict between the concept of personal rights and Confucian ethics. (my translation)" (Jin & Liu, 2010, p.161)

Since the founding of the People's Republic of China, two transformations have taken place (Shen, 2019). The first detached individuals from their families and then embedded them into collective systems, such as communes and production brigades in rural areas, and work units in cities. The collective system not only provided individuals with an "iron rice bowl" but also provided welfare guarantees from cradle to grave: state-subsidized housing, education, medical care, etc.. This work unit system therefore inherited many of the previous family functions and what Andrew Walder (1986) called "Organized Dependency" emerged. The second transformation detached individuals from the collective. This time the government no longer forces individuals to enter a certain system or group, but allows them to choose how to live. Since the reform and opening up of China (1978), individual choice became meaningful. However, this whole change doesn't derive from the notion of individuality and personal autonomy which western society got from the long history of development. It's more a instrumental rather than a deep down change (Shen, 2019).

Against this background, Chinese families have shown a high degree of plasticity in their structural form. However, individual choices are limited by existing social conditions and influenced by culture, so the relationship between individuals and families remains close, and the connection between generations has not been weakened by the rise of individuals (Shen, 2019). On the one hand, due to economic reforms, parents have more authority to influence their children, and families may return to tradition; on the other hand, more employment opportunities are provided from outside, making families "modern" (Whyte, 1992). Currently, scholars disagree about the description and definition of current Chinese

family characteristics. In the following, we selected some views related to our interviewees, aiming to establish a feeling and description of the social atmosphere.

Marcel Granet (1939) described the importance of two models of parent-child relationships in maternal cousin marriages under the system of exchanging women between two or more groups (*échange généralisé*): Although paternal relatives were given first place, maternal relatives were theoretically equally important in the construction of this exchange system.

This point was also clearly discussed in Fei Xiaotong's *Systems of Reproduction* (2011).

However, from the late Zhou Dynasty to the early Empire (221 BC), the Chinese paid more attention to patriarchy and did not explicitly recognize the importance of maternal kinship (Capdeville-Zeng, 2019). "In traditional households, the collective interests of the family, as determined by a patriarchal decision maker (who could be a woman acting on her absent husband's authority) subsumed the will of individuals." (Ransmeier, 2017, p. 11)

This traditional authority system is called "Chinese classic patriarchy", which is "a hierarchical system of domestic relations that includes multiple intersecting structures of inequality including gender and generational inequalities, among others." (Harrell & Santos, 2017, p. 10) Patrilineal inheritance and conjugal residence gave men control over property and facilitated unity among patrilineal relatives (Ibid.). Women may also become "female patriarchs" in this system (Ibid., p. 11). However, their power was almost always limited to the family sphere, so couldn't reach the public and political spheres and fields dominated by men (Zufferey, 2003; Stafford, 2009). For example, women can use the attention and care

provided to children when they are young to improve their power and status (Wolf, 1972; Capdeville-Zeng, 2019). The Chinese Communist Party advocated equality between the sexes and generations, and tried to end men's power in marriage and the power of elders within the family by abolishing property ownership and women's labor participation, while eliminating the patriarchal autocracy of rural families (Harrell & Santos, 2017). However, many patriarchal norms persisted beyond this family revolution.

We will not discuss gender issues here, but it's necessary to point out that such a dilemma affects everyone in the family and the relationships between them. In such an environment, it became an interesting question for the parents of the participants who would participate in the parent interviews. The vast majority of families chose to have the mother answer the phone. This is because even though these mothers have demonstrated a lack of understanding of their children, they were still the one in the family who knew them best. Furthermore, this is also their scope of responsibility. Still, there were a few families where the fathers were interviewed, even if they were only able to pick up the phone and tell me they knew nothing about their children. This may be related to the remaining clan concepts. As in the paperwork children fill out when they go to school, they are the children of the father and the mother, but only descendants of the father's family. This kind of understanding does not mean that the children have a closer and deeper relationship with their fathers. Many of the children talked more about their mothers and maternal relatives. This point will be discussed more when discussing the parents-children relationships among the interviewees.

The filial piety emphasized by Confucianism is the widely discussed obligations (Wee, 2014), also is another issue that comes with the patriarchy. Fei Xiaotong (2011) used Paternalism in *From the Soil* to describe the right to educate in social reproduction. The interpretation of filial piety is “never break the rules” (Watson, 2007, p. 20), which means recognizing the authority of the elders. The Paternalism represents tradition, and abiding by tradition does not violate the teachings of the parents (Fei, 2011). Such obedience will hinder children’s self-exploration and the separation from their parents, thereby negatively affecting children’s individuation.

The relation of child to parent is seen as “*a mutuality, not between friends as equals, but one shaded by guidance and admonition on the part of the parents, and by respect and reverence in the child. Added to this mutuality is a boundless gratitude borne of both the gift of life and parental care.*” (Wee, 2014, p. 95)

The Confucian filial obligation is a lifelong obligation and a debt that cannot be completely paid off. Children would take their being given life as a priceless benefit provided by the parent and should “repay” (Ransmeier, 2017; Wee, 2014). Even if a child suffers abuse or neglect from his or her parents, the obligation is not waived (Wee, 2014). Therefore, even though most of the children interviewed experienced varying degrees of emotional or physical neglect, they were still expected to be grateful rather than dissatisfied with their caregivers. At the same time, parents believe that the resources, protection and love they give their children are sufficient and good, so migrant children should be “contented and

grateful”.

Besides, Chinese culture is believed to enable children to “self-discipline, obedience and restraint” (Francis, Archer, & Mau, 2010, p. 109). As part of Confucianism, the excessive expectations for children to be “obedient” in Chinese families may be explained from the perspective of representations and effects of the power in Foucault’s theory (Garrison, 2017). The outer world does not seem to use obvious violence, but it allows this person to engage in actions required by external will. Every “obedience” should prove the process of a person’s subjective behavior being “subjected, used, transformed, and improved” (Foucault, 1975, p. 138) by the will of external power. We will also see later that our interviewees were punished if they refused to obey external will.

As mentioned above, in the new Chinese patriarchy after China’s Reform and Opening up, the state withdrew from the previous social security model, forcing families to assume more obligations. Therefore, the generational axis does not disappear, it just weakens (Harrell & Santos, 2017). Fathers and mothers in migrant families still have their traditional power and impose requirements and restrictions on the behavior and development of their children. Children, then, are at the bottom of the family hierarchy. Predictably, these cultural atmospheres may make these migrant children living in high-stress environments more susceptible to shouldering excessive family care responsibilities.

This current situation can also be understood from the perspective of individualization theory.

The sociological concept of individualization is not individuation, which has always been an important topic in Jungian and post-Jungian theory. In *Children's Dream*, Jung (2008) mentioned that children initially live in the shadow of their parents, and then become independent. Fordham (1994) believes that children are independent individuals and that the self as a spiritual whole has already emerged in childhood, so the process of individuation begins as soon as a child is born. He emphasized the continuous emergence of children themselves and their potential in the process of growth, as well as the supportive and nurturing role of the environment and family. This important theory is also one of our concerns because of its relationship with children's own development.

Compared with the individualized individual in sociology, Jung's concept of individuation related to one's collective setting may be more in line with the psychic development path of the Chinese people. The gap of collective and individual has always maintained its importance to Chinese society and continues to change. Even after the two unbundling mentioned above, Chinese society has not lost its collective character. It is impossible for individuals living in it to make their own choices without the influence of others, family and society, and be solely responsible for their consequences. Children's growth is influenced by multiple influences from family, school and society. The newborn baby brings something to the interactions and is not a "tabula rasa" (Jung, 1954c, para.136). Subsequently, a meaningfully felt sense of self emerged through mediated through others (Zinkin, 2008). The potentials that children are born with, the influence of sociocultural reality, and the internal object relationships with primary caregivers together form the self as a complex synthesis

(Solomon, 2007).

However, sociology's individualization theory is still a useful concept. It can help us understand the changes in family structure in Chinese society as policies proceed. In general, the theory of individualization means that the existence of society and family serves the individual, not the other way around (Bauman, 2000; Giddens, 1991; Beck & Beck-Gernsheim, 2001). From this perspective, individualization in China is still in the process of emerging and is not a social structure (Shen, 2019). Yan Yun-xiang (2009) believes that China's individualization is a kind of "State-man-aged individualization without individualism".

In China, state welfare is rapidly reduced before individuals fully become individuals (Shen, 2019). They must rely on others at a certain stage of life. Even adults who achieve financial independence in cities still struggle to achieve all-round independence. For example, they need family support for childcare and help from their children in old age. In such changes and dilemmas, women are expected to achieve self-realization and family care at the same time, and suffer more pressure (Ibid.). The structure of migrant families is also constantly reorganized due to their circumstances. Thus, "modernity was not accompanied by as severe a decline in the significance of multigenerational family ties" (Harrell & Santos, 2017, p. 33) in China, and gender inequality is closely related to intergenerational inequality (Harrell & Santos, 2017). As will be mentioned in the next section, the survival dilemma faced by the migrants will exacerbate the difficulty in making choices and self-realization, which may

have a negative impact on the psychological development of migrant children entering adolescence.

The continuous changes in family structure have also brought about differences in the feelings of parents and migrant children towards hometown. “Virilocality” refers to people who have left their hometowns but maintain their original patrilineal kinship ties. Although the places where they live and work are no longer the same after they immigrate to an urbanized and industrialized area, they still maintain close ties with their hometowns and maintain traditional patriarchal ideologies and relationships (Kipnis, 2017, p. 126). However, “for an intimate group, daily cooperation, meetings, and coordination in daily life are still limited by geography.” (my translation; Fei, 2011, p. 219) Migrant children rarely visit their hometowns, which means their relationship with their hometowns is not as close as that of their parents.

This process is also exacerbated by the fact that some fathers are away all year round and only return home a few times a year. There might be no difference “in social status between a father and son who live together day and night and a father and son separated by thousands of miles of clouds and mountains, but the relationship in real life can be very different.” (my translation; Fei, 2011, p. 219) At the same time, because the father and the child do not share a growing background, the father’s experience is not enough to guide the child’s development. This will lead to the loss of father’s power, affecting the father-son relationship and the child’s recognition and expression of the image of father. The father’s absence also

forces the mother to bear all the responsibilities of raising the child, both physically and socially. This also creates difficulties in the mother-child relationship.

The difficulties encountered by migrant children are not only due to family roles and power structures. The next section will discuss society's long-standing discrimination against migrants, which makes them inherit the cultural complex of cultural homelessness.

2.3 Migrating in Chinese Society

In this section we will find that migrants in China often are not welcomed. This is primarily because ancient China was a settled community, everyone was combined with their filed and the duty to the government. Thus the migrants were strangers for locals. Secondly, as many overthrows of the dynasties in Chinese history were caused by migrants, the government was always worried about the emergence of migrants. Therefore, the agglomeration of migrants is considered disruptive.

Historical migrants have become the classics of Chinese civilization, and the lives of current migrants are still in trouble, looked down upon and problematic. People are full of worries about the large number of migrants, and migrants are still the objects of state governance (Solinger, 1999). As part of the migrant population, migrant children experience constant swings in national and local policies.

2.3.1 Migration and Homeless in Ancient Chinese Society

In China, the concept of homeless first appeared in the *Book of Rites: Royal Regulations* (Dai, 2009; Legge, 1885), and is related to the political system and production methods. The Zhou Dynasty (about 11th century BC-256 BC) implemented the well-field system, in which the fields were permanent and the people were settled. When the system deteriorated, farmers, handicraftsmen or merchants would leave the settlements and occupations, and become so-called “homeless”. Here, the “homeless” refers to people who have left their specific area of residence and have no fixed occupation.

The development of the concept of homelessness after the Zhou Dynasty went through several stages. However, as the ancient Chinese were accustomed to living in groups, the underlying discrimination had not fundamentally changed, which made the migrants in Chinese society marginalized and difficult to settle down. The following three factors might contributed to this: the characteristics of production, living environments and the level of productivity of the ancestors; the governance philosophy of the rulers; and the natural tendency of human beings to gather (Baumeister, 2005).

China was a country prone to natural disasters, and it was difficult for people to face the challenges of the natural environment alone. According to statistics by Joseph Needham (1974), in the past 2,200 years, China experienced more than 1,600 major floods and 1,300 major droughts. When people had to gather to deal with nature, the group dominated by

patrilineal blood appeared to be the most natural, and was also an orderly life group. In this life group, people worked and ate together, and distributed the fruits of their labor according to certain rules. This family system was adopted by the rulers and became the organizational principle of the ancient Chinese state. Imperial power could control the grassroots and seize manpower and material resources through the clan gentry.

Emperor Wu of the Han Dynasty (156 BC-87 BC) pioneered the practice of “external Confucianism and internal Legalism”. From then on, the view that people who did not work in agriculture were regarded as homeless dominated public opinion in almost the entire imperial autocratic society. Zhu Yuanzhang (1328-1398), the founding emperor of the Ming Dynasty, once said:

If there are people who are not engaged in farming and are engaged in menial occupations, they will be considered homeless and be arrested.

(Ming Veritable Records, 2015; my translation)

Neumann (1990) saw the human tendency to create law and culture as a drive, and described law as “every traditional norm that the group observes (p. 200)”. The spatial immobility of the population in China was not only a natural cultural habit, but also a normal living condition fixed by official forms and political systems (Zhang, 2001). As the ideological reflection of the patriarchal system, Confucianism made family worship become a natural emotional sustenance and formed the basis for seeking deep connection (Zhang, Hou, & Li,

2021). The homeless were separated from the mainstream social order, and the constraints brought by attachment to blood ties were severed (Ibid.). For them, family hardly became an important connection between an individual and the “broader social networks” (Baumeister, 2005). In this cultural context, homeless itself had a negative connotation. From families and clans to regions and governments, migrants were regarded as unstable factors and were not trusted and welcomed (Fei, 2011).

The rulers of the Qing Dynasty (1636-1912) distinguished the homeless from refugees. The Qing government treated the homeless as scoundrels, gangsters, and hooligans. They were placed in a separate register of household, and were supervised and controlled (Sun, 1996). However, the government was more tolerant of refugees and provided relief and resettlement. They believed that most refugees were displaced due to irresistible natural and might not break away from the social order due to families or clans migrating en masse. Therefore, the refugees would not develop what is come to be known as the “culture of homeless” (Wang, 2023).

Cities in China’s feudal society were built by feudal lords and were both centers of industry, commerce and fortresses of the feudal lords (Li, 1962). They “ruled the countryside, both politically and economically” (p. 125; my translation). Thus, it is mainly the ruling class and the people who provide them with various services who live in the city, their rise and fall also mainly depended on political factors (Wang, 2023; Zhou, 1992): “Their rise was sudden, their fall was abrupt” (Plaks & Nylan, 2016, p. 167). Migrants need to move according to the

rise and fall of the city, which makes it difficult for them to put down roots. Also, the demand in the city is limited and there is also a lack of external demand. When the labor force increases suddenly, prices will inevitably drop significantly (Zhangsun, 2013; Wang, 1998). As a result, the economic situation of Chinese migrants was also unstable.

Ancient China had a common creed: *“Everywhere beneath the sky, The king’s immense lands do lie. Everywhere within the land, All obey the king’s command.”* (Wang, 2008, p. 431)

Therefore, in a society dominated by collective thinking, the allowance to the individual making their personal choice is impossible. Entering the city only be considered as a means to make a living, and returning to their hometown is the ultimate goal of the migrants.

Alongside the external pressure for survival and security in the reintegration process of the Chinese homeless, there is also an inner need for resocialization. Therefore, a large number of regional guild halls were built in the city. This was what businessmen as homeless rely on.

2.3.2 Migrant Population after 1949

There was a large homeless population who were deeply oppressed by the feudal system. Hence the size of its organization. During the revolutionary period of the late Qing Dynasty and the early Republic of China, they once had a common enemy with the proletariat (He, 2020). At that time, they appeared in the discourse of intellectual and political elites with a certain positive role (Mao, 1991). However, as the revolutionary process progresses and the CCP changes from a pure revolutionary mobilizer to a ruler with a certain base, the

complexity of the homeless and the potential for undermining the authority of the dynasty or the discipline of the local government have also emerged. As a result, the homeless were stripped out of the category of the proletariat, and their image became negative again (Mao, 1991).

In the early days of the People's Republic of China, the government, influenced by Mao Zedong's early thoughts, defined the homeless as people engaged in inappropriate occupations by which they obtain the means of living, including "soldiers, bandits, thieves, beggars, and prostitutes (Mao, 1926, 1991)". The homeless were regarded as parasites who have a "gangster mentality and lazy habits" (Wang, 2023). However, these five types of people are far from covering all the homeless (Ibid.). Most of them, like our interviewees, belong to the category of the homeless, but mainly rely on legitimate means to make a living.

After the reform and opening up, China's economy underwent a dramatic transformation and order in urban and rural areas began to loosen. A large number of surplus agricultural populations poured into cities, but urban management departments lacked corresponding response measures. Also, the relatively static social space for a long time reduced the tolerance limit of urban residents for migration and their indefinite status. It was difficult to classify the belongings and classes of the migrant population, and it was unknown how much resources would be allocated to these "outsiders". People were concerned about the large number of migrants, who once again became the objects of state governance (Solinger, 1999).

In the past decade, academic research began to emphasize the impact of the ideological hegemony of urban elites on the image of homelessness (He, 2020). As the research on homelessness continues to deepen, Wang Xuetai (2023) proposed a clear concept of homeless. It mainly refers to people “who have broken away from the social order (mainly the patriarchal order) at that time... Forced to make a living, they mainly sell their labor force (including physical and mental energy), and some also use unfair means to obtain property.” (Wang, 2013; my translation)

Therefore, the homeless, or migrants in China are different from the homeless in the usual sense. They are not people who have no fixed place or live below the minimum standard, but are those who have broken away from the social order of the time. Even when the homeless own property, they still lack a cultural home. They are ostracized from every group and only can connect with others of similar backgrounds to develop a sense of belonging. Therefore, the Chinese homeless are not truly homeless, but in a state of cultural homelessness. They are unable to integrate into any place and cannot define their own position and belonging.

Just as ancient migrants, migrants nowadays still have broken away from the traditional clan system to varying degrees, don't register in their current residence, and maintain the status of cultural homelessness. Our interviewees' parents are either excluded by government policies because they do not have stable careers and incomes, or they actively choose not to integrate due to income or education issues for migrant children. For migrant children, the situation is

complex and affected by multiple factors.

Migrant children's education is also a problem. According to The State Council directive (2010), migrant children have the right to equal educational opportunities. However, the central government insists on implementing strict population policies in large cities, which also makes it impossible to realize the rights mentioned above. Affected by the epidemic and the universal second-child (2015) enrollment peak, the number of primary school enrollments for children of migrant workers continues to decline. And it is even more difficult for migrant children to enroll in junior middle school than in primary school (The Seventh National Population Census, 2022).

The recurring clean-up operation redefines the relationship between urban society and the migrant population, implying that the migrant population could be cut off and expelled at any time. For migrant children, the turbulent living environment and the potential prospect of separation from their parents are all negative factors for their psychological development. From ancient times to the present, it is usually difficult for migrants to become long-term and stable urban residents rather than cheap labor. It can be said that the psychological insecurity and anxiety of the migrants and their cultural homelessness living conditions have become a cultural complex deeply rooted in Chinese society.

2.3.3 Cultural Homelessness as a Chinese Cultural Complex

The inability of the homeless to settle down has been a phenomenon in Chinese society since ancient times. In addition, it has further become a cultural complex that has been passed down to this day in Chinese society and continues to influence the people living in it. The cultural homelessness complex exists both in the migrants and the entire Chinese society, and has different manifestations among migrants and local people. It manifests itself among the migrants in the way they are treated and their anxiety about the future, and among the locals in their worried and repulsive attitudes towards the migrants. It can be considered that migrants are the victims or the scapegoats of the overall complex in Chinese society.

Cultural complexes are composed of two parts, culture and complex. William H. Sewell (2004) believes that culture is not only a learned behavior, but also a system of meanings and symbols and a scope of practical activities in human beings' fight for survival.

The complex is an important theme in analytical psychology, described by Jung as a splintered-off fragment of the psyche (Jung, 1934a). Henderson (1984) took a step forward based on Jung's "collective unconscious" and developed the concept of the cultural unconscious. This is seen as a level intermediate between the personal and collective unconscious. This concept was further expanded into cultural complexes by Kimbles (2000) and Singer (2002). Singer defines it as follows:

Like individual complexes, cultural complexes tend to be repetitive, autonomous, resist consciousness, and collect experience that confirms their historical point of view. Cultural

complexes also tend to be bipolar, so that when they are activated the group ego becomes identified with one part of the unconscious complex, while the other part is projected out onto the suitable hook of another group. (Singer, 2002, p. 15)

Singer proposed that cultural complexes are autonomous, continuous, and repetitive (Singer & Kimbles, 2004). They can strongly influence the emotions of individuals or groups (Ibid.), and also “provide an essential sense of belonging to individual members of the group (Singer, 2021, p. 16)”. Continuity here refers to its scope from the individual to the cultural to the archetypal. They collect experiences and memories consistent with their own positions and form black-and-white views.

Migrants in Chinese society have experienced multiple losses, and the emergence of the cultural homelessness complex may be related to their long-term inability to mourn. Leaving their homeland means first cutting off close ties with their families. Migration also brings uncertainty about social identity, making it an unstable factor in a society that requires regulation. In addition, today’s migrant children are also faced with separation from their parents and siblings. They need sufficient time, space and support to cope with and process these dilemmas. However, this is difficult to achieve due to the constant high pressure and anxiety of life. With the continuous implementation of the cleanup policy, migrants have no time or space to mourn their loss and can only gather together to deal with the fear of possible destruction. The lack or even prohibition of mourning among migrants will be discussed further later, as in the example of SZ6.

The lack of mourning continues to affect the psychological status of migrant populations.

Freud defined mourning as “the reaction to the loss of a beloved person or of an abstraction which has moved into its place” (Freud, 1917). Only after prolonged mourning can internal and external adaptation truly accept the loss (Ibid.). For Jung, “A complex can be really overcome only if it is lived out to the full.” (Jung, 1938, para. 184)

Whether in ancient times or now, in the tide of social transformation and reform, the migrants are often regarded by the government and locals as the most inflammatory and destructive. They sometimes appear to be under the control of some complex. The defensive self-protection systems are activated to protect the collective spirit and maintain stability in the face of intense anxiety (Fordham, 1995, 1996). Singer (2002) linked activated archetypal defenses of the group spirit to the fear of annihilation. Volkan used the term “chosen trauma” to describe this phenomenon:

Intergenerational transmission is more than retelling of old history ... but a threat to one's ethnic identity in which “chosen traumas” are intertwined does, whenever it induces intolerable anxiety.

(Volkan 1996, pp. 270–271)

Bion (1959) suggested that one basic assumption is that people gather in a group to maintain it. It manifests itself as the group grappling with naturally occurring fears of fragmentation or

disintegration. Kleinian analyst Elliot Jacques (1955) discussed social defenses at the level of organizational analysis. In his view, aggression and destructiveness are projected onto individuals or groups within or outside the group as shared shadow fantasies. These individuals are seen as posing a threat to the integrity of the organization.

Chinese cultural homelessness complex also has its aggression. Migrants would often overthrow dynasties and had a disruptive effect on the actual social order (Wang, 2023). Since the middle of the Western Zhou Dynasty, the riot launched by migrants to overthrow the old dynasty did not oppose the fundamentals of the established social order. What they yearn for is to become vested interests and escape from the bottom of the pyramid. The homeless problem continued to arise after the Song Dynasty, affecting social stability and economic development (Wang, 2023). The long-term spread of the homeless culture and the example of homelessness aroused the envy of people from other classes (Wang, 2023). In the vertical social mobility, apart from the royal family who might be beheaded, it was the homeless class that experienced the greatest changes. Therefore, it is not surprising that society recognizes the homeless culture.

The interaction styles between groups are considered as expressions of culture (Feldman, 2004). How China's homeless interact shows particularity as a product of their social status and life experience, which is mainly reflected in the literary and artistic works created by them.

As an agricultural nation, it is the most natural thing to live with relatives and friends. Leaving them will bring loneliness and instability. However, in the transformation of society, people from all walks of life may be thrown to the bottom of society and join the ranks of the homeless. This feeling was fully expressed in *Songs of Wang: The Millet* (Wang, 2008, p. 119).

The millet grows so dense; The sorghum's in sprout.

I walk at ease from hence; My heart is filled with doubts.

Those who know my mind say I'm sad at heart;

Those who fail to know my mind say I strain my heart.

Gracious Heavens, oh! Who's brought all this woe?

Major Odes: Mulberry Trees (Wang, 2008, p. 607) describes the wandering of the people caused by the collapse of the country and the destruction of the family:

Disorders grow and never cease; All o'er the land there is no peace.

A lot of young men die in clashes; A lot of houses lie in ashes.

Our nation can hardly stand; As Heaven won't give us a hand.

The people have no place to stay; E'en if they leave, which is the way?

Their future is uncertain: "When I go from east to west, I cannot find a place to rest." (Wang, 2008, p. 608)

Such feelings are also reflected in novels describing the lives of the homeless. Since the Song Dynasty, more literati and officials fell into the ranks of homelessness, the novels and artworks created by them have not only become the carrier, but also contributed to the spread of the homeless culture, and eventually made it part of the Chinese ideological tradition. One of China's four major classical masterpieces, *Water Margin*, is closely related to homeless culture. It tells the story of the *Liangshan* heroes headed by Song Jiang in the Northern Song Dynasty. In *The Water Margin*, Lin Chong experienced the process of contempt for the law, resistance to society, revenge and murder, etc., and became cultural homelessness outside mainstream society. When he fled to *Liangshan*, the heavy snow made him unable to cross the river. "I can't go home, no place is safe. How lonely I am!" (Shi & Luo, 2005, p. 326) He then wrote a poem: "... By tragedy set adrift, He's suffered many setbacks." (Shi & Luo, 2005, p. 327)

The migrants in ancient China were lonely and culturally homeless, thus a question arises: Is the situation of the migrants better than ancient times? Scholars have conducted many studies on the right of China's migrants in cities today, but it would seem that the living conditions of contemporary migrant workers have not fundamentally changed compared to the Song Dynasty.

First of all, China's population is under controlled and planned, and the public services and facilities are provided based on the population size planned in the past (Lu, 2016). The

forecast, which greatly lags behind the actual population growth, has caused today's problems of public service and infrastructure shortages. Secondly, over half of migrant workers are engaged in secondary industries such as manufacturing and construction which might cause serious health losses (Lu, 2016). However, due to the lack of insurance and poor health protection caused by not having a local household registration, a large number of them are unable to receive effective treatment at the workplace and have to return to their hometowns (Lu, 2016). Today's migrants are still not welcomed and cannot take root.

Contesting Citizenship in Urban China (Solinger, 1999) discussed the impact of market transformation on urban citizenship after China's reform and opening up. Solinger believes that citizenship confers rights and privileges only to those members of a specific community (Solinger, 1999). For migrants, the key point is that since they do not have local hukou, they cannot enjoy the social benefits and services that urban residents receive as their inherent "natural rights". However, migrants constantly tried to obtain money, access, connections and other resources to build their own systems. Their high level of initiative also resolved discrimination caused by many government systems, created an alternative labour market, and constructed their own citizenship rights in the space they create and find (Solinger, 1999). This makes today's migrants share the same images as the heroes of the *Water Margin*.

Chen Yingfang explored the institutional background and identity construction mechanism of these rural-urban migrants becoming "non-citizens" (Chen, 2005). She believes that the government's need for the long-term maintenance of the household registration system is

what created the migrants' situation and their social identity (Chen, 2005). At present, migrants are still treated unfairly in cities compared to the registered population (Lu, 2022). In terms of making full use of various opportunities and increasing personal choices, there is still a clear gap between the migrants and the urban registered population (Lu, 2022).

As mentioned earlier, the existence of merchants and craftsmen living in ancient Chinese cities was subordinate to the needs of the rulers. This underlying logic also continues to this day. In 2015, General Secretary Xi Jinping pointed out that to achieve the purpose of dispersing the population, Beijing should be relieved of its "non-capital functions", including manufacturing industries, urban wholesale markets, educational functions, medical and health, etc. (Wang, 2015). With the introduction of this policy, Beijing began to close various industrial parks, shops on the ground floor of buildings and prohibit stalls. Various cities also followed suit. However, a few years later, major cities began to re-relax restrictions on the street stall economy. Such repeated policy changes have greatly increased the uncertainty in the lives of the migrants.

The cultural homelessness complex in China is the product of irrational social structure, social disorder and corruption of social systems. According to survey statistics from the Institute of Sociology of the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences, the crime rate of homeless is the highest among all classes (Wang, 2023). Their emotions are strongly affected by the homelessness complex. The aggression displayed could be regarded as the archetypal defense of the group spirit.

2.3.4 Migrant children who Live with the Chinese Homelessness Complex

Migrant children live in a rejected group as culturally homeless, which is detrimental to their growth. Those who find themselves rejected by a group often revert to impulsive, selfish behavior patterns (Baumeister, 2005). What's worse is that because of the increasingly strict management of schools, it's difficult for children to develop deep friendships with their classmates.

At this time, those public welfare organizations that care about migrant children will bring benefits to the psychological development of these children. These public welfare organizations not only enrich their after-school life and teach parents about parenting knowledge, but also provide them with a group they can easily integrate into. Another group that may be integrated is the hometown association in the cities. When their parents moved to cities or factories, they usually remained refugees in the early stages. People from the same clan and village usually went together and took care of each other. Due to the uncertainty of their income, residence and work, it was difficult for them to maintain a cohesive state. Thus they gradually broke away from the previous social order and realized the transformation from refugees to homeless. Even after becoming homeless, they still gathered and sought recognition.

However, for children, the most intimate group is their family. Taiwanese scholar Wei

Zhengtong (2005) pointed out that the emotional bond of the family binds everyone in the family together. Considering the current communication and transportation methods, the migration experience itself is not a difficult thing, and the emotional factor is more about separation than loss. If parents can connect cultures from different regions, they will create a new safe base for their children. However, under the huge pressure to survive, the migrants who are anxious all the time lack the psychic energy to build a psychological home for their children. Therefore, for migrant children, their migration experience has become a potential risk factor. No matter which city they are in, they are not one of them.

Throughout its long history, Chinese families have maintained a pattern of anxious mothers and absent fathers. Fathers often leave the family to pursue fame and career success, his satisfaction and self-actualization come from success in social life and providing for the family (Xu, 2021). The absence of fathers and husbands is not limited to physical distance, there is also emotional unresponsiveness. There is a popular term in Chinese society now: widowed parenting. It refers to the significant lack of one parent in family education. Fathers who are busy making money leave early and come home late, making it difficult for them to meet their children, let alone communicate verbally and emotionally.

The Animus archetype in Chinese culture inevitably affects the choices of these fathers. The Animus archetype in Chinese culture is believed to revolve around the two qualities of self-sacrifice and wisdom (Xu, 2021). Its positive side is a sage or scholar with innate knowledge; its negative side is an obedient ordinary person or a materialistic fool. The

negative Animus archetype brings with it the endless pursuit of success through knowledge.

A folk proverb from the 1970s and 1980s has been passed down to this day: “Learn mathematics, physics and chemistry well, and you will not be afraid of traveling around the world. (my translation)”

Success-oriented learning harms the traditional Chinese culture of femininity (Gao & Shen, 2021), and also brings difficulties to the current children’s education (Xu, 2021). Children may be unable to establish secure attachments with their negatively impacted mothers (Xu, 2021), which might result in children being isolated within the family. Besides, they are thought of not simply as children, but most importantly, as students (Ibid.). This is why migrant children are often burdened with the great expectations and hopes of their entire families. Personal happiness and even the future of the family are believed to depend on academic performance. Their parents want them to end their family inheritance as cheap labour and re-enter the mainstream social order. However, although the process of modernization has weakened the role of the family as a link between individuals and society in some aspects, the role of this link is still realized indirectly (Baumeister, 2005). Most migrant families have low incomes and can provide fewer resources, resulting in our interviewees lacking corresponding competitiveness among their peers. Therefore, some parents interviewed paid more attention to money education outside of school and tried to use other methods to make their children rich in the future.

Some migrant children were also neglected by their families, lacking not only physical care

but also emotional care. As the most important thing for these parents was to try their best to change the living conditions of the family, they blamed their children for being “disobedient” and because they “do not learn well and are unlikely to get ahead”. There were also some parents who felt that as a member of the family, their children should contribute to family construction. In particular, girls naturally had to take on the responsibility of taking care of their siblings, reducing the burden on their parents.

There is another hidden dilemma for migrant children: the issue of returning to their place of registered residence. Generally speaking, when faced with separation, there is grief between parents and their children. However, some parents didn’t allow such grief to happen, which left migrant children with little space to mourn their losses. They believed that because the college entrance examination scores in different provinces are different, their children could get into better universities after they return to hometown. They made the right choice and there is no need to feel bad about it. However, as Bowlby (1969) said, grief doesn’t disappear.

For migrant children born in their current place of residence, they might have a close emotional connection with the place where they grew up. When they have to leave, they will experience frustration and anger. As we will see later, these potential difficulties already cause anxiety in older children.

Along with migration also comes the risk of experiencing an identity crisis. León and Rebeca

Grinberg (1989) proposed that people's identity is established through spatial, temporal and group ties. As they enter adolescence, migrant children are separated from the world of their childhood. Erikson (1970) described the identity crisis as a critical developmental part of adolescents' development of their sense of self. Adolescents may easily experience some role confusion, and eventually develop a sense of identity about who they are and where their lives are headed. Nowadays, identity research acknowledges that the relationship between personality variables and situational variables is extremely complex and interactive (Cote, 2002; Bosma, 2001; Pulkkinen & Kokko, 2000). Thus, self-identity is an important psychological phenomenon and concept closely related to self, personality and human development. Children facing the problem of returning to their hometown are exactly at this stage and showing the difficulty of drawing people.

However, we should not maintain an absolutely pessimistic attitude towards the development of migrant children. Growth and individuation require a certain amount of tension to stimulate (Feldman, 2004). There are indeed many disturbing details in their drawings, but the energy of life is still hidden in them. As Xu Tong, the documentary director of the *Homeless Trilogy*, said:

“It is because of them that life is not a dark mess. You understand that (people) can survive in anarchy like weeds.” (Xu, 2013; my translation)

Chapter 3 Methods

3.1 Data Collection

As discussed in Chapter 1, children's expressions and the background information provided by those around them are important in understanding their fantasy. Therefore, we started with a short interview with parents and then conducted two thirty-minute to one-hour interviews with the children, while also talking with teachers or staffs. I had expected to have face-to-face interviews with some parents, but none of them were willing to attend. Many of them said they had no idea what was going on in school. Some even refused to do any kind of parent interview: "I know nothing about my child, you can ask my child whatever you want." (my translation) Therefore, the plan was modified to brief telephone interviews conducted with parents. Five parents still kept refusing to answer my calls and only signed informed consent forms for their children to participate in interviews.

After getting basic information about the family, two interviews were conducted with each child. In the first interview, children were invited to do the House-Tree-Person drawing and discuss their creation. In a second interview, children were asked about their dreams and were also invited to draw their dreams.

In addition to formal interviews with the children and their parents, I maintained moderate

participation (Spradley, 1970). This means that I participated in part of the day-to-day work in schools and organisations, but always indicated my position as a researcher. Informal interviewing and observation techniques were also employed. I wrote field notes, and used both explicit and tacit information in my analysis and writing. Compared with formal interviews with children and parents, informal observations helped build more harmonious relationships, provided better access to interviewees and their living environments, and brought valid data on many aspects of social life. However, unlike anthropological participant observation (DeWalt & DeWalt, 2009), I only lived in the participants' living environments for a short time, and used Mandarin rather than the local dialect. This research also did not address a specific question or centre around a specific topic or plan (DeWalt & DeWalt, 2009).

While building trust through sincerity, I continuously examined my subjective concerns and reflected on possible researcher bias to ensure objectivity. I first ensured that my observations and interviews were not limited by my own interests (Wolcott, 1999). During the coding and analysis process, efforts were made to ensure that the data were objectively evaluated and analysed. As a local, I avoided taking fundamental elements such as social relations for granted. I continually reassessed and adjusted my initial research questions and hypotheses to advance my analysis as new insights emerged.

However, researchers and participants simultaneously and inevitably influence each other, whether consciously or unconsciously (Hollway & Jefferson, 2000; Carter, 2010; Jung,

1937). The impact of personal characteristics and theoretical approaches has been under my consideration. Under the supervision and guidance of more experienced researchers and analysts, psychoanalysis helped me to effectively deal with my own reactions (DeWalt & DeWalt, 2009). I also wrote field notes for careful recording of informal interviews, observation, conversations, and sifting personal impressions, thoughts, concerns and feelings. Our feelings during, before, and after the interview are crucial for understanding the dynamics of the research relationship and finding entry points for future coding and data analysis (Miller et al., 1989; Bernard & Ryan, 2009; Saldana, 2009; Stamenova & Hinshelwood, 2018). Thus the researcher, myself, is also considered an instrument for analysis (DeWalt & DeWalt, 2009). Recording my feelings and fantasies in field notes allowed me to re-immense myself in the atmosphere of the interview later (Hollway & Jefferson, 2000; Hollway, 2009; Thomson, 2009). By deciding what to record, how detailed to include, and how much background information to provide, the process of recording field notes became the first step in analysis (DeWalt & DeWalt, 2011).

At the same time, my interviewees and I might be positioned within different discourses or systems of meaning, which further prompted me to emphasise my focus on their specific experiences (Hollway & Jefferson, 2000). During the interviews, I first positioned myself to be a good listener, conducting research with participants, rather than a respondent (Hollway & Jefferson, 2009; Pauwels, 2011). Ordering and phrasing that is faithful to the research subject helps control the power we have as researchers (Hollway & Jefferson, 2000).

Furthermore, narratives that are anchored in real events in the interviewee's life, and

inconsistencies such as contradictions, omissions, and avoidances within, also provided insights for later analysis (Hollway & Jefferson, 2000). As Jung said, “the method is merely the path, the direction taken by a man; the way he acts is the true expression of his nature ... For these insights spring from a way of life that is complete, genuine, and true to itself ... (Jung, 1957, para. 4)”

The decision about the interview process was based on the depth psychological idea: the aim was to get deep into the migrant children’s psyche. The importance of drawings and dreams for understanding the child’s unconscious has been discussed before (Freud, 1916-1976, 1900; Klein, 1932; Jung, 2008). Freud’s discovery of unconscious fantasy and symbolism laid the foundation for the psychological interpretation of dream image and figurative art (Freud, 1965; Freud, 1900). Nossal (2018, p. 72) quotes Gould’s paper presented at the Symposium of the International Society for the Psychoanalytic Study of Organizations (1987) to illustrate that pictures can show “previously unexamined attitudes, beliefs, feelings and fantasies”. Bolas (1987) proposed that drawing can provide some “known” but not yet thought materials and make them available for exploration. Therefore, what is conveyed by drawings is not only what is expressed, but also the possibility of communication from the unconscious (Nossal, 2018). Meyer (1991) discussed drawing from the perspective of cognitive psychology. He believed that visual data can be regarded as a creative system (Meyer, 1991), thus drawings “often possess more copious and meaningful information than they can communicate verbally (Meyer, 1991, p. 220)”.

Our interviewees were asked to both draw the picture and then tell the story of their dream. This is firstly because for younger children, drawing is a more natural way of expression than language (Baghban, 2007), and their description and exploration of dreams are limited by their expression skills. Besides, the dual task mode of language and drawing is consistent with the dual coding process in psychology, which is a combined process of visual and verbal information (Paivio & Walsh, 1993). If combined with the use of metaphors, it can improve the ability of long-term memory storage and information retrieval, promote generalized and logical in-depth information processing (Ortony, 1993). Jung believed that dreams are one way in which archetypes express themselves, and dreams have also been described as “metaphorical prototypes” (Crowley & Mills, 1986). As Jung said: “An archetypal content expresses itself, first and foremost, in metaphors.”(Jung, 1940, para. 267) Therefore, the dual tasks of drawing and language description helped us form a better cognition of the content of children’s narrations, and also provided the possibility to obtain more complete content.

Traditional research might believe that all individuals in a study should be interviewed in the same way and asked identical questions for results to be reliable and valid (Long, 2018). However, the object of study for psychoanalysis and socioanalysis is neither the individual nor an average. Thus I conducted semi-structured psychoanalytic interviews rather than structured traditional interviews. My goal was to “discover the uniqueness of that part of the organisation represented in the interviewee, and discover the ways in which that part is interrelated to other parts” (Long, 2018, p. 43). This was a process of obtaining specific

information and to thus be able to interpret intrapsychic processes in the unconscious (Cartwright, 2004). I sought to avoid hindering the spontaneity (both my own and that of the participants) in order to avoid a loss of depth (Long, 2018). Interviews involved open questions and the eliciting of stories and using the participants' own ordering and phrasing to transmit the value of what was a participant-led conversation.

The social-emotional system was also considered (Ibid.). Interviewing was a collaborative, co-creative process, this means that transference and projection were involved. I and my questions stimulated the interviewee to generate thoughts and feelings, and I also contributed my own thoughts and feelings. These were also considered data on research subjects (Armstrong & Rustin, 2014). My interviews were directed more toward obtaining examples of specific issues than general ideas and perspectives. After the children finished drawing, I first gave them space to look back and reflect, and then asked them to tell me the story in the picture. At the same time, my personal observations and feelings were also recorded for analysis.

Unconscious wishes or defenses in interviews may be at the personal level (Ibid.) or may reflect unconscious social defenses of the organization, cultural assumptions or social system. Social systems operate to prevent certain thoughts from entering consciousness, or, even if some members are aware of them, preventing them from acting them out. These ideas are counter-cultural, which could challenge the establishment of the system and the internal establishment of the mind (Bion, 1970). Thus a possible cultural complex might also

profoundly affect our interviewees' development, values, and self-perception (Singer & Kimbles, 2004). As discussed in the previous chapter, cultural homelessness is a cultural complex in Chinese culture, in which migrant children and their parents live and by which they are deeply affected. During the interview and analysis process, I deliberately attempted to pay attention to this point.

3.1.1 Parents Interview

Interviews with parents by exploring two aspects: basic information about the family and the current situation of the child.

Basic information

- a. Where are you working and living now?
- b. Where are you from? When did you come to xx (city name) ?
- c. Did you come to work in this city from the beginning? Have you been to other cities?
- d. How is your current living environment?

The situation of the child

- e. When was your child born? How old is your child? Where was he/she born?
- f. When did the child come to xx?
- g. Is the child the only child? Does he/she have any brothers or sisters?
- h. Did the child come with you? (If the child has ever been a left-behind child, ask about the

situation at that time.)

i. What grade is the child in?

j. How do you think your child adapts to school? How does he/she perform? How do you feel about your child's adaptation to the city? (Ex. Do they have good friends in school? Are they isolated? / Have they ever been isolated?)

k. Generally speaking, how do you think your child is doing now? Is he/she happy?

l. Is there any special behavior of the child? /Are there any behaviors that worry or trouble you, such as nightmares, bedwetting, fights, being unusually quiet?

3.1.2 The First interview with Children: House-Tree-Person Drawing

In this study, we used the form of Synthetic-HTP, asking the interviewees to draw three images on the same piece of paper. Also, in order to collect as much information as possible, three coloring forms were provided. However, I didn't specify how it should be coloured or what should be the dynamics between the three elements in the picture. Such demands might place unnecessary pressure on children.

Before asking the children to start drawing, in order to prevent them from being overly nervous, we started with a short conversation. When I appeared in front of our interviewees, I was first of all a stranger, and secondly, I was considered a "teacher" by them. A brief conversation helped to create a relaxed atmosphere, which could weaken this impression and lower the child's defenses.

Questions are as follows:

- A. What's your name? How to write it?
- B. Where is your hometown?
- C. When did you come to xx?
- D. Have you been studying in this school ever since you came to this city?
- E. How do you feel about your current life?
- F. What language (Dialect or Mandarin) do you usually speak at school? At home? What language do your teachers speak? Any accent?

It is worth noting that when asking the second question, I used “老家 old home” which is more colloquial in Chinese instead of “hometown”. This was intended to enable observation of the children's perceptions of “home”. The ambiguous context of “old home” rather than “户籍所在地 registered place” allowed children to reveal their sense of self-belonging. This was just a brief exposure. More specific discussions about old home, hometown, household registration, place of origin, etc. was conducted in an in-depth discussion of drawings and dreams.

After the short discussion, a standardized instruction was adopted to ask children to perform the HTP drawing:

“Please draw a picture on paper, which contains at least a house, a tree and a person.”

I provided an 8K paper (26.6x38.4 cm) of a uniform material, as well as three painting tools: color pencil, watercolor pen and oil pastel. When the child was drawing, I observed and recorded his/her performance. After the drawing was finished, I let the child spend three minutes reviewing his/her work, and then asked him/her to tell the story of the picture. We then went on to communicate about the details that weren't clear. When conducting specific discussions, in order to avoid putting too much pressure on them, I never interrupted what they were saying, but only guided them back to the picture itself if they went too far away from it. At the end of the first interview, I thanked them again for their participation and told them that I looked forward to discussing one of their dreams during the next interview.

3.1.3 The Second interview with Children: Dream and Dream Drawing

According to Freud (1900) what happens in the dream is condensed. The importance of understanding the meaning of children's dreams has been emphasized by many psychologists. However, there are many methodological difficulties in the study of dreams, especially the assessment of the credibility of dream reports (Ablon & Mack, 1980; Becker, 1978; Foulkes, 1982, 1993, 1999; Piaget, 1962). Some literature indicates that young children can have reliable dream reports (Woolley et al., 2002). Meyer and Shore (2002) found that children under 5 began to understand that dreams were unreal and were private psychological events. Foulkes (1982, 1999) believed that for children 5 years and older, dream reports can

generally be regarded as credible attempts to describe dreams. The school-age children participating in our study were between 6 and 15 years old. Given the development of children's ego and cognitive abilities, we can assume that our interviewees were able to understand the concept of dreams, and had the ability to verbally report and recall.

The value of the dream drawing also has historical and contemporary support in psychoanalysis (Fisher, 1957; Hau, 2004). Freud wrote about the Wolf Man's drawing of his childhood dream about wolves (Freud, 1937). Stephen Hau considered drawings of dreams to be more abstract and metaphorical than a verbal telling (2004, pp. 120-131). Words are static, essentially "conservative and stabilizing", suggest permanency and stand for a "fixed concept" (Arnheim, 2005, p. 244). The drawing of a dream might create some kind of connecting cord with its content. Asking children to draw pictures can also help them recall the dream itself and its details in depth. When dream images are transformed into language, a mediated and rationalized construct can be engaged with by the interpreter (Walde, 1999). Hau's research showed that the combination of both telling the dream and drawing it is the best way to work with dream material. These two modes complement and support one another and provide a fuller and more whole "picture" of the dream.

Our second interview started with a standardized question: "Could you tell me about a dream you had?" If the answer was no, we would have some other discussion or drawing. When the answer was yes, I would ask them to tell me about their dreams.

When a child started to tell a dream, he/she would not be interrupted until he/she stopped and seemed to have finished. I always waited for a while, and then asked: “And then?” If the child didn’t add other content, I started to ask them if they would like to draw their dream. When they finished drawing, they would be with their drawing for three minutes as in the first interview, and then a conversation around the picture would begin. The children’s feelings, emotions, characters and scenes in the drawings were discussed as carefully as possible.

After interviewees completed two interviews, they received a small gift, a pen and a notebook, to show that we respected their participation. A transcript of each interview was created. Audio and video recordings were conducted throughout the interviews. To ensure security, all videos were stored in an encrypted hard disk and backed up in an encrypted file on the computer. The text data transcribed from the video was saved together with the video. The video of the child’s oral consent was also edited and stored separately on an encrypted hard drive. The electronic version of the children’s drawings was stored on the encrypted hard disk. Consent forms signed by children and parents were uniformly numbered after the data collection was completed and were stored in a lockable drawer. If the parent agreed to the use of the child’s video for academic communication and display in the consent form, the video would be encrypted and stored in the mobile hard disk. If the parent didn’t agree, the recording of the interview with the parent and the video of the interviews with the child would be deleted after the transcription was completed. The audio and video transcriptions

and translations were done by myself. Due to the large number of pages of the original material that were transcribed and translated, the version presented in the appendix is my preliminary summary of the original material. Before starting transcription, I first anonymised the participants using the city abbreviation and random number sequence, and protected their identity information by maintaining the anonymity of the interviewees during the subsequent coding and analysis process.

3.2 Analysis Methods

The methodologies and theories of this research, originating from both Western and Eastern paths, are a combination of the two. As we mentioned in Chapter 1, HTP is considered to have cross-cultural adaptability and has been widely used in childhood studies in China. Besides, Jungian theories, which are the main perspectives used in our research, combine “Western linear, causal, scientific methods and perspectives with Eastern (i.e., Chinese) non-causal, synchronistic, holistic aspects.” (Stein, 2005, p. 219). Moreover, Jung’s theory of individuation, related to one’s collective setting, was deeply influenced by Eastern wisdom, especially Taoist Laozi and Zhuangzi’s thoughts (Shen & Gao, 2018; Hannah, 1976), and this inspired the construction of the analytical perspective of this study. Jung’s analytical framework which emphasises differences in social and cultural factors, as well as common elements, images and feelings that exist at the collective level, has provided this research with an important depth of insight. The innate potential of children, the influence of their families and social and cultural realities are intertwined to reveal their current psychological

state and possible future development paths.

Thus, data analysis in social analysis proposed by Long and Harding (2013), which emphasises interpretation and association, is an important reference for our analysis path. The work of interpretation is seen as theory-driven and “is informed through experience” (Long & Harding, 2013, p. 103). This experience is also formed through the association at the unconscious level (Long & Harding, 2013). My interactions with migrant children, parents, staff (Beijing, Shanghai) and teachers (Shenzhen, Qinhuangdao) provided me with on-the-spot experiences. The field notes I recorded have helped me re-experience my thoughts, feelings, and observations about the atmosphere of the interview, as well as what caught my attention during the interview. When analysing the texts and drawings, I utilised these steps of the social analysis method for data analysis:

1. Reading in order to familiarize myself with the material. Themes, narratives and key events was discerned in the material.
2. Exploring the dynamics of data research (transference and counter-transference, psychic energy, etc.).
3. Formulating a hypothesis. That was to give a psychoanalytic description of the state of migrant children in China.

Besides, my knowledge of the interviewees was not comprehensive and long-term. In a context where information was missing, Jungian amplification, (which was able to extract

information from the cultural background) became particularly important. I therefore used some techniques and theories from psychoanalysis, especially Jungian interpretation of dreams and drawings, in order to make a more in-depth and multi-level exploration of any symbols and images the pictures or dreams might contain. By following Jung's approach, I could find otherwise hidden details of the psyche through my interpretation of their drawings and dreams.

The next question is how should we extract and obtain this important information from pictures. As we will see, although HTP's current guidance manual provided a clear analysis of some symbolic connotations, it wasn't enough to effectively analyze the large number of metaphors in our material. The introduction of psychoanalysis, especially Jungian theory, into this analysis process was therefore also helpful. Psychoanalytic understanding of individual, particular manifestations, along with a Jungian understanding of cultural context, the introduction of the collective, and social analysis's understanding of unique social systems all enabled me to focus on different aspects of the pictures and dreams. They helped me to gain a more comprehensive positioning, description and understanding the psychological status of migrant children.

3.2.1 House-Tree-Person Analysis

Yan and Chen (2019), authors of the designated textbook for Chinese psychoanalytic training courses on painting (*Painting Analysis and Psychotherapy Manual*), believe that drawing

therapy is mainly based on what analytical psychology describes as psychological. Projection here is considered as the activity of the unconscious to actively express itself. The products of projection not only exist in the form of art, dreams, hallucinations, delusions, etc., but can also show up in the form of projective tests such as HTP. Projective drawing tests have been widely used in clinical work for decades (Blatt, 1975; Catterall & Ibbotson, 2000; Lilienfeld et al., 2000; Garb et al., 2002; Goodenough, 1928; Goodenough & Harris, 1950). The drawing process is the presentation of the image, and the expression of emotions through symbolic symbols. In drawing, there can be quite large differences in the selection of colours, the size of the composition, the length and arrangement of the lines, the strength of the strokes, the speed of the strokes, the thickness of the ink style, etc., all of which can reflect the inner psychological state of the drawer.

With the continuous improvement and standardization of analytic methods, there has developed an indicator system consisting of key features in HTP drawings. The HTP manual is widely used in China (Yan & Chen, 2019). It provides a clear analysis process and many clear correspondences between drawing characteristics and symbolic meanings. However, a controversy over whether HTP is sufficiently standardized and reliable (Garb et al., 2002; Xiang et al., 2020; Xie & Ye, 1994; Yan et al., 2013; Yan et al., 2014; Ramirez, 1983; Molnár, 2008; Burkitt, 2004; Joiner et al., 1996; Lin et al., 2022) has emerged, highlighting the ambiguity and the numerous interpretive possibilities in its manual. Although the indicator system largely regulates the analysis of HTP drawings, there are still some limitations in its application. First, most indicators have no operational definition, leading to

unclear coding standards. Second, due to the subjectivity of human expert judgment and coding procedures, different researchers interpret the same indicator differently. Besides, although the manual mentions observing the drawer's emotions and drawing state during the drawing process, its purpose is more to help analysts interpret and select possible meanings of drawing features in the manual, rather than to attach great importance to and deeply explore the uniqueness of the drawer himself/herself.

However, when exploring the unclear psychological state of a group, individual expression is important and can bring us some analytical clues. Therefore, I consider it to be necessary to innovate the analysis method of HTP so that it can conduct in-depth exploration of the drawer's psychological state. In the practice of analyzing drawings of migrant children, I therefore found that Jungian's analysis method could be used as an effective supplement to help researchers when conducting an in-depth qualitative and individual analysis of each child's creation. The introduction of Jung's thought into HTP added cultural and in-depth understanding to the analysis of HTP, and the further exploration of the meanings of the children's drawings.

3.2.2 Integrating Jungian Analysis Methods into HTP Technique

As mentioned earlier, the projective test was born out of psychoanalytic theory. Its creator, Buck shared some similar views with Jung, and this provided the basis for my decision to combine the two approaches. For example, the drawers' indirect or symbolic feelings and

emotions caught Buck's attention, and he also emphasized the need to take into account the uniqueness of the individual and the context of both past and present when analyzing a drawing. He believed that the participants' response to the subject projects were non-specific (Buck, 1948). For different participants, the same "item" could have different meanings. Even if different participants drew the same detail, the meaning contained in it might still be different. With the development of HTP analysis techniques, the structure, brushstrokes, forms, special markings etc. can all be perceived to have certain specific psychological meanings (Ramirez, 1983). In general, children's drawings will show differences due to different moods caused by frustrations in education and life situations (Chen, 2008).

Jung, who is considered a pioneer in the use of drawing for analysis, emphasized the importance of images (Long, 2018; Furth, 2019). He assumed that the psyche is composed of reflected images (Jung, 1952), also found that in almost all cultures, certain images have similar specific meanings. Jung called these recurrent images the "archetypes" and believed that there is an important connection between the image of the drawing and the psyche of the drawer. Through drawing, people can become aware of their inner world and share with others content that originated from the unconscious.

The strong emotions in children's drawings and narratives could be understood in terms of the activity of psychic complexes. A complex is "an agglomeration of associations", which has a core derived from an archetype and has a certain definite feeling tone (Jung, 1935, para. 148). What surrounds the core is material "stemming in part from innate personal disposition

and in part from individual experiences conditioned by the environment” (Jacobi, 1959, p. 8).

The origin of the complex is “frequently a so-called trauma, an emotional shock or some such thing” (Jung, 1934b, para. 204). Once the complex is triggered to produce its effect, whether people realize it or not, it will always have an emotional impact on people’s psychology and behavior. This is one of the clues in our in-depth exploration of the psychological state of migrant children.

As will be shown later, I tried to explore the overall drawing, images and the relationship between the images, and further compared the approaches of the House-Tree-Person manual and those of Jungian analysis. The contents of the drawings were compared with the instructions in the *Painting Analysis and Psychotherapy Manual* (Third Edition). Also, there have been some studies which have attempted to integrate psychoanalytic perspectives and the HTP test (Bivans, 2013; Leibowitz, 2002). In this study, I adopted two different published Jungian-style drawing analysis methods to do the comparison.

The first approach was proposed by Gregg M. Furth. Furth (2019) elaborated guidance on how to conduct Jungian drawing analysis, believing that the unconscious is the seat of creativity. In Furth’s view, drawing analysis needs to obey three principles. Analysts need to pay attention to their own “initial impression of a picture” (Furth, 2019, p. 34); they need to maintain an objective analytical attitude and to respect the unconscious uniqueness of each person; and finally they need to synthesize what is learned from each feature into a whole in order to achieve a conclusion. This method has been used by Afolayan (2015) and Roysircar

et al. (2017) to analyze HTP drawing of Haitian children.

The starting point of Furth's approach is the search for focal points. Drawings from the unconscious represent raw material that is related to the individual's complexes. Focal points can be the details in the drawing, such as colour, shape, the direction of movement, placement, number of repeated objects, missing items, etc.. In addition, the specific images and symbols, as well as the person's complexes, and expression of psychic energy in the picture are also worth noting. Furth mentions over thirty points from the perspective of drawing itself and Jungian psychological theory which need to be borne in mind by the interpreter. This method partly integrates Jungian theory with HTP's manual, emphasising the identification of the image's specific characteristics. However, comparative analysis of thirty features one by one is time-consuming and labor-intensive, and is not suitable for processing large amounts of data. Besides, there is a big gap between focal points and conclusions. Furth's solution is that we should sort all the focal points, identify hidden symbols and images, and finally explore the complexes of the drawer behind the picture. However, this method requires keen intuition and a large amount of accumulation and understanding of symbols. Although there is a close logical connection between each step in theory, it still lacks guidance on the practical process.

Although the second Jungian method of picture interpretation has not been directly used in the analysis of HTP drawings, we believed that it fits well with HTP's attempt to establish an objective analysis system. Abt (2005), guided by Jung's theory and analytical methods,

attempted to establish a process of drawing analysis that “reads a picture without being given any personal context” (p. 41). This method starts by taking into account the two attitudes (introverted and extraverted) and then uses the four functions of consciousness in sequence to fully explore the picture. Abt lists clear and brief questions for each step, giving the analyst a clear direction of analysis.

The introverted attitude is mainly used here to remind analysts to record their “very first subjective reaction to picture” (p. 42), which is the same as the first principle mentioned by Furth. The extraverted attitude points to the picture itself. It attempts to fix a standard testing process through the use of four functions of consciousness, and combines it with the “criteria and proven scales” proposed by Abt, to achieve the purpose of bringing this analytic method closer to a standardized scale. The four functions of consciousness are, for Jung, sensation, feeling, thinking, and intuitive function. Each function corresponds to a number of questions. Analysts need to answer these questions one by one, and always pay attention to the reverse side of the answers to guard against their own subjective limitations or the painter’s intention to express compensation. These questions need to be answered twice to avoid any omissions. The next step is to think about the constellation in the unconscious that the picture originates from, the relationship to the feminine and masculine principle, and the development direction, and finally gives an overall conclusion.

The analytic method proposed by Abt simplifies the process of finding and analyzing features. It also provides four questions to guide the exploration from specific features to

conclusions. However, analysts need to have a deep understanding of these functions, and then try to use one of them independently. This brings certain difficulties to practice, as it is difficult to ensure that inferior functions have been trained to a strength sufficient to be used effectively independently. In addition, Abt strives to establish an objective interpretation of images and symbols, downplaying the uniqueness of the drawer's understanding of the images. This might cause Jungian analysis to fall into the same trap of over-manualization as HTP.

Both the HTP analysis manual and the two semi-structured Jungian analyzes attempt to conduct an analysis of the drawer's psychological state starting from the characteristics of the drawing. However, there are differences in the practical steps. Unlike the HTP analysis method, which starts by looking for drawing characteristics, Furth and Abt share the same view on how to perform the first step of drawing analysis. They both emphasize the importance of the analyst's initial impression of the picture. The second step of these two Jungian analyses is the same as the first step of HTP manual analysis. They point to the drawing itself, looking for features, elements, objective messages in the picture.

However, these three methods accomplish this step in different ways. Abt emphasized respecting the objective and universal meaning of different images, aiming to avoid the subjective assumptions of analysts. Both Furth and HTP manual refer to the drawer's personal uniqueness, but in completely different ways. When using the HTP manual, personal information helps with making appropriate choices among the different symbolic

meanings corresponding to the same features. Furth's method fully respects the uniqueness of each person. This method does not give a specific meaning, only different entry points for analysis.

The next step in these three methods is to analyze these discovered features. For traditional HTP analysis, we only need to check the manual and make the choice based on the drawer's situation. However, it is particularly difficult to draw direct conclusions from individual features, and this makes it difficult for analysts to fully explore the picture in depth. Furth's method points from the picture itself to the drawer at this step, and the final foothold lies in the drawer's unconscious complex. However, Furth does not provide sufficient guidance for this step of exploration. It may be difficult for beginners to sort focal points, and directly summarize the drawer's complex from the scattered exploration of the symbolic meaning of the points. Abt's approach is more helpful here. He provides a series of questions based on analytical psychology theory to bridge this gap and help analysts draw conclusions that are as objective, in-depth and comprehensive as possible. However, Abt's approach suffers from the same dilemma as the HTP manual. Although images share some universal symbols, the drawer's own thoughts are still important. Especially for a group whose psychological state is not clear, how can we narrow down the range of possibilities?

One possible way is add Jungian theory in to HTP analysis. HTP is "a two-phased approach to the personality" (Buck, 1948, p. 319). The first phase is "non-verbal, creative" drawing.

The second phase aims to give the participants "an opportunity to define, describe and

interpret the objects drawn and their respective environments, and to associate concerning them”. Jung’s association can be added to the second step, where the participants themselves provide the meaning of each image. Besides, amplification, added as the third step, could fill in the unknown context and enable further understanding of the picture from a cultural and social perspective.

Generally speaking, all these three methods have their shortcomings, which make them bring some difficulties to the analysis work in practice. Considering that there may be a gap between the refined methodology and the practical method, also out of curiosity about the application of Jungian theory in practice, with the help of my supervisor Dr David Henderson, I consulted with three British Jungian analysts for a total of 13 times.

During each consultation, I observed how they analyzed drawings and discussed the content of the pictures with them. They all demonstrated a strong personal style and mature analytical techniques. To see whether knowing the background information of the drawers in advance would affect their analysis, I conducted many experiments with them. Sometimes the children’s drawings were shown without any information, sometimes I gave them all the information I know before they saw the drawings. I found that even if they didn’t know any information about the drawer, they still could accurately “feel” the emotions and the unconscious information hidden under the drawing. Through the elements and figures in the picture, they could accurately outline the image of the drawer and the dilemma in his/her life, and even point out the possible identities of the different figures in the picture.

Their preferred analytic approaches could be divided into two types: top-down and bottom-up. Top-down refers to the analyst's desire to develop some understanding of the drawer and to use background information about the drawer to help with understanding the picture. Typical HTP painting analysis and Furth's (2019) method have such analytic logic. Another approach is to believe that there is enough content in the drawing, such that background information is not necessary. The method introduced by Abt is a bottom-up approach which aims to get information directly from the picture.

Although all the analysts obtained certain key information in both situations, each analyst showed a unique tendency. When the children's background information was given in advance, Analyst A strived to fully understand the general environment and drawer's surroundings; Analyst B focused on the parent-child relationship; Analyst C was more interested in the child's performance and how the child made one feel. When starting from the picture itself, Analyst A focused on the details in the picture and wanted to get as much information as possible; Analyst B was concentrated on how the images make her feel and always immediately captured the rich emotional information in the drawing; Analyst C repeatedly emphasized the expression and content of the drawing. She started with the materials and brush methods used by the drawer, and combined the content and the structure of the picture to form a holistic understanding.

All in all, their entry point and their analyses of drawings were closely related to their

personal understanding of children's development, and they didn't show a clear organizational path during the analysis. They all unconsciously carried out the second step mentioned by Abt, which is to return to the picture itself and eliminate the analyst's subjective views and projections as much as possible. Rather than enlisting the four functions in an orderly manner, they tended to use their primary and auxiliary functions to find an entry point for analysis. After they "entered" the drawing, they easily connected and corroborated what they have discovered with other information, and formed an analytical picture with a clear logical chain.

Free analysts and semi-structured analytical methods guided by Jungian theory often head in the same direction, differing only in the implementation methods and the aspects included in the conclusions. They are concerned with the same important issues at different moments, and often lead to the same core questions in the end. My encounters with the three Jungian analysts gave me a first-hand experience of how deeply the pictures themselves can be analyzed through the various functions of the analysts. At the same time, the drawer's own association is still important. It can corroborate our feelings and ensure that we don't go astray. It can also bring us enlightenment and show us a perspective for analysis. As a personal relation with the drawer at the unconscious level is inevitable (Jung, 1966b, para. 543), the analyst himself/herself is the most important tool in the analysis.

In reality, everything depends on the man and little or nothing on the method. The method is merely the path, the direction taken by a man; the way he acts is the true expression of his

nature ... For these insights spring from a way of life that is complete, genuine, and true to itself ... (Jung, 1962, para. 4)

As a result of this, I considered integrating the above different methods under the guidance of Jungian analytical theory to construct an analytical method that is easy to implement, and called it Free Jungian analysis. I first looked for noteworthy focal points from the children's drawings, and then analyzed images and symbols, discovered the connected complexes, the flow of psychic energy, which points to aspects of children's possible future development. Just as in dream analysis, there is no necessary opposition or conflict between the subjective level and the objective level. Conscious interpretation is how unconscious contents are revealed in a drawing. The conscious and the unconscious experiences create an interplay inside a drawing, which largely avoids the subjective assumptions of the analyst.

When conducting Free Jungian analysis, the analyst's experience partly ensures that the analysis can proceed smoothly. Therefore, beginners cannot be "completely free", as we may suddenly get stuck and be unable to proceed with the analysis. A better approach for beginners is probably to start from the picture itself, but follow a certain guiding trajectory. I used the following method when conducting free Jungian analysis independently:

1. Look for features in the drawing: Feel the drawing as a whole and record the intuitive reactions and explore the sources of our own feedback.
2. Organize the features in the drawing: briefly answer the series of questions which start

from our four functions, and strive to have a complete understanding of the picture.

The Sensation Function: What elements are included in the drawing? What are the characteristics of the materials and the brushstrokes?

The Feeling Function: What is highlighted/ignored in the picture? Is there anything strange or unreasonable? Where is the energy?

The Thinking Function: How are the various parts of the drawing organized together? How does color and spatial distribution relate to content?

The Intuitive Function: What kind of story do they tell? How will the scene evolve? What myths, legends or stories do they remind we of?

3. Determine the direction we want to dig in and go deep. While analyzing, continue to look for interconnected images, and finally connect the entire picture together.

In the next section, I analyzed the HTP drawings of four children using all four approaches:

(1) the HTP manual, the methods introduced by (2) Furth and (3) Abt, and (4) the Free Jungian analysis. The purpose is to demonstrate the similarities and differences in the analytical paths and results of these methods. Considering the space limitation, I have included only one brief analysis and three analyses combining all four approaches are retained here.

3.2.3 Four Examples

Brief Analysis : QHD6

Background Information: QHD6 was a fourteen-year-old female studying in the second grade of junior high school. She has a younger brother who was eleven years old. Although QHD6 self-reported that she was worried about her academic performance, her mother thought that she was doing well in school and had a good relationship with classmates and teachers. Teachers reported that she was outstanding, had good grades and were disciplined. QHD6's registered residence is in a rural area in Gansu Province, but she was born in Hebei and was raised by her mother. She only went back for about ten days during the Chinese New Year each year. Grandmother once came to Hebei to help take care of the younger brother for several years, and returned to Gansu by the time he started to go to school. Her parents were currently doing some small business in Qinhuangdao, claiming that the purpose is to provide their children with a better learning atmosphere in the city. The mother didn't feel that QHD6 had entered puberty. The HTP drawing she created is shown below.

Figure 1.



QHD6's First HTP Drawing

Method 1 House-Tree-Person Manual

1. Drawing Features and their Meanings (my translation)

(1) House

One-sided house: introverted, sensitive, and simple-minded.

Handle on the door: eager to communicate with the outside world and more willing to play a passive role in interpersonal interactions.

Round windows: Feminine temperament and gentler personality.

Moderately sized house (the image occupies 1/4 to 1/3 of the picture): The self-perception is realistic, neither overly flamboyant nor overly humble.

Multi-story house: Sensitive to the environment; feels confused and helpless about family relationships; feels that self-worth in the family is ignored; tends to avoid and hide in interpersonal interactions, and is relatively defensive.

(2) Tree

Pointy branches: The mood is tense.

Small and few fruits: low self-esteem and lack of confidence.

A tree trunk thick at both ends and thin in the middle: represents hard work and enterprising spirit.

Tree canopy sloping from lower left to upper right: Strongly influenced by the past and

possibly emotional.

Cloud-shaped or spherical crown: easygoing personality, good interpersonal relationships; prone to fantasy.

(3) Person

Square shoulders: The painter may be under pressure. Feminine drawings with broad shoulders often mean that they must shoulder heavy responsibilities, and there is a subconscious denial of the female role.

One shoulder is high and the other is low: The pressure is uneven. The lower side represents too much pressure; there may be avoidance and fear of facing the past or future.

No footwork: Unstable personality, instability or lack of accurate status.

(4) Other

Grass: a manifestation of beauty and the sustenance of emotion. The straight grass represents a kind of tenacious vitality and some stubbornness.

2. Interpret the Whole Painting

The drawer is a female, gentle, introverted and sensitive, with a defensive avoidance tendency in interpersonal interactions. She may not receive enough support from her family, so she feels confused and helpless about family relationships. The square shoulders suggests that she is under some pressure. The shoulders are high on the left and low on the right, so

the pressure may be pointing to the future. Her tenacious vitality can be seen in the well-shaped tree trunks and straight grass. However, small and few fruits indicate that she doesn't have a high opinion of herself and may lack confidence in facing future pressure.

Method 2 Semi-structured Jungian Analysis: Four Functions (Abt)

Question 1

What is constellated: where does the picture come from?

This picture seems to come from QHD6's unconscious family image, and depicts an internal representation of the relationship within the family. Dissociated or missing aspects of the archetypal image might constellate the emergence of compensatory representations of the missing parts, sometimes resulting in idealized parental and family image. This image only partially corresponds to the actual family, and it would vary according to the different ways in which individual needs or characteristics compensate for missing or incomplete aspects of the actual family. QHD6 drew four windows, possibly indicating that there are four bedrooms in the house. Thus four people in the family can have an independent space. However, when she came to describe her room in detail, her imagination was limited and she began to describe her current room instead. She had to share her bedroom with her younger brother, just as in her current life.

Question 2

What is the relationship to the feminine principle?

In this picture, the grass is under the shade of a big tree and protected by it. QHD6 believed that such a picture is peaceful. The atmosphere flows with maternal protection and children's attachment to their mothers. However, although this tree has many branches and leaves, it bears very few fruits. This might imply insufficient provision from the land. The girl has no feet, so she may lack stability and have difficulty moving. Thus her desire to walk to the big tree is full of difficulties. This could be interpreted as a lack of maternal accommodation and support. Another possibility is that migrant children as a group receive insufficient support from society.

Question 3**What is the relationship to the masculine principle?**

The animus in Chinese culture is full of emphasis on wisdom (Xu, 2021). Today, the assault by negative aspects of the Chinese cultural animus is reflected in Chinese education (Xu, 2021). Excellent academic performance becomes the primary expectation of parents for their children. QHD6's parents wanted her to receive a good education in the city. In this environment, the affected parents refused to see, receive and accommodate their real child. When I asked the mother what she knew about QHD6's life at home and school, she couldn't say anything substantial. The performance and presentation of QHD6's drawing were also stereotyped and lacked imagination.

Question 4**In which direction might the development go?**

There are some positive developments in this picture. The vigorously growing trees and straight grass could symbolize the drawer's tenacious vitality and potential good self-development. However, a negative atmosphere also coexists with it. The small apple might imply that it may be difficult for her to achieve enough to match her parents' expectations in the future.

Question 5**What is the quintessence of the picture for our work?**

This seemingly relaxing and peaceful drawing hides a tragic scene common in Chinese families. Parents try their best to support their children, hoping that a noble son will come from a poor family (Meng, 2013), children also take on their parents' expectations. Parents' attitudes towards their children and children's self-cognition are rigid, depending narrowly on their academic performance. In such a family, it's difficult for children to receive enough care and attention from their parents. QHD6 may be able to make some progress academically, but such progress may not satisfy her parents' expectations and her own wishes. The concern is that she might experience insufficient development of the self.

Method 3 Semi-structured Jungian Analysis: Focal Points (Furth)

1. Symbols in the House, Tree and Person

House: round door; a window on the door; a handle on the door

Tree: There is a very small apple on the left branch and the right branch; The crown shape is from lower left to upper right

Person: No feet; square shoulders; left shoulder more prominent

Others: the small grass on each side of the tree

List of Focal Points

No feet; square shoulders; There is a very small apple on the left branch and the right branch;

There is a small grass on each side of the tree; a window on the door; a handle on the door;

left shoulder more prominent; The crown shape is from lower left to upper right

2. Complex, Psychic Energy and Synthesis

The girl in the picture is a “good student” in China. She should have good performance, always remain good and strive to be better. The inherent conflict in this “good student complex” is that students must both achieve themselves and please their parents. Under such dual demands, she may feel deeply powerless. QHD6 said that the mood of this girl had been completely affected by her academic performance. In such a situation, it was difficult for her to have a correct and comprehensive evaluation of herself. This mentality was closely related

to the negative Chinese cultural Animus. The negative animus in Chinese culture is “the selfish smart fool” (Xu, 2021, p. 105). The value he pursues is to become the best among people through hard study. Such concepts pervade China’s education system and families.

The psychological energy in the drawing is flowing towards the drawer herself. The tree has strong branches, the proportions of its crown and trunk are moderate, and it is still growing vigorously. It seems as though QHD6’s self could develop to a certain extent, but as the fruits are small and few, she might not have good expectations for her future achievements. If her self-exploration and cognition are limited to her academic performance, it will harm her development.

Method 4 Free Jungian Analysis

The mother of QHD6 told me that they chose to come to QHD from the rural areas of Gansu Province so that their children could have a better educational environment. This can’t help but remind people of a Chinese story: Meng Ke’s mother moved their home three times in order to choose a good environment to educate her children (Zhao, 2014). Meng Ke eventually became the second Sage of Confucianism and was called “Confucius and Mencius” together with Confucius.

Children initially see the world through experiences within the confines of the family. The younger the child, the more identified he is with his/her parents (Jung, 2008). QHD6, as her

parents' wish, would rather pursue a clean and tidy community environment and better academic performance in Qinhuangdao, than go back to Gansu. However, she lacks interactions and identification with the local social environment, and focuses more on the internal family and her own academic performance.

As children grow older, the identification with the parents reduces. Adolescent children express more concern for the environment and sense of order (Erikson, 1994). Self-reflection and self-doubt also appear. However, QHD6's mother told me that she didn't feel any signs of QHD6 entered adolescence. This may be related to the current Chinese education system and the excessive emphasis on intellectual development and academic performance within the family (Xu, 2021). The current education QHD6 has received doesn't pay attention to her psychological development. The overemphasis on consciousness makes her insufficiently aware of her unconscious. She said she didn't dream and was not willing to draw freely.

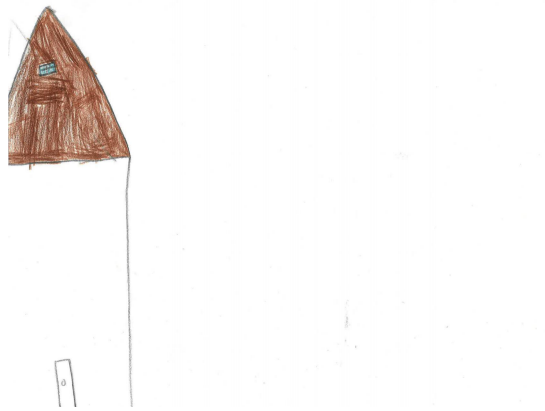
Thus, QHD6 chose to do another HTP drawing in the second meeting. She painted the entire house orange which might point to a longing for the warmth from her family and a hope that her family can become her safe base. She can hide behind a curtain or look through the window on the door to see if it's safe outside. The girl in the picture, who lives in warmth, has two feet. This might mean she has developed a more complete self.

Figure 2.

QHD6's Second HTP Drawing

Analysis Combining all Four Approaches: Example 1 SH14

Background Information: SH14 was a seven-year-old boy in the second grade of primary school. He had a fourteen-year-old sister who had returned to their hometown, Chongqing. He was the only one among the 15 children in Shanghai whose father participated in the parent interviews. In fact, his father was quite busy at work, and spent less time at home than the mother. The father thought that SH14 was lively at home but not good at communicating in front of strangers, and he had a bad temper when anything unhappy happens. During the three group activities that I experienced, SH14 was extremely inactive, barely participating, and almost never interacting with others. While working on the HTP drawing, SH14 abandoned his first draft, saying he “drew it wrong”.

Figure 3.

SH14's First HTP Drawing

Figure 4.

SH14's Second HTP Drawing

This drawing depicts a seven-year-old boy enjoying the shade under a tree. Referring to the House-Tree-Person Manual, the following features are worth noting. The boy's ears are shown in a different way, without the black outline. Single-line arms, although common in children's drawings, do not match this carefully drawn figure. The tree has long a trunk and a small crown, and the trunk is closed at the junction with the crown. The three-floor wooden

house has only one skylight and one locked door. The tree crown and the house have a left-sloping feature. The wooden house is the boy's home. This home leans toward the past rather than the future, and lacks communication channels with the outside world. When he first drew the house he told me that he had done it completely wrong. So he changed a piece of drawing paper and drew a new house. The new house has the larger window and door, which means he has more space to communicate with the outside world.

The information obtained from the HTP manual was meaningful but insufficient. The boy in the drawing reminds me of SH14's performance during group activities, in which he lacked effective interaction with others. This feeling was even stronger when I had interviews with him. His voice was almost a whisper and he rarely looked at me. Whether in interactions with staff, peers or me, he showed a withdrawn state. I learned from his father that he had a very different personality from his sister. His sister is a lively and cheerful child, while he is "timid". His father was unwilling to admit this at the beginning. Instead, he said hesitantly that SH14 was "fairly lively" at home.

Furth's focus on psychic energy helps to understand this state of the drawer. This drawing reveals a nostalgia for the past, suggesting that his psychic energy may be in a state of regression. The boy in the picture is only five years old. He is in the Oedipal stage and is two years younger than the actual age of the drawer. Five was also the time when his sister left Shanghai. SH14 then became the only child beside the mother and risked a possible Oedipal victory. Children at this stage use incest emotions to differentiate and enrich their personality

experience through close emotional contact with their parents (Jung, 1952). The child's slow development might be due to the distance from the sister and the father's absence in family life, which makes SH14's relationship with the mother too close.

The house and tree canopy leaning to the left might show his nostalgic attitude towards the past. However, the wooden house is often used to perform separation ceremonies among primitive tribes (Jung, 2014). These rituals are designed to break people out of their previous state of existence and transfer their psychic energy to the next stage (Jung, 2014). It seems to be the time for SH14 to separate from his parents and enter a new psychological stage.

In our second interview, the image of the snake appeared in his dream. It could be the specific symbolic expression before the psychic energy is transformed (Jung, 2014). The snake in his dream climbed up the tree, reflecting the relationship between trees and snakes. Trees have maternal meanings (Jung, 1954a), which could connect with the blue of the picture. The little boy in the drawing is wearing clothes with the same color as the skylight. The blue window could reflect the color of the sky, also suggest that the house has been flooded with maternal waters. The Virgin Mary is often depicted wearing blue, which alludes to the protective effect of the blue sky (Abt, 2005). Because of its relationship with rivers, lakes and seas, blue can also evoke people's associations with origins (Abt, 2005).

He expresses his desire and the possible direction of his development: the little boy in the drawing has left home, and he is happily enjoying the shade under the tree. The boy in the

drawing might be lacking in strength, as he has one leg thick and one thin, lacks hands and has thin arms. He may not be confident enough or have some doubts about whether he can break through and move on to the next psychological stage. However, as the hidden state of his inner true self emerges more and more intensely, such conflicts may also become more intense.

Analysis Combining all Four Approaches: Example 2 SZ6

Background Information: SZ6 was an 11 year old boy who had a five-and-a-half-year-old brother. Their hukou is in Fujian, and their mother came to Shenzhen in 2009. They went back to their hometown three times a year. His mother was a “stay-at-home mom” and his father was an entrepreneur. SZ6 struggled before finally deciding to be interviewed, rejecting it twice and agreeing twice, claiming that he believed his psyche was healthy.

His mother said that she didn’t know much about SZ6’s performance in school, but she heard from the teacher that he was restless. The teacher told me that his condition was not good. His grades had been good before, but they started to drop after he found out that he was going to go back to his hometown to attend junior high school. The teacher had been leading the class for three years, and communicated with SZ6 and his parents a lot. However, she didn’t know that SZ6 had a younger brother and told me that he was the only child. SZ6 and his parents avoided his brother’s being mentioned, even when explaining why he had to return to his hometown.

Figure 5.

SZ6's HTP Drawing

After finishing the drawing, SZ6 told me the story in the picture:

SZ6: Aliens have been eyeing the earth for a long time, but because of the protection of the earth, they had no chance. Now because of the excessive development of technology by human beings, which has destroyed the ecological environment of the earth, human beings have moved away from the earth. Human beings without the protection of the earth are like fish on a chopping board. (my translation)

From the perspective of the House-Tree-Person Manual, both positive and negative elements are present in this picture. The firm lines show that the drawer was confident and had good self-control. However, he used a lot of pencil. Both regular and coloured pencils, can

relatively easily be modified and erased. This conveyed a feeling of uncertainty. The houses in the drawing are small and uninhabitable. This might show that family relationships are tense and are characterized by emotions of depression, anxiety, stress, wariness of others, and self-defensiveness. The drawer might have a nostalgia for the past and an escape mentality for the future, but also might be using reason to control his present behavior.

SZ6 told me that the aliens in the picture are Trisolarans. Here might be a good place to introduce Jungian insights for further exploration. Trisolarans come from *The Three-Body Problem* (Liu, 2023), which is a science fiction novel written by the Chinese writer Liu Cixin. In the fiction, there is an extraterrestrial civilization in which Trisolarans live, and the planet they are on is unsuitable for survival, so they set their sights on the earth. Before the Trisolarans invaded Earth, some Earthlings fled to outer space and turned to other extraterrestrial civilizations for help. Finally, other extraterrestrial civilizations attacked the earth, and the Trisolarans were destroyed together with the earth. However, in this drawing, SZ6 seems to believe that no one can find other civilizations, so the Trisolarans can rule the earth. Such an ending is desperate, but he didn't give an accurate account of the ending of the last earthlings. These humans still have the possibility of rebuilding their homes on the moon.

Abt's approach leads us to explore how stories might be constellated. The new home for the last of the Earthlings reminds me of the story of Chang'e flying to the moon, which is a well-known myth and legend in China. *Huai Nan Zi* said: "[Yi stole] the pill ensuring

immortality from the Queen Mother of the West (Xi Wang Mu), [and then] Chang'e—Lord Yi's wife pilfered and took the pill and then flew to the moon." (Liu et al., 2010, p. 389) The custom of worshiping the moon on the Mid-Autumn Festival occurred because of this. It has become the symbolic of people's desire for reunion and good wishes for life.

The earthlings in the drawing are like Chang'e, they left their hometown and headed for the strange moon. Their experiences hint at the separation that SZ6 is about to go through. SZ6 would soon have to leave his "hometown" (Shenzhen) and run to the moon (the place of household registration) with great reluctance. But at the same time, for his parents, the moon is their real hometown, and it fits the meaning of so-called reunion. In this way, the picture reveals the contradictions and hidden conflicts within the family.

As well as the moon, other feminine images also appear in the picture, such as the river and the tree. They are also the most intensely colored parts in the picture. SZ6 took the most time to draw this part. The tree in the picture is a dead tree. The river has also dried up, and it is truncated in the center of the paper. It connects with the collapsed mountain on the right through the collapsing rubble and falling earth in the sky, and has been polluted and destroyed. A lot of brown is used to depict these scenes.

In Abt's view, brown could imply "the nourishing carrier of life that can, however, also have a regressive appeal" (Abt, 2005, p. 102). The brown in the drawing might be associated with the image of the life-supporting and protective mother (Abt, 2005), the fertile basis of soil as

the growth and development of individual conscious. However, these nourishments are lacking in the picture, just as SZ6 was rejected by his spiritual homeland - Shenzhen. He will leave this land and go to a strange planet. The land that had nourished him was no longer what it used to be. His homeland once raised a strong tree, but now the tree is dead, and its branches are like sharp swords pointing to the sky and the moon. The river has also dried up and turned the same color as the tree trunks. In such a scene of such deprivation, the drawer's ego can get stuck, being unable to unfold and develop in an independent and unique way (Abt, 2005). The flow of water reflects the same concerns, its right side is blocked, suggesting chaos and regression.

At the same time, the entire drawing is presented in a patriarchal manner, full of hierarchy and violence, with Mother Earth ruthlessly polluted and destroyed. The image of a mature father always has two opposing character traits: impulsive and rational, strong and gentle (Zoja, 2018). Only the violent and ruthless appear in this drawing, lacking the gentleness that a father should have. The crucial Father and the level of civilization in the *Three-Body Problem* reminds me of the level of identity in the drawer's life. Shenzhen implements the policy of point-based settlement and enrollment. Different points are divided into different levels, and residents of each level enjoy different rights and interests. The drawer once asked his mother whether they would change from level eight to level one if they returned to Fujian. However, this picture hides the drawer's pessimistic attitude. There would be no difference in the final outcome between level eight and level one, just as the Trisolarans and Earthlings would both be destroyed.

SZ6 attributes all the tragedies in the drawing to human beings, seemingly implying that he is fully responsible for his real life and current negative feelings. However, this is not the case. Neither the Mother image, the Mother Earth in the picture, the real mother of SZ6, nor the maternal atmosphere in society is perfect. The image of a mother has positive aspects such as loving and nurturing, and negative aspects such as lack, absence, and deprivation (Berry, 2017).

Mother Earth in the drawing showed her negative side by blaming and belittling Earthlings, stating that they placed the material burden on her. Similarly, SZ6's real mother failed to provide him with enough resources to allow him to have a stable living environment.

However, she believed that she had done enough and in turn emphasized that SZ6 should be satisfied with future arrangements. The Confucian ethical and moral filial obligations discussed previously exacerbated the negative aspects of the image of the mother. They endowed Chinese mothers with an identity of "hidden authority" in the family, but this also exacerbated the lack of maternity. When mothers devoted themselves to playing the role of "mother", they had been far away from the essence of women to maintain patriarchy. In order to maintain their status as the "hidden authority" within the family, they were unwilling to admit their own shortcomings. SZ6, like human beings in his drawing, chose to internalize his mother's aggression. The mother's deficiencies were therefore transformed into the child's personal issues.

From a social perspective, Shenzhen has a widely circulated slogan to show its welcome to migrant workers: “If you come, you’re a Shenzhener.” (Lu et al., 2021) However, it seems to have a negative hidden connotation: if you can’t stay, you can only blame yourself. This also fits the story told in this drawing. But as we have repeatedly emphasized in previous chapters, the policies introduced by the government are not as inclusive as this slogan. SZ6 considered himself local, but was expelled from his current psychological homeland.

SZ6’s psychological world may have collapsed like the earth in the picture. His grades dropped significantly, and he expressed anxiety, insecurity and confusion in the drawing. He was not feeling well, but his mother told him that he should feel fine. On the issue of cognition of hometown, SZ6’s real mother had also been unable to understand him, nor provide him with emotional support to mourn the loss. His mother believed that returning to Fujian was returning to his real hometown, while SZ6 regarded Shenzhen as his psychological homeland. SZ6 had to deal with this dilemma alone, and he did not know what would happen in the future.

Thus, this drawing depicts people in a state of homelessness. SZ6 has two “homes” – one in Shenzhen and one in Fujian - but neither can provide containment. He considers himself a native of Shenzhen, but because of Shenzhen’s policies, he can no longer stay in this spiritual homeland. If his family return to their place of household registration, they will be able to own their own house and have close contact with their relatives. In this way he would be back in his “hometown”, although it is a “home” he doesn’t think he belongs to. Leaving

Shenzhen is felt as a loss for him.

To make matters worse, he left against his will. He seems to be “banished” from his own home. In the story he told me, when the earthlings were on the earth, they didn’t break away from the inherent order of life, and aliens couldn’t attack them. However, after leaving the earth, they became the “inferior” class and received the least protection. This gave the aliens a chance. SZ6 and his family are like culturally homeless people in society. They left the social order of their hometown and came to Shenzhen, but failed to integrate into the new order of Shenzhen. They are about to return to their hometown, but the way forward is still uncertain. SZ6 expresses his pessimism and despair with the ending of the final extinction of the earthlings.

The dead tree in the drawing seems to present a gesture of self-preservation. The top of the trunk has thick branches extending to the left and right, and the right branch has sharp branches pointing to the sky. If we see the tree as SZ6’s self development, it has two broken branches protruded from the top to the left and right. The broken branch from the trunk appears right in the middle, and corresponds to half the length of his current life, which is six years old. The number 6 appears more than once in the picture, such as six stick figures and six craters on the moon. This number can be connected with his life - he was in the sixth grade of elementary school when he was interviewed, and his younger brother was also born when he was six years old. The birth of his younger brother changed his life: without his younger brother, he could continue to study in Shenzhen.

The mother thought he was constantly “attention seeking” at home and was worried about his competitiveness. She said that he liked everything his brother liked, and he must have everything his brother has. Even though she had put his portion in front of him, he would keep asking, “Where is mine? Where is mine?” At the same time, his mother believed that he loves his brother very much, because SZ6 brought back milk and fruit from school and gave them to his brother.

The concept of reaction formation might help us understand this. He and his brother were in competition for resources within the family, and his animosity toward his brother might made him anxious or uncomfortable. So, he replaced this anxiety-provoking impulse with its opposite, acting kindly to his brother.

Finally, let us further explore the tree in the picture. Not only it's one of the higher-ranked focal points in Furth's approach, it also reveals the future development of the drawer – a question that that Abt is particularly concerned about. For Jung, plants and their symbols are the existence and expression of the profound unconscious: “Life has always seemed to me like a plant that lives on its rhizome. Its true life is invisible, hidden in the rhizome.” (Jung, 1989, p. 4)

Dead trees were used to express the emotions of sorrow, anger, irony, or loneliness by China's poets and painters. Under the knife and ax of the craftsman, the dead tree no longer

has the vitality of the past, and wood becomes a symbol of people (Yu, 1980). The sawdust splashes, just like the peeling off of life. People are constantly colliding with reality, so they are often covered with scars. It's similar with SZ6's intense emotional ups and downs and a decline in academic performance when he faced multiple difficulties in life.

However, within the despair lies the possibility of hope. The heart of a dead tree contains the path and the meaning of transformation. Chuang-Tzu connected the dead tree with the heart, with life, and with the way of heaven and earth: "Can the body be made to become thus like a withered tree, and the mind to become like slaked lime?" (Legge, 1891) Dead trees and people are "between good and bad", depending on the choice of attitude towards society and life. Therefore, the rotten wood might look decayed but is full of vitality inside. Su Shi (1986, para. 2109) called it "withered on the outside but creamy on the inside (my translation)". Dead trees are associated with the sorrow of the end of life, the acceptance of the rough fate, and the rooted feelings for the homeland and the country.

The limitation of resources caused SZ6 to leave Shenzhen, just as the lack of Mother Earth caused the earthlings to leave the earth. The image of wandering earthlings functions as an expression of the unconscious cultural homelessness complex. SZ6, like most of the migrants, was anxious and lacked a sense of security. The dead tree, as the earthlings on the moon, reflects the potential vitality in despair. Weeping humans are facing crises, also are mourning their homeland.

This drawing provides an image of SZ6's crumbling spiritual world and unconscious despair for the future. He is powerless to fight against the laws of the world, and feels that he will reach an unknown ending under the judgment of others. In his drawing, mountains have collapsed, rivers have dried up, and Mother Earth has been displaced. Without rivers and water, trees cannot survive and they become dead trees. The sharp knife-like branches may express the intensity of his emotions. Furthermore, neither the people nor the zombies in the drawing have feet. This might be an expression of the state of cultural homelessness: life cannot be down-to-earth. However, there is still a thriving vitality in the seemingly lifeless picture. Just as there will be new masters on the earth, the former earthlings have also gone to their new homeland. The transformation has already begun.

Analysis Combining all Four Approaches: Example 3 BJ6

Background Information: BJ6 is a seven-year-old girl studying in the first grade of primary school, and is the only child in her family. The mother said she didn't plan to have another child. Her registered residence is in Hebei, and she went back once a year before she started to go to school. After entering the primary school, her mother felt that her vacation was too short and stopped taking her back. She wanted to go back and play with dogs, and often imagined that the big black dog could come to Beijing to accompany her. She told me that she used to have a big black dog, but this dog was sold to the barbecue restaurant by her grandparents. BJ6 often had nightmares at night.

Figure 6.

BJ6's HTP Drawing

The drawing is distinctive and eye-catching. Its childlike style and bright colors hint to us that the drawer was still young. This drawing depicts a scene on a girl's birthday. The girl wants to invite her friend who lives in the house on the right to her birthday party. The mother doesn't want her to do this and is calling her to go home quickly.

This picture can be divided into upper and lower parts. The upper part is the night sky composed of stars and moon. The lower half contains two houses, a tree, 2 people and a flower. After finishing the other part of the drawing, BJ6 picked up the oil pastel and added a flag on the roof and the woman on the left. These two images are drawn differently from other elements: they are not outlined with a black water-based pen, and their outlines are not closed. Taking into account the drawing's structure and characteristics, the HTP Manual guides us to explore the integration of personality, the relationship with family, and the

drawer's self-development.

I notice that the father is absent from the drawing: only the mother and daughter appear. It might be important to explore the relationship between mother and daughter. As mentioned before, in traditional Chinese culture, marriage brings about the separation of women from their home and family. A married daughter is considered as the "thrown out water" and required to enter a new role and identity. However, it's difficult for her to truly belong to the new family, the only power she has is to manage the inner house.

The myth of Persephone and her mother Demeter, as an archetypal image of the mother-daughter relationship, may also contribute to our analysis (Jung & Kerényi, 2002). Demeter, as the goddess of agriculture and grain, is the nurturer and nourisher of all human beings. According to Jung, she "compels the gods by her stubborn persistence to grant her the right of possession over her daughter (Jung, 1938, para. 167)", and she represents the part of every mother that cannot be separated from her daughter (Neumann, 1974).

In the process of growing up, daughters usually have a multi-dimensional relationship with their mothers, which can include the daughter's continued identification with her mother but also her desire to "be independent and develop her own identity" (Freud & De Jager, 2010, p. 84). The American female poet Adrienne Rich (1995) uses the concept of "matrophobia" to describe a daughter's "desire", "to become purged once and for all of her mothers' bondage, to become individual and free." (Rich, 1995, p. 236). It also depends on whether the mother

needs her daughter to act as her stand-in or to be an extension of her life (Freud & De Jager, 2010). A mother who brings unresolved, intense ambivalence about her own mother into her relationship with her daughter, is likely to transfer this ambivalence to her child as well.

As the only daughter in the family, BJ6 was the focus of her mother's life, and was closely controlled by her mother. The mother had high expectations for her, hoping that BJ6 can be admitted to the best universities in China and earn a lot of money like her cousin's son.

When BJ6 didn't perform well in school, the mother would be verbally or physically violent towards her. BJ6 always rationalized these attacks. She told me when she made mistakes in homework, her mother would say that her brain was filled with water. BJ6 explained that this might be because the mother thought she accidentally got water into her ears while washing her face. Another possible reason is that she once saw a cat's ears get wet in a cartoon, so her mother thought her ears were wet like the cat's. When recounting this incident, BJ6 kept rocking her body back and forth, acting in an anxious way.

The mother also had expectations and requirements the way she dressed. In her picture, BJ6 is wearing a blue top. The mother thought it should be worn with a skirt. However, BJ6 chose to wear it with trousers "like a man" and was laughed at by her mother. The mother powerfully hinders the girl's self-confidence by criticizing her clothing. The mother's mocking appears to reflect her devaluation of her daughter's femininity. This attitude is not only related to the personal environment, but also to the social environment (Freud & De Jager, 2010).

From 1956, the slogan proposed by People's Daily, "Women are half of the sky (my translation)", quickly spread across China (Editorial, 1956). At that time, women often had short hair and wore gray or dark blue overalls. It was difficult to identify gender from a distance. Socialist female icons were described as "Iron Ladies" who labored heroically in front of steel furnaces. Such ideas erased the importance of femininity and encouraged women to promote their masculinity. At the same time, they were expected to maintain domestic harmony and take care of the family.

BJ6's grandmother lived in that era, and her mother grew up in such an atmosphere. Women who were fully committed to national construction didn't have the energy to establish a safe and intimate relationship with their children. However, mothers who have not resolved their own attachment issues to their own mothers are prone to treating their daughters as narcissistic continuations of themselves (Freud & De Jager, 2010). BJ6's mother has conflicting expectations about her image. The mother wanted her to wear a skirt, and also gave her a name that means tolerant and broad. BJ6's name is often used for men. However, because the character for water (氵) is contained in her name, it also maintains a connection with feminine qualities. The mother hopes that BJ6 will not only achieve extremely high achievements, but also fully develop her feminine qualities.

The mother's great expectations for BJ6 reflect her own anxiety, also led to frequent anger and attacks on BJ6. This was an extreme threat to BJ6, as severe conflict between girls and

their mothers can lead to fears of being destroyed by their mothers (Freud & De Jager, 2010). This fantasy of being destroyed and engulfed by her mother made her more likely to repress her aggression and become overly compliant (Ibid.). In addition, because the mother was living in a high-pressure environment, she herself was very anxious. It made her even less able to ensure that the child's fears were manageable (Ibid.).

In the drawing, the heart-shaped decoration on the mother's body and her hair are dark blue. Dark blue, like the night sky and ocean, brings a feeling of effectiveness and authority, and, according to Abt, it also has a tolerant atmosphere (Abt, 2005). This mother is as vast as the ocean, who could both give birth to and devour everything. For the girl, the mother could be loving and caring, but the picture also shows the danger that she will swallow up the child's personal will with her affection.

Although she is still afraid of her mother's judgment and often feels unsafe, she is also seeking to establish a triadic relationship within the family, thereby breaking the duality with her mother. BJ6's father who doesn't appear in the picture is not a distant observer, but compensates or adjusts the relationship between daughter and mother, helping BJ6 partially separate from the mother. BJ6 announces her close relationship with her father through their surname. She has the same surname as her father and grandfather, while her mother, like her grandmother, is someone with a "different surname" in the family. BJ6 often arranges for her parents to take turns taking her to school and asks them to buy her different types of snacks. She also expresses her anger at her grandfather (the mother's father) for selling her

companion, a big black dog, to the town barbecue joint. She threatened to crush the puppy her uncle bought into meat patties and “stew it when we get home”. She said bluntly: “I hate them.”

Selling a child’s dog is similar to putting the child in a small dark room (BJ1). It is a form of abuse whereby the child is deprived of the sense of security. The small dark room is the confinement room, locking the child into this room could be seen as a version of the traditional education method which draws on the old-fashioned approach of “face the wall and think about the mistakes”. When a person is forced into a corner, the wall around or in front is heavy and thick, making it impossible to advance or retreat, and this eliminates any possibility of escape. It reveals parents’ harsh and cruel attitude towards children and could arouse the child’s fear of abandonment. When describing the picture, BJ6’s logic was clear and her language was fluent. However, when she mentioned the puppy that had been sold, her expression became garbled and logically confusing, and she also stuttered. The inconsistency within the way her language was expressed implies strong emotions. She began to talk at length about her loneliness and her fantasies. She fantasized about the big black dog cooking for her, combing her hair, and becoming her companion. She also fantasized that her father buys her a little white dog so that she can hold a wedding for it. Here the father was mentioned for the second time, and again as a person who could provide compensation or help.

BJ6 experiences a conflict between a fear of being swallowed by a powerful mother and a

desire for connection. Starting by choosing to wear trousers instead of skirts, she tried to balance the need for a lasting and special close relationship with her mother against the need to be separate from the mother. If she could direct her emotions and curiosity toward other areas, including the father and the unknown world outside, she might succeed in finding and forming the self-identity and she might develop her unique, authentic, and independent self. In BJ6's fantasy of the future, she achieves just the right balance. She will attend a school that is not too far from home and has general score requirements. She hopes to be able to get to school independently, be free to play with her friends, and invite her friends to attend her birthday party. At the moment, the mother ruthlessly rejects her wish for independence and uses the warmth of family to seduce her to stay with the mother, trying to lead her away from the self she identified with and longed for.

The scene of stars and the moon also appears in the picture, bringing a feminine touch to the drawing. According to Jung (2014), female image is rooted in the law of Eros, a force that combines and loosens things. Feminine consciousness also has a lunar quality, and the light it emits brings things together rather than creating divisions. Speaking and acting in accordance with this awareness might promote the necessary integration. Wherever there is an abyss, Jung (1954a) says, the moonlight can smooth it out. Thus the moon might symbolize a hope that can unite the differences between father's family and mother's surname, smooth the aggression between mother and daughter, and also help BJ6 erase the differences between urban and rural areas and fly across the chasm between Hebei and Beijing. As a child living on the move, BJ6 is also affected by the complex of cultural homelessness. The red flag on

the house is the brightest color in the drawing. The girl drew it here to express her wish that her family of three would no longer have to share a house with others, but could have such a space independently. The rootless tree and houses whose lower parts are cut by the edge of the paper add to the picture's unsettling atmosphere.

The flag's flagpole and edges are purple, which often symbolizes nobility in East and West (Ge, 1990; Yao, 1973; Abt, 2005). However, in Chinese traditional culture, the pure colors are only green, red, yellow, white and black. Purple is considered as a combination of green and red thus can imply "unorthodoxy". Confucius regarded the purple as the opposite of the noble red, he said: "I hate to see roan[purple] killing red..." (*The Analects·Book 17*, p. 203) It means that purple takes away the glory of the red. Therefore, purple embodies the opposition between elegance and vulgarity, good and evil. It gives the flag a mysterious and rich character, and it also points to the girl's doubt about whether she has the right and qualification to own such a house.

The flag itself is the same color as the girl's limbs. As a mixture of orange and red, it has the energy and warmth of orange and the passion and power of red. Besides, 橘 (orange, also known as 桔) has a similar pronunciation to the word 吉 (Lucky) in Chinese, so orange is used to describe good luck. A bonsai of orange coloured kumquats will be placed on the desk during the Chinese New Year to symbolize good luck and fortune in the year ahead. The orange-red limbs show the girl's strong mobility and positive attitude. The bright color of the flag not only might imply a clear sense of belonging, but also a warm atmosphere within the

family. At the same time, BJ6 highlighted this as a red flag. Human beings' preference for red tends to symbolize the pursuit of life (Grosse, 1897). According to Abt (2005), red is seen as the combination of love and the devil. For Chinese, red runs through every stage of life, welcoming life, entering the palace of marriage, also approaching the end of life. Red also symbolizes revolution. In China, children are taught this from an early age: "The national flag is red and is dyed with the blood of martyrs" (my translation; Zhang, 1964). Such solemn red embodies strong feelings for home and country, and is also associated with the warrior, one of the four archetypal images of men, according to Moore and Gillette (1990). The fundamental form of masculine energy contained in the warrior brings an uplifting character and an aggressive attitude to the picture.

This house created by BJ6 has a complicated character. It doesn't seem to give her a sufficient sense of security and belonging, just as a needy mother also cannot provide her with the love she needs. Although her mother brings her a certain degree of comfort, she still had nightmares when her mother was around. BJ6 said that she often had nightmares and needed to cover her ears to fall asleep. Through this form of "not listening, not seeing", she temporarily isolates herself from the dangerous external environment.

The house on the right represents a combination of the positive aspects of the mother and the house on the left. The girl's friend lived in the house. Her friend, perhaps her ideal version of herself, here has a house on her own. The walls of this house are orange, as warm and inclusive as the mother's body. Its roof is light blue, far less heavy than dark blue. The bright

blue brings a sensual atmosphere to this house, suggesting, according to Abt (2005), that the people inside can freely express their inner thoughts. The house is so safe that the girl is able to observe the world behind half-closed curtains.

Overall, the drawing reflects the relationship between mother and daughter. The female's inner connection with the mother can be a source of either strength or confusion. The migration put enormous pressure on their lives, and the mother's anxiety is also reflected in the daughter's psychological world through the attachment. In this drawing we see her struggle to develop an independent self away from her mother's control which was an important topic for her.

The tree and the flower in her drawing resemble rootless duckweeds, as though the girl has not settled down. The need to share a home with other families also makes her long for an independent secure base. The girl's unconscious seems to be filled with uneasiness. She longs for a safe space to wrap and support her, that will allow her to hide behind the curtains and observe the world.

However, I can't help feeling a certain optimism about her future development. Even if the tree, like herself, cannot take root in the city and bear fruit naturally, she can still dress it up and put a bright star on its top. The girl in the picture has enthusiasm and passion, and is partially compensated and helped by her father. She is able to withstand the pressure from her mother to a certain extent and can insist on making her own choices. She might also

choose to express her anger directly at some times. Despite the mother's expectations, restrictions and demands, BJ6 still wants to fulfill her own desires.

3.2.4 Summary

The above four examples show us the contributions and weaknesses of the different methods of analysis. HTP and Furth's approach both start from the drawing itself, trying to discover the features in the picture, and they organize their meanings accordingly. However, HTP's interpretation of specific features is overly standardized, and it ignores the unique qualities of individuals. Furth, on the other hand, tends to point out a possible direction of understanding.

For example, the houses drawn by SZ6 are all small. If we open the HTP manual, we will find the explanation of the small house as follows (Yan & Chen, 2019, p. 208; my translation):

3. Too small house (less than 1/9 of paper)

- (1) Self-perception is too humble, introverted, anxious, and unconfident.*
- (2) Poor adaptability to the environment, less activity, and tendency to regression.*
- (3) Lack of security.*
- (4) The mood may be low.*
- (5) There is a strong sense of depression and strong self-control.*
- (6) Lack of confidence in, or indifference to, family.*

The method proposed by Furth, marks an image as worth exploring in depth (Furth, 2019, p. 49):

The proportion of objects and people in a drawing is important. If things are out of proportion, we try to discover what the excessively large figures emphasize and what the excessively small figures appear to devalue.

The house SZ6 drew was unusually small, so it seemed to me that he might be belittling the importance of “home”.

Nowadays, people use manuals to analyze HTP drawings as if they are doing multiple-choice questions. What HTP implies is we need to find the characteristics of each element in the drawing, such as whether there is a chimney on the house, the shape of the branches, and then find the explanation corresponding to this feature. This approach has invited a lot of criticism. People think that such an explanation is too rigid and cannot correspond to the situation of the drawer. Many people have tested its reliability and validity and have come to completely different conclusions. For example, an empirical study using deep neural networks conducted by Lin et al. (2022) brought together the symptoms of the drawer and the features of the drawing, but the model used in this article failed to discover the connection between the features and the psychological state of the drawer. There are many possible factors that may lead to this result, such as parameter tuning, model selection,

independence of subjects, etc. What it didn't do was to input the deep symbolic meaning behind these connections, nor did it include the drawer's personal situation. Therefore, this approach is invalidated and cannot be used to imply that HTP is ineffective.

This draws attention to the fact that Jungian thought can make up for the shortcomings of the HTP manual. In addition to seeking meaningful features in the picture, the analyst also needs to delve deeper into the symbolic image behind it, and try to identify whether it is social, cultural or collective.

Take the analysis of the house mentioned above as an example. *Painting Analysis and Psychotherapy Manual*, is the designated teaching material for the national painting psychoanalyst training course in China. It doesn't give the logic behind its possible interpretations, but merely states at the beginning of this part that "the house represents the family situation in which the subject was born and grew up, and also refers to his or her thoughts, feelings or attitudes towards family or family relationships...it can also represent the current situation of the test subject ...[the analysis of house] can provide an understanding of the subject's self-image among family members, as well as the relationship between fantasy and reality." (Yan & Chen, 2019, p. 207; my translation).

Such interpretation will be understandable only after in-depth study of the relevant content.

For example, when it mentions the relationship between houses and the self, different understandings of the image of the house come to my mind. Jung too mentions that a house

or building could be a symbol of the self. The modern part of the house represents the conscious self, and the oldest the collective unconscious (Jung, 2008). The house could also be considered to be the basic protector of the inner environment (Cooper, 1974). If the inside of the house implies the self, then the outside is the persona towards the outside world (Cooper, 1974). Avrane (2020) thinks of the house as where the protectors live. The physical structure of a building interweaves with its imaginary construction to form a complete image of the house (Avrane, 2020). Through the understanding of the house image, alongside the child's performance in group activities and interviews, we can generate a holistic understanding of the house in the drawing.

In the HTP manual, these explorations of house are divided into detailed features, each feature is correspond to different interpretations. Such fragmented content makes “making the right choice” difficult, as analysts may lost in the sea of options. However, it can be said that in psychoanalysis and analytical psychology, the interpretation of this image of the house is holistic. Analysts adhere to the core understanding of the house image and expand it accordingly. As the Chinese saying goes, “No matter how much changes, it will still retain its essence (my translation).” Because the emergence of HTP is inseparable from the development of psychoanalytic theory, it is not difficult to combine it with psychoanalytic analysis. We can find many traces of psychoanalytic theories in the HTP manual.

For example, the moon and stars appear in BJ6's drawing. In the HTP manual we can find (Yan & Chen, 2019, p. 270; my translation):

2. *Starry sky*

(1) *Represents a feeling of loneliness.*

(2) *It may be thinking about the future.*

3. *Moon*

(1) *A maternal, mystical, symbol of conception.*

(2) *May represent a depressive mood.*

In a way, the HTP's instruction manual is useful. It lists various drawing features in detail and provides corresponding illustrations to help distinguish and identify the features.

However, due to the limitations of its standardized process, interpretations tend to be rigid.

This affects the accuracy and depth of the analysis. Although HTP emphasizes that the interpretation must be based on the drawer's situation, if the source of these symbols is unknown, how can we find the correspondence to the drawer's situation? After all, there is not a simple and direct correspondence between elements and symbols, and many personal and cultural factors are likely to influence these images.

If we apply Jungian theory to analyze the picture, we might also touch on content related to the mother, emotions, or the future development of the girl. However, we will not jump to conclusions immediately. The various images in the picture are connected, and the amplification could further help with understanding the drawer's unconscious complexes and their possible causes.

Furth's method of finding focal points offers a possibility of interpreting specific features. If we have enough time, we can get a lot of information through this method and gain an in-depth understanding of the symbols and metaphors of each part. It has a clear path to follow from element to image, as they all focus on the individual elements themselves. However, jumping directly from a single symbol to the complex and psychic energy is not easy, as the sheer range of features is potentially confusing. So how to further process these points has become a big project. Furth's suggestion is that we should rank the points and analyze them step by step according to their importance. However, how should we judge the importance of these focal points?

Abt's method of using the four typological functions is different from above two. It seeks to avoid the subjective influence of the analyst and "read a picture without being given any personal context, other than the age and gender of the author" (Abt, 2005, p. 41). This approach relies on the ability to use various functions independently. We first write down answers to specific questions under different functions, then re-integrate our ideas and connect all the content together. It also attempts to establish a relatively universal interpretation of images. However, even within the same cultural background, people will have different understandings of the same elements due to differences in individual experience. Therefore, just as with the HTP manual, this might lead to individual differences being ignored. At the same time, there are also problems of how to choose between different possibilities. Answering these questions in isolation makes the choice particularly difficult.

However, although the symbolic meanings of a certain image may vary between cultures and individuals, they generally point in the same direction. It is possible to discover this direction in the different images, and thus ensure that there are no huge deviations in our path forward. The most important thing is to maintain an open analytic attitude, and to employ curiosity and respect for the individual's unique psychic reality. The analysis of drawings is like dream analysis, from which we cannot obtain a single correct conclusion. As Jung said:

I am often asked about my psychotherapeutic or analytic method. I cannot reply unequivocally to the question. Therapy is different in every case ... the cure ought to grow naturally out of the patient himself. Psychotherapy and analysis are as varied as are human individuals ... the solution of the problem is always an individual one ... A solution which would be out of the question for me may be just the right one for someone else. (Jung, 1989, p. 131)

To sum up, the Free Jungian analysis applied in this study retains part of the freedom and combines the advantages of the HTP manual, as well as Abt's and Furth's methods. We could start from our strongest function, perhaps grasping the most prominent feature of the child's expression, or the special feeling the picture brings to our body. Then, based on this initial clue, a detailed and comprehensive exploration of the elements in the picture is carried out according to the structure we mentioned above, and eventually we string together the features to draw a conclusion.

3.3 Dream Analysis

The analysis of dreams and dream drawings in this study was not independent, but associated with the children's HTP drawings. This is because the migrant children reported and drew their dreams in the second interview, and at the end of the first interview, they had already been informed of the theme of our next interview. We conducted a house-tree-person drawing and discussed their school, life, and hometown in our first interview. They understood that the reason for being interviewed was that they did not have local "hukou". Therefore, even if the theme of the dream wasn't clearly specified, the children had already learned, consciously and unconsciously, about the theme we were taking at.

Moreover, the continuous communication between our conscious and unconscious made it very possible for them to tell a dream *for me*. In his correspondence with James Kirsch, Jung mentioned that the unconscious of both the patient and the analyst was activated during analysis, when the patient's dreams would be affected by their unconscious relationship: "In the deepest sense all of us do not dream out of ourselves but out of that which exists between my self and the other." (Jung et al., 2011, p. 63)

We analyzed dreams from both subjective and objective perspectives. The subjective level represents the inner world of children, and the objective level is their relationship with the external world. On the subjective level, dreams are believed to be symbolic. While interpreting the images in the dream, we looked at it from the symbolic level, such as which

part of the inner psyche it represents.

As we discussed in the previous section, Jung's theory of the symbol could help with understanding these images. In the second interview, the details of the dream were discussed after the children finished talking about the content of the picture. The purpose was to recall what happened in the dream to the best of their memory and provide as much detail as possible to build the text and bring the dream to life. Then I tried to obtain the context and re-constructed the background of the dream. Jung mentioned that the dream is like the "woven tissue of fancies" (Jung, 1907b, para. 298). Thus we tried to make associations with the various parts of the dream and dream drawing.

This process was different from the free association mentioned by Freud (1916-1917), which involves anything that comes to one's mind in relation to the drawing or the dream material. Freud's method allows patients to freely associate with their own thoughts when reporting dreams, and to develop freely and uninterruptedly. Jung was more interested in the information presented by the dream itself. Each image in the dream is associated one by one, and then collected to form what Jung called "dream fabric" (Jung, 1907b, para. 133). The "dream fabric" weaves, like fibrous tissue, the web of the background in which the content is presented from the dream itself.

I conducted only one interview about dreams with each child. So if they had reproduced the same pattern over and over during free association, it would have prevented us from

collecting enough information. Therefore, when the children began to make free associations, they weren't interrupted immediately but were encouraged to return to the dream itself after they ceased the free associations.

After the interview, the content of the dream was related to the information collected from parents, staffs and teachers. If parts of the dream or images of the dream were highly symbolic or archetypal, amplification was used to obtain more general associations, and to expand analysis from personal associations to the cultural or archetypal background.

Three perspectives were utilized during the process: the personal, the cultural complex in Chinese culture and the collective unconscious.

1. The personal perspective is closely related to the drawer's personal experience. Ego, as the organizer of the conscious psyche, provides identity and continuity to personality (Hall & Nordby, 1973). The personal unconscious not only stores those psychological activities and content that are inconsistent with conscious individuation or function, but also retains previous conscious experiences that have been suppressed and ignored for various reasons (Hall & Nordby, 1973). The growth trajectories of migrant children and their influencing factors are reflected at this level.
2. Henderson (1984) developed Jung's concept of the unconscious, by attempting to place most of the individual's conscious and unconscious experience into a larger

cultural context. The cultural unconscious is seen as an historical memory area, which lies between the collective unconscious and culturally expressive modes and it profoundly shapes the identity and function of individuals and groups. The cultural unconscious may include two modes of conscious and unconscious, but it has a certain identity triggered by the archetype of collective unconscious. Just like personal complexes, it exists in the form of emotional concepts and images that unconsciously shape people's views. As mentioned in Chapter 2, cultural homelessness is a Chinese cultural complex, so the cultural unconscious provides another meaningful perspective for understanding migrant children.

3. The collective unconscious stores all the latent images that are fused. Jung suggested that people share the field of the collective unconscious and it is complementary to the individual unconscious. "It consists of pre-existent forms, the archetypes, which can only become conscious secondarily and which give definite form to certain psychic contents." (Jung, 1936, para. 90) Some archetypal images also contribute to understanding the psychological state of migrant children.

After amplification, we go back to the dream itself. Jung believed that there is a compensation mechanism in dreams. Dream compensation will bring into consciousness the neglected and repressed content of consciousness (Jung, 1963). In the mutual balance of conscious and unconscious, the flow of psychic energy is formed. Therefore, by observing the conscious state of the interviewed children we can gain an insight into what the

unconscious compensates for.

In general, when exploring dreams and dream drawings, the following four aspects are highlighted: 1. The relationship between migrant children and their living environment, 2. Their personal conscious and unconscious, 3. The cultural influences on migrant children, and 4. The archetypal images that may appear in their fantasy.

All in all, analysis began by reading the material multiple times to familiarise myself with it and capture recurring threads of thought and conceptual patterns. In this step, I separated the participant's associations or narratives of different categories, such as house, tree, and bird drawings, into preliminary themes that best capture the essentials. I also indexed and labelled my field notes, document ideas, hypotheses, and changes in coding procedures, breaking down the original text into several core concepts. Next, I looked for connections between the themes in order to meaningfully classify them, and then added new themes to the different classifications from the remaining cases. The fourth step was to compile statistics and analyse the current status and influencing factors of each category, discovering dynamics in research (transference and counter-transference, psychic energy, etc.). Our familiarity with the theory enhanced our awareness of differences among participants. I kept comparing the data that had been collected and recorded, taking into account both the parts and the whole, and examining my own possible biases in the data collection and analysis process, which prompted me to discover abnormal cases that do not fully match the initial hypotheses (Bernard, 1995; Hollway & Jefferson, 2000). Once the analysis of a particular

image or theme was able to explain others, a comprehensive category comparison was conducted to form a final hypothesis. That was to give migrant children in China a psychoanalytic description of their state, and to understand the dilemmas in their social life from multiple perspectives.

Psychosocial factors are irreducible in nature; the unique psychological state of an individual or group cannot be simply interpreted from their social and demographic characteristics (Hollway & Jefferson, 2000). Therefore, I extensively referred to and applied theories from sociology, psychology, and psychoanalysis to place migrant children and their psychological states in a multi-level social environment. Since I didn't spend much time in each city, I employed a triangulation strategy to conduct multiple verifications, including children's HTP drawings, their dreams and dream drawings, and their narrations. Furthermore, formal and informal interviews with parents, teachers, nonprofit organisation staff, and others in the community effectively supplemented the data. By employing different techniques, each with its own strengths and limitations, we were able to cross-validate our conclusions and gain a better understanding of the participants' psychological states and living environments.

Chapter 4 Migrant Children's Drawings and Dreams

This chapter contains a brief summary of the data, in order to form an overall understanding and feeling of the drawings and dreams of migrant children. The goal is to summarize and compare the characteristics of the participants' drawings and the contents of their dreams, and then make a preliminary attempt to explore the possible causes of related issues.

It should be noted that due to space limitations, the drawings and dreams presented and analysed in more detail in the following chapters only account for about one-third of the total data. To ensure the representativeness of the analysis, I screened the children's drawings and dreams according to the specific characteristics of the participants in the following three steps. The first step was to label and code all the drawings and dreams, and the stories they contained, as described above. Next, we performed descriptive statistics on the drawings' content, as we will see throughout this chapter. Finally, we selected those pictures that best reflected the recurring themes and images, while also considering a balance of gender, location, and age.

With every three years as the dividing line, the participants are divided into three age groups: lower primary school, upper primary school, and junior high school. We first selected a boy and a girl in each age group with the most representative story themes, images, drawing characteristics, and colouring methods, and then identified drawings and dreams that were

similar to or opposite to theirs from different cities. Since all the drawings of junior high school children are from Qinhuangdao, we talked with parents and children who have children and siblings of the corresponding age groups in other cities for horizontal comparison. This selection process ensured that the included materials were representative of the overall data set, thereby ensuring the validity and reliability of the research process.

4.1 Characteristics of Migrant Children's Drawings

42 interviewees created a total of 66 drawings. According to the differences in drawing styles, the drawings are divided into three types: Those using black and white lines, those using strong colors, and those using light colors. Black and White Lines refer to children's creations using only pencils or black outline pens; Strong Colors refer to some bright, highly saturated colors appearing in children's drawings, or thick colors due to their emphasis or force on the paint; Light Colors refer to children using low-saturated colors, or drawing with light pressure, thereby making the colors light. Arranged according to the intensity and vividness of the colors in the drawings, the order from low to high is Black and White Lines, Light Colors, and Strong Colors. Among these 66 drawings, 31 are Black and White Lines, 17 are Light Colors and 28 are Strong Colors.

Figure 7.



Black and White Lines

Figure 8.



Light Colors

Figure 9.



Strong Colors

Three interviewees did not draw their dreams, but created other drawings: QHD6 drew 2 HTPs, one with black and white lines and one with light colors; BJ11 also drew 2 HTPs, both with strong colors; BJ3 drew 1 HTP with strong colors and 2 free creations (1 with black and white lines and 1 with strong colors). Excluding their drawings and the three abandoned sketches of HTP from two other children, we divide the remaining drawings into three groups: the drawings of HTP are more colorful, have brighter colors or drawn with more force than dream drawings (10 children); the dream drawings are more colorful, have brighter colors or drawn with more force than the HTP drawings (2 children); the colors are consistent in shades (12 children).

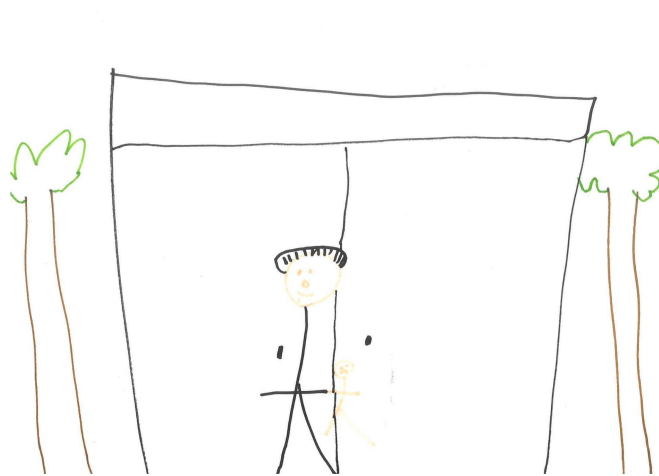
A person's expression style tends to be relatively stable. The way the lines are drawn often expresses the drawer's confidence in the expression, and the colors in the drawing might show the drawer's feelings and emotions (Yan & Chen, 2019; Abt, 2005). If stylistic differences exist between two pictures by the same child, it might mean that the drawer's strong emotions or complexes appear in his or her drawings. The interaction between objects in a drawing often has meaning as well. Most of these 66 drawings are lively, which means the figures or scenery in the drawings contain movement or are dynamic. Only two HTP drawings created by children in Shenzhen (SZ2, SZ7) and four HTP drawings created by children in Qinhuangdao (QHD2, QHD4, QHD6) are relatively stereotyped, that is, the overall picture is monotonous and simple.

Overall, interviewees from Qinhuangdao used the duller colors in their drawings, while participants from Beijing used the stronger colors. Since the living space for migrant children in Beijing is the most restricted, this can be considered as a form of compensation. Another possible reason is that the average age of the interviewees in the capital city of China is younger and they have not yet faced too many living dilemmas. Their lives are relatively easy, and they have access to abundant entertainment and learning resources, which might be reflected in their drawings' rich and brighter colors. Participants in Qinhuangdao are the oldest and experienced the highest levels of parental neglect. In addition, HTP drawings are more heavily colored than dream drawings, whether considering the ratio of coloring (Strong colors vs. Light colors) or the ratio using strong colors. This may be because migrant children have strong feelings about the theme of HTP, or alternatively that they are not positive about their own self-development.

As the study of Art is a compulsory minor subject in the Chinese school curriculum, all of our interviewees have taken basic drawing lessons. Students learn how to draw figures, landscapes, buildings, animals etc., and experience a variety of expression forms. However, outside of school, they don't have many opportunities to create freely. Some children attended after-school drawing classes before going to primary school. However, after entering elementary school, their parents often change their interest classes to academic remedial classes (such as SZ1, BJ4). Therefore, few of the interviewees consider themselves, or are perceived to be, good at drawing. They may worry that they can't draw complicated images and thus simplify them.

However, simple strokes can also reflect their feelings. Being “not good at drawing” doesn’t necessarily bring insurmountable difficulties to their ability to express themselves. For example, SH2 drew two stick figures, a gate and two trees in his dream drawing. The lines of these two stick figures are simple yet dynamic. He drew a scene of a child being caught by an adult, and depicted the child’s fearful expression. SZ7 used another method to enrich the details in the picture. He drew a flow chart of his Monday daily life and marked a lot of time and text.

Figure 10.



SH2's Dream

In addition, sometimes houses and trees in some drawings are detailed, and only the people are simplified. In some children’s HTP drawings no person appears. Some children reveal extreme uncertainty by repeatedly scribbling and erasing when drawing their own images. Also, a large number of stick figures appeared. When asked to describe the figures in the

drawing in detail, many interviewees were unable to describe a clear image. The figures in the drawings were sometimes missing limbs, or lacking facial features.

Excluding SZ7 who drew a flow chart and SH12 who “forgot” to draw figures, a total of 7 children drew stick figures in their drawings, including 3 children from Shenzhen (SZ2, SZ3, SZ8) and 3 children from Shanghai (SH2, SH9, SH13), 1 from Qinhuangdao (QHD4). Four other children also showed great difficulty in figure creation. SZ4 meticulously depicted the clothes worn by the figure in the drawing, but didn’t draw her facial features; SH3 chose to present the figure’s back; SH11 repeatedly erased and smeared the figures during drawing; SZ5’s lines are weak and intermittent, making it difficult to be distinguished. In addition, although QHD3, QHD6 and SH14 drew relatively complete figures, these figures lacked the necessary dynamics or a certain connection with other parts of their drawings.

One-third of the interviewees showed varying degrees of difficulty in drawing human figures. Figure drawings imply the drawer’s self-perception. These children may be afraid of self-expression or have trouble portraying themselves. They may have trouble answering the question “Who am I?” This problem was particularly common among the children in Qinhuangdao. They didn’t express what Erikson (1994) would expect in terms of the normal adolescents’ pursuit of a sense of order or exploration of self-worth and identity and looked absent and confused during the interviews. They created many static and stereotyped characters and a large number of black-and-white pictures.

In addition, items they didn't possess but are considered "good" by society or their ideal self often appeared in a compensating way. For example, SH15 focused on depicting a professional, capable serious female image in her dream drawing. She wore glasses, a neat ponytail, a white uniform jacket and black leather shoes, and also carried a briefcase. This is an image of a successful woman as recognized by society: a female teacher, which means she is "within the system". As mentioned in Chapter 2, this means a stable job and income, and a high and recognized social status in China. In this way, she could lead the entire family to achieve a class leap.

This problem, and the way it emerges, may be related to how migrants raise children.

Psychologist Baumrind (1971) proposed four different parenting styles, divided into two dimensions: Demandingness and Responsiveness. Demandingness refers to the degree of control parents have over their children's behavior and choices. Responsiveness refers to parents' response to and satisfaction with their children's different needs. Based on these two dimensions, the parenting styles are divided into Authoritarian (high Demandingness, low Responsiveness), Authoritative (high Demandingness, high Responsiveness), Permissiveness (low Demandingness, high Responsiveness) and Neglecting (low Demandingness, low Responsiveness).

Most of the parents I interviewed are Authoritarian or Neglecting types. For parents to be fully responsive and emotionally caring to their children, they need to have enough psychic energy. However, for migrants, earning money and supporting the family is already

exhausting. They also fail to learn good parenting methods from their parents or community.

As a result, they rarely respond effectively and promptly to their children.

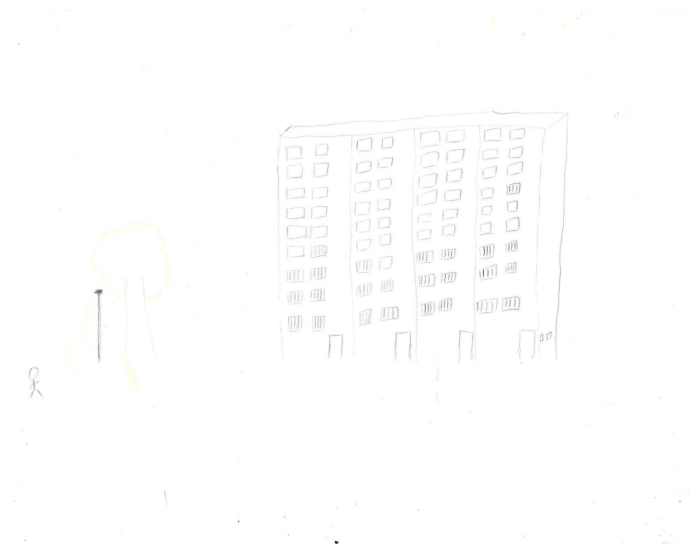
Most of our participants share a similar family atmosphere. Their parents seem to be always busy, and the relationship between parents is not good enough. There is rarely a close and warm atmosphere at home but often silence and depression, or some terrible quarrels.

Although parents fulfil their responsibilities of physical care and education, emotional care and appreciation are rare. In other words, parents emotionally neglect their children.

Authoritarian parents are the most common among the interviewed families. This is not unrelated to the culture of filial duty and patriarchy in Chinese society. Parents always set strict rules and standards and require their children to obey and meet them. At the same time, they rarely consider children's feelings about these requests. When arguing, parents usually respond, "Because I am your father (mother), you must listen to me." Parents also highly desire to control their children's behaviour and choices. For example, SZ9's mother often use corporal punishment without explanation. QHD4's mother only allowed him the books he had already read countless times and didn't allow him to go out on weekends. When children discover they can't control their lives, their egos can become weak and powerless. The house in QHD4's drawing looks like a prison, and this shows that he has no ideas or hopes for his future. Such parents are also more likely to use psychological control, in which they control and require their children's behaviour by manipulating their children's emotions towards their parents. Parents' emotional manipulation is usually through threats and intimidation.

When facing the crying BJ9, her father scolded her “Why are you crying?” and said, “Dad won’t love you if you keep crying.”

Figure 11.



QHD4's HTP Drawing

Neglectful parents are almost completely uninvolved in their children's growth and development. They rarely set rules or respond to their children's needs. These parents cannot take on the important task of raising their children. They might think that their own lives (making money, building a house in their hometown) are more important than their children's development. For example, the parents of SH7 and SH8 left them with their grandparents to work in the third city and thought it didn't matter whether their grades were good. As long as “they don't make big mistakes”, they can “just find a job” after completing compulsory education.

This type of low responsiveness is common among fathers. The clear absence of fathers also

appears in the children's drawings. The father himself disappears in some drawings, and only some images representing the father appear. Only SH13 and SZ9 drew the father himself.

The other three children drew their father's cars (SZ1, SH15) and the father's friend. This is in contrast to the children's portrayal of their mothers. Five children from three cities drew the image of their mother (SH6, SH15, SH13, SZ1, BJ6, SH13). Even the father himself in SZ9 or SH13's pictures is farther away from the child than the mother. The father depicted by SZ9 is in the countryside, while the child and mother live in the city. SH13's mother shares the same bedroom with her child, while the father has exclusive access to another bedroom. SZ1's mother is drying clothes on the balcony, while his father is sleeping in the bedroom, leaving his black jeep in the picture. The mother of SH15 expressed the difficulties in educating the children caused by the father's absence. SH15 is a seven-year-old girl who has a three-year-old brother. The mother wanted to start gender education for her brother, but because the father was not at home, such education was difficult to carry out. For example, when the mother tried to teach the boy about the gender classification of the toilet, no adult male in the family could take him to the men's toilet in public.

There are also children whose parents are both absent from their lives. They either have other elders caring for them or lack any family protection. Some children even take on certain parental responsibilities to care for their younger siblings. SH7 and SH8 are twin brothers. At that time, their parents are working in a third city, that is not their hometown or current residence. Their grandparents live with them and take care of them. When there are conflicts between SH8 and SH7, no adult can guide them on how to deal with these problems. SH8

lives with constant anxiety and cried during our first interview for a full hour until we had to finish due to time constraints. QHD3 is in the second situation. His father is away from home for a long time and only comes back a few times a year. His mother also leaves early and returns late every day. He doesn't receive enough physical care let alone emotional care. He told me that because the money his mother left him was not enough to buy three meals a day, he often went hungry at night. QHD3's anxiety has become severely somatized. He chews his nails so often that the nails on all ten fingers are uneven. SH3 is one of the interviewees who need to care for their siblings. As her parents are busy at work, it is difficult for her to get support from her parents, and she even has to help her younger sister with her homework. In HTP, she portrayed a common working girl. However, this drawing is full of confusion. She didn't know where the girl lives, what she bought from the supermarket, or her feelings. She also didn't know the varieties and growth conditions of the plants in the picture.

4.2 Migrant Children's Dreams and Dream Drawings

People dream during both rapid eye movement (REM) sleep and slow wave sleep. According to Freud (1933), the essence of dreams is the fulfilment of a wish, and even painful nightmares that make us anxious are no exception. Dreams are disguised manifestations of a hidden, unrecognized desire, which mainly refers to libido. Since this desire conflicts with our conscious ego, in order not to be recognized by the conscious ego and to express their existence, dreams disguise themselves to escape the "censor" of the conscious ego.

Jung, on the other hand, has a very different approach. He believed that dreams are a natural psychological phenomenon, and are “the utterance of the unconscious” (Jung, 1934c, para. 317). Sometimes the unconscious replays past episodes in the form of dreams, and memories formed during the day form impressions on the unconscious that need to be processed while the ego is resting (Jung, 1948). Mostly, however, the dream is “a spontaneous self-portrayal, in symbolic form, of the actual situation in the unconscious (Jung, 1916, para. 505)”. Dreams do not pretend, nor lie, nor even distort or cover up. They always try their best to express their meaning.

The unconscious speaks and communicates with us through dreams but in a symbolic “language”. Dream symbols “are the essential message carriers from the instinctive to the rational parts of the human mind, and their interpretation enriches the poverty of consciousness so that it learns to understand again the forgotten language of the instincts.” (Jung, 1964, p. 52) Jung’s dream interpretation method emphasizes symbolism, and fully utilizes his theory of archetypes and archetypal images, giving full play to the meaning and role of mythology, religion, fairy tales and fables (Jung, 1994). This is also the basis and foundation of Jung’s amplification technique when conducting dream analysis. Jung (1921, para. 904) also proposed that the dream has a compensatory function. Dreams represent an unconscious reaction to a conscious situation and reveal situations arising from conflicts between the conscious and unconscious.

He revised Freud’s tendency to overemphasize early experience and divided dreams into

those that were “retrospective” and those that were “prospective” (Jung, 1913, 1914).

Dreams can sometimes emphasise wish fulfilment, drive discharge and censorship, but they also look toward the future and have the function of pointing out the dreamer’s goals. Their symbolic content sometimes outlines a resolution of an inner conflict (Jung, 1947). By looking forward in this way the unconscious shows its prediction and expectation of future achievements. The idea of the prospective function of dreams has received some support in neuroscience. Today, the concept of the predictive brain is enjoying a resurgence in some research fields, and many researchers agree in emphasizing the key role of prediction in cognition and neural processing (LaBerge, 1995; Llinas, 2002; Butz & Pezzulo, 2008; Bubic et al., 2010). The dream is a kind of preview, blueprint, or a hastily drawn-up plan in advance.

Among the 42 interviewees, 32 told me about their dreams, including 18 of the 22 boys and 14 of the 20 girls. Overall, their dreams displayed high anxiety. They had frequent nightmares and a small number of “positive” dreams as a kind of compensation for real life. Family and school, as two important parts of children’s lives, appeared heavily in their dreams.

Their dreams can also be divided into retrospective and prospective. Among them, retrospective dreams account for a larger proportion. A total of nine children told me about common, life-like dreams. Most of these dreams represent compensation for or continuation of real life. For example, if they were hungry during the day, they would eat chicken legs

or cakes in dreams (BJ7, BJ8); as SH4 wanted to get good grades, he dreamed that he got a scholarship; SH10 wanted to call his classmates out to play, but they were doing homework; or SZ9 failed to place in the relay race in reality, so he won first place in the dream. A few children reported some typical prospective dreams, such as QHD4, SH1 and SH15.

Regardless of whether they have a positive or negative attitude, they all depict a blueprint for their future life in their dreams.

Dream content is also a focus of our research. Familial, cultural, and social elements are important dimensions in daily life and can influence the manifest content of dreams (Foulkes et al., 1969; Foulkes et al., 1967; Green, 1971; Markowitz et al., 1963; Markowitz et al., 1967). The content of children's dreams could reflect their psychosocial development and reveal how children view and perceive themselves (Elkan, 1969; Foulkes, 1982). Oedipal conflicts, siblings' birth, changes in home or school, unconscious or developmental conflicts, difficulties in the ego functioning of the child and other developmental stress may become the main content of children's dreams (Ablon & Mack, 1980; Mack, 1974; Hirschberg, 1966). Content related to school and family, as two important parts of children's lives, appeared in the 17 dreams of our interviewees. A few children's dreams also have social and cultural elements. For example, SZ5 met many foreigners and fellow villagers at the Olympics.

This classification method focuses on the influencing factors of life on dreams, conscious and unconscious. By combining it with Jungian dream analysis, we can conduct an in-depth exploration of dreams. One example is SZ4's dream, in which she is captured to a "new

world” from where she once lived, and “can never go back”. We can assume that this dream may due to the fact that she and her parents changed cities of residence four times. At the same time, the delicate expressions and brushstrokes in her drawing, the figure helping her in the dream and the woman in the red dress chasing her remain to be analyzed from the perspective of Jungian theory. Similarly, SZ1 dreamed that he is sent to boarding school. The direct cause might be that his parents threatened him during the day that if he didn't behave himself, they would send him to a similar school. Fear and anxiety caused him to try to master and deal with this issue in his dream. He is first being bitten by a spider and finally mustering up the courage to beat the spider to death. Thus the maternal element as a possible complex cannot be ignored.

All in all, this chapter describes the common content of our interviewees' dreams and summarizes some of their characteristics such as age and gender differences. We also discuss three children's dreams in detail and further explore the underlying complexes and archetypal images in their dreams.

4.2.1 Age Differences in Dream Content

Some studies have found that the content of children's dreams varies with age. Their dreams continue to change with their development and are structured according to the level of their cognitive and other self-development abilities (Ablon & Mack, 1980). Foulkes (1982) suggested that children's dreams generally are governed and limited by their general waking

abilities corresponding to their chronological age. Elka's research found that the manifest content of children's dreams reflected developmental differences as identified in Erikson's psychosocial theory of development (Erikson, 1959; Elkan, 1969; Catalano, 2013).

Children who have entered middle childhood (9-11 years old) are considered to have an adult-like level of dreaming (Foulkes, 1982). Children aged 7-8 years also report dreams with more complicated narrative structures and more content than children at age 5. Our interviewees are aged 6-15, it can be considered that they already have the possibility to report and describe complicated dreams to a certain extent.

We found that age differences appear in our participants' dreams, which is consistent with previous research results. Children in the lower grades of primary school (6-8 years old) reported more simple dreams, and their complex dreams are shorter and more childlike. Most of their dreams are about the fulfilment of wishes, such as eating delicious food and playing; the other common dream is that they are chased by monsters, soldiers, zombies, etc.

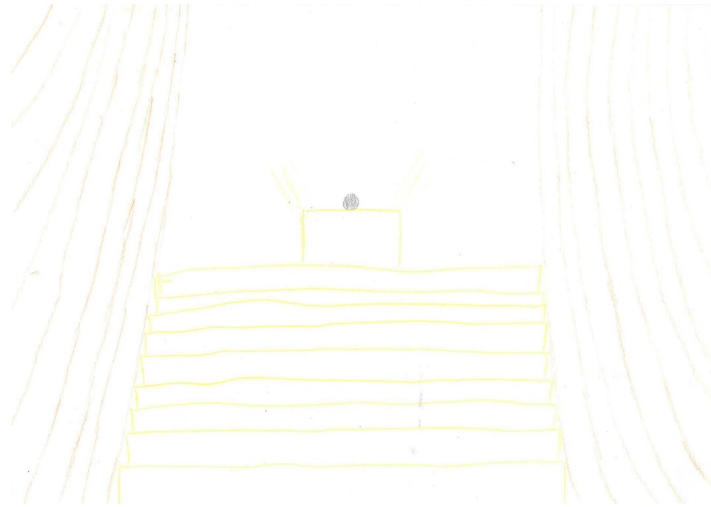
Interviewees in upper elementary grades (9-12 years old) reported more complicated dreams, with more characters and details depicted in the narratives. Only three of the seven interviewees in junior high school (12-15 years old) reported their dreams, which is consistent with their performance in HTP drawings. Their drawings are less vivid and they reported fewer dreams. These interviewees are all from Qinhuangdao, a city with limited educational resources and social support. At the same time, as we will discuss in the next chapter, they are also often neglected by their parents. In addition, children of this age are

already facing many difficulties caused by hukou, which makes them more affected by cultural homelessness and have negative attitudes towards their future. These conditions are not conducive to the development of their self and as a result there seems to be relative inactivity in the unconscious.

Next, we will look into a unique prospective dream. QHD4's drawings and his dream reflect the feelings of loss and the confusion about the future, that are prevalent among interviewees and are particularly strong among older children. QHD4 is already a 15-year-old by the time we met. He told me that he doesn't dream now, but he remembers a dream that occurred when he was in the third or fourth grade of elementary school. In this dream, he arrived at a stage after walking a long way. He found that an ordinary stone instead of a precious gem was placed on the shining golden stage.

QHD4: A Glittering Common Stone

QHD4, a 15-year-old boy, is the only child in the family. He was born in Qinhuangdao, but his hukou is in Inner Mongolia. His mother worked in breakfast catering. After he was three years old, his father was out of town all year round and came back two or three times each year.

Figure 12.

QHD4's Dream Drawing

The dream he told me occurred when he was 9-10 years old. In the dream, he walked a long way, ran up a lot of hills, and climbed hundreds of steps. Feeling tired and sleepy, he arrived at a door. He opened the door and discovered a dark room. Everything was hidden in darkness except a stone. There was an orange box on top of the table with golden light around it. The stone, the size of a thumb nail, was on this box. The stone was very ordinary and small. He felt a little angry and lost, feeling cheated. As he walked down the road, a head followed behind him. He couldn't remember what the head looked like. The only thing he remembered was that the head belonged to a kindergarten-aged child, and it could fly. The dream drawing is from his perspective facing the stage. There are layers of steps, with hanging curtains on both sides. A box containing the stone is on the table on the stage, surrounded by golden light.

This dream was reminiscent of Jung's dream about a house, which he explored downwards

layer by layer. The further down he went, the older the environment became. Finally he reached the level of the collective unconscious (Jung, 1989). The direction of QHD4's dream is in the opposite direction. He kept climbing uphill and finally stepped onto the stage and got a golden "treasure". However, the "treasure" obtained by QHD4 is a small and common stone. He was angry and disappointed at first, but then accepted the fact and felt that perhaps enjoying the journey is the most important thing:

QHD4: It's... not important anymore. Because, just leave, the result may not be very important. If there is still more, no, what you expect will be, maybe just walk. Because, after opening it, I would be too disappointed or too happy, anyway, it is useless. (I was) thinking of painting a golden background, the actual effect is useless (shaking his head). (Increasingly louder) Why don't you just stay in front of the door and think about it? Anyway, I have walked here.

QHD4's voice was lower than usual and he used more body language (mainly shaking his head) when speaking his dreams. This dream happened 6 years before we met, and is an earlier, more unconscious dream of childhood. This reminds me of the Jungian idea that dreams can represent past desires but also look to the future, with the function of pointing toward the dreamer's goals (von Franz, 1998; Jung, 1954d; Jung, 1935). This dream may reveal certain aspects of his future development. When it came to his thoughts on the dream, there was a strong emotion lurking beneath his calm tone. Like when asked how he would describe his life now, he paused and said "normal". After a moment of silence, he almost

gritted his teeth and said, “I’m used to it.”

From Jungian perspective, the implication of the dream could be to do with his exploration of the self. However, this dream might be not only a prediction of his own individual development many years later, but it might also refer to the underlying changes in the social atmosphere. Specifically, it can be looked at from the point of view of the idea of the “great dream” in Chinese culture.

The ancient Chinese used the idea of “great dream” as a metaphor for life. Dreams and daytime activities are interrelated and it isn't easy to distinguish clear boundaries. As Jung said: “We also live in our dreams, we do not live only by day.” (Jung, 2009, p. 100) Bai Juyi asked in his poem: “Life is a great dream, who can distinguish between dream and sleep?” (my translation; Bai, 1960, para. 2) In addition to recognising that life is like a great dream, QHD4’s dream is also about the feelings and future of the generation of migrant children who wake up from the great dream. *Chuang Tzu* says: “When they were dreaming they did not know it was a dream; in their dream they may even have tried to interpret it; but when they awoke they knew that it was a dream. And there is the great awakening, after which we shall know that this life was a great dream.” (Legge, 1891, p. 194)

In September 2023, a song, *The Great Dream* sung by the Vareihnaz and Ren Suxi, became a hit on the Chinese Internet. This song directly attacks China’s current social welfare system and social form, reflecting the fears of the people at the bottom. The recurring words “what

needs to be done” and “what should be done” in the lyrics express people's hesitation and helplessness in an era when they don't know where to go.

It describes the lives of people at the bottom of today's underdeveloped areas: going to school far away from home; encountering bullying on campus; going to work in the city without studying; coming back to get married when they are old enough, and then going out to work on their own. Then the child is left with their parents in the hometown, or brought along; in the end, the child leaves home and is not close to the parent, so they end their life in loneliness.

“I am thirty-eight/my child is very obedient/I want to accompany her/but I have to work overtime

...

All hope/is in the child/but our relationship/gradually becomes alienated” (my translation)

This song contains a political metaphor for the times. *The Great Dream* might also refer to the “Chinese Dream (Liu, 2012)” that the government constantly emphasizes, or it can also be interpreted as pointing to the meaninglessness of human existence or the sense of powerlessness facing the future. It seems to convey a new collective understanding brewing in Chinese society: the so-called “Chinese Dream” is a great dream for the common Chinese people. We started by blindly following the passion of nationalism, but now, having woken up from this dream, we are turning to experience and reflect on the dilemma of real life.

The helplessness in *The Great Dream* is related to the powerlessness that has developed within the people at the bottom during the country's growth. They have little self-confidence and feel their efforts are in vain and their lives are meaningless. When people wake up from the dream that hard study and work can transcend class and change destiny (Fu, 2011), and face the reality of migrant children who are the offspring of the lower class, we must ask: How do these children feel in a confused society, and where will they go?

Therefore, it is of great significance to understand the dreams of these children. As Jung said, dreams can "pave the way for life, and they determine you without you understanding their language." (Jung, 2009, p. 124) In QHD4's dream, he feels deceived because the treasure he obtained after hardships is so ordinary. Like the confusion in the song, such a metaphor implies his feeling of being deceived by life. The great dream he lived in is created by the joint efforts of society and family, not only the government's propaganda of "China's dream, (is) my dream" (Central Propaganda Department, 2013; my translation), but also his mother's expectations for him.

Like many busy parents, the mother didn't know much about his school life. When I asked how he was doing in school, his mother even talked about his performance in primary school. The mother mentioned that he had entered puberty and was a little temperamental. She also thought he didn't pay much attention to study and had no goals for his future life. His mother's dissatisfaction is similar to QHD4's anger and loss when he first saw the ordinary

little stone.

He, like his mother, started with high hopes for his future. They hoped that he would keep ascending, and that his life would keep evolving. The stage in his dream might be built for him by him and his parents. However, in the end, he finds that he is a mediocre person. The stone in the dream is surrounded by a faint golden light. In Chinese, we sometimes use golden lights to describe what makes a person outstanding. This is how the outside world evaluates us. He feels cheated because the education he received taught him that as long as he studied hard and found a good job in the future, he would be able to find his strength. He will impress others, satisfy his parents, and be enabled to become a “superior person”.

However, the treasure in his dream is ordinary, in the same way that his life is not considered to be good enough. The positive point is he expressed that he doesn’t care about the outside world’s evaluation. Even if he is just a mediocre and unfruitful person, he can still enjoy the journey of life. Also, the goal of the process in alchemy is “the stone”, the object of individuation is to attain the stone (Jung, 1968). Alchemists often emphasise that the stone often seems very ordinary, even though it is psychologically the “pearl of great price” (Jung, 1951, para. 346).

Moreover, this dream also contains features of cultural homelessness. The boy in the dream leaves home and walks a long way. This could symbolize that the migrants are far away from their hometown, and also implies the difficulty of getting shelter and accommodation during their journey. The dream drawing shows the scene after opening the door. QHD4 told me that

he was expecting to find a place to rest for a while when he saw the door. However, what he found was a dramatic stage with a raised curtain. He got nothing, neither fortune nor diamonds, and even has now to go back or take another long walk to find another place. This reflects a feeling of uncertainty and confusion, which is same with the poem mentioned in Chapter 2 when we discussed China's cultural homelessness complex: "The people have no place to stay; E'en if they leave, which is the way? (Wang, 2008, p. 607)".

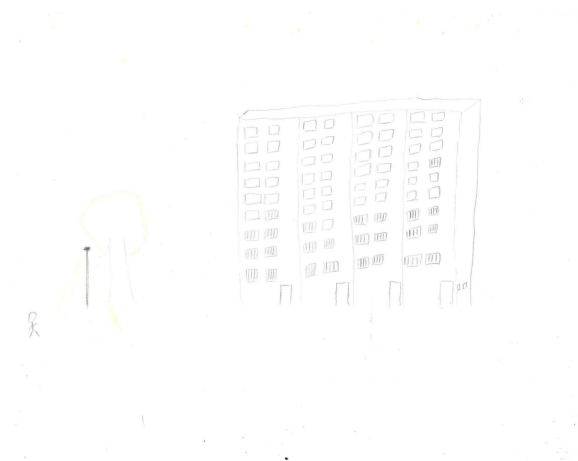
QHD4 needs to continue on the road at the end of the dream. However, this journey may not be endless. When QHD4 wakes up from the great dream created by society and family together, he discovers and accepts his own essence, and at this point the head of a child emerges. The image of this child is incomplete and disembodied. The head has no home in a sense, it's homelessness. The child in QHD4's dream needs to bring the head and body together as it were, but how?

Flying heads appear frequently in Chinese legends. *Sou Shen Ji (Collection of Folk Legends on Ghosts, Immortals and Spirits in Ancient China*; Gan, 2018) and *Anthology of Tales from Records of The Taiping Era* (Li et al., 2008) both have records of "落头民 (Headless person)". These people's heads and bodies are separated but they will not die and can recover automatically. The "head" that a specific individual flies away from finally achieves the continuation of life by returning to that individual in time. The ancient Chinese believed humans were composed of the physical body and two non-material elements: *Hun* and *Po*. *Hun* is considered the power of physical activity, while *Po* is the tool for experiencing and

expressing intellectual, emotional, and spiritual activities (Gan, 2018). Thus, the *Hun* and *Po*, as the soul, are contained within the head. If the “head” encounters obstacles while returning to the body, it ultimately leads to the loss of individual life. It proves the importance of the correspondence between the “head” and “body” to the survival of life and the subject’s self-identity.

So in QHD4’s dream, the flying head is an image that contains a person’s soul (*Hun* and *Po*), psychological functions and driving force. It appeared after QHD4 expressed anger and loss about the stone, and is a soul that has been separated from the body. QHD4 must first find the child’s body and merge head and body together. The head needs the body as the soul needs a home. In the dream, he’s living like an undying body and doesn’t have a clear view of his self and his future. He seems to get lost in his journey of individuation. This could be interpreted as QHD4’s need to find a psychological refuge and cultural habitat on his journey of individuation. If it fails, the result will be like his HTP drawing. Cultural homelessness is not only the status quo but a bleak possible future.

Figure 11.



QHD4’s HTP Drawing

People, street lamps, trees and flats appear in QHD4's House-tree-person drawing (above).

Some windows have vertical lines drawn to indicate that they are enclosed. On the side of the building is a basement window. The moon and stars of two colors also appear in the picture.

The person on the left is a twenty-one-year-old, ordinary office worker. He has been living here for three years, which means he moved away from his parents as soon as he turned eighteen. The tree in the drawing is an apple tree. This tree has been growing for more than 40 years, and its growth is also ordinary. It was autumn, and the fruit on the tree had already been picked by others. The street light next to the tree is the only street light in the community, and it is very, very far from the house. It is also worth noting that this apartment has no unit doors. It just has the frame of the door.

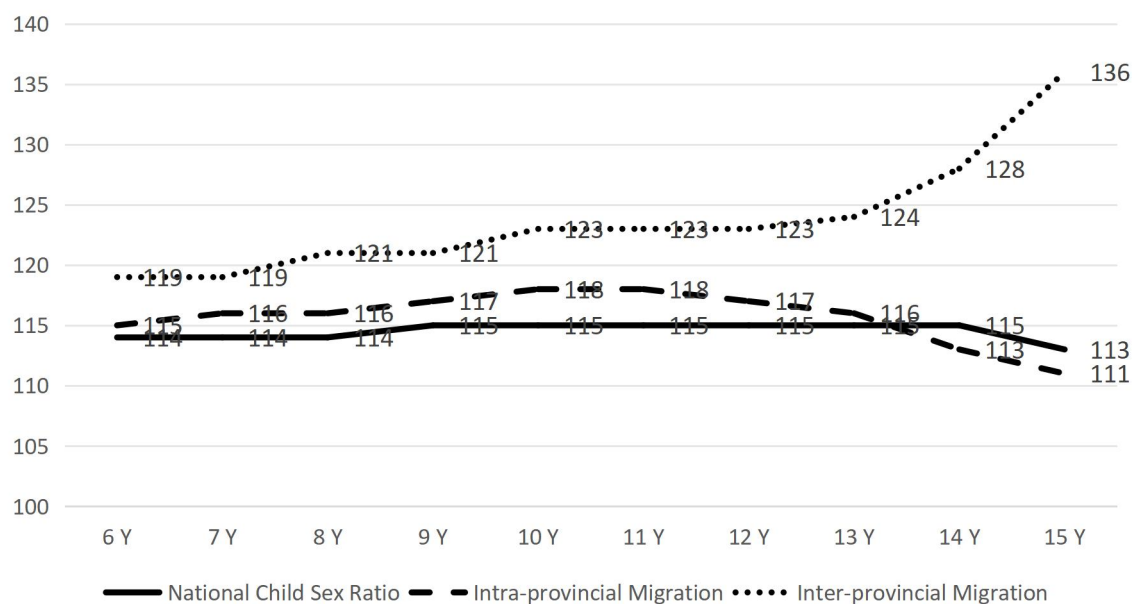
The unit doors disappear in this picture. The whole building is cold and dark with many security windows. It's more like a jail than a home. QHD4 was very dissatisfied with his drawing, feeling that it was ordinary, without distinction, and that his technique was naive. This reminds me of his mother's dissatisfaction with him. As the majority of the migrants want their children's lives to be less of a struggle, his mother expects that he can get better grades, go to a good university and find a well-paid job. However, QHD4 seems to use the drawing to answer his mother's grievances and express his future. If the body of the child in the dream cannot be found and the psyche cannot be found a home, then his future, or the future of thousands of migrant children like him, will be as depressing and hopeless as this picture. The light is weak and the home is far away. They are so small and ordinary. The fruit

on the tree belongs to others, just as the clear goal does not belong to them. The dwelling has no doors to protect them, and they even need extra railings to protect themselves.

4.2.2 Gender Differences in Dreams

According to the last national census data (2022), China's national newborn sex ratio is 100:116, that is, for every 100 girls born, 116 boys are born. This is already higher than the natural sex ratio of 100:102~106 proposed by the World Health Organization (2011).

However, for both inter-provincial and intra-provincial migrant families, the sex ratio of their children is higher than China's national sex ratio. Son preference is still prevalent among migrant families. In early childhood (0-3 years old) and preschool education (3-6 years old), the sex ratio of migrant children regardless of inter-provincial or intra-provincial migration is close to the national average. At the primary school age, the sex ratio of intra-provincial migrant children is slightly higher than the national level for children of the same age, and the sex ratio of inter-provincial migrant children is 5-8 percentage points higher than the national sex ratio for children of the same age. Migrant families who move across provinces prefer to take boys with them. At the junior high school age, the gap between the sex ratio of inter-provincial migrant children and the national level of children of the same age has further widened, and the sex ratio of intra-provincial migrant children has gradually begun to fall below the national level of children of the same age. Considering that the number of inter-provincial migrant children in this age group has decreased, what this means is that more girls among inter-provincial migrant children have "returned to hometown".

Figure 13.

Sex Ratio of Migrant Children Aged 6-15 in China (2022)

Therefore, gender is, an important factor, that also needs to be considered and analyzed.

Most of our interviewees migrated across provinces, and only two children from Shenzhen migrated within the province. This may be because Beijing and Shanghai are both municipalities directly under the Central Government, while cities in Hebei Province all have an underdeveloped economy and lack educational resources. Among our 42 participants, 22 are boys and 20 are girls. The gender ratio of the interviewees is not as alarming as the census, but it has also shown a preference for boys, reaching 110. One reason is that many boys refused to be interviewed, and preferred to play with their peers instead of “wasting time” on drawing. However, among the families interviewed, five sent their daughters to junior high schools in their hometowns, and only one family sent back their son at the corresponding age. It can be said that these families still show a clear preference for boys.

Many studies believe that the dreams of boys and girls have differences. Boys' dreams are considered to contain more physical aggression than girls' dreams (Strauch & Lederbogen, 1999; Oberst et al., 2005; Strauch, 2005). Eleven children in our research, eight boys and three girls, reported dreams of being physically attacked. This is consistent with the results of previous research. Besides, girls are believed to report more dreams than boys (Strauch, 2005). The frequency of dream recall in girls shows a clear upward trend with age; the reporting rate in boys decreases from the youngest to the oldest age groups (Sándor et. al., 2015). However, in our research, 81.82% of boys reported dreams, higher than 70% of girls. The four interviewees from Qinhuangdao are the eldest girls, but only one reported a dream. One possibility is that they displayed strong defensiveness due to unconscious resistance. This may be due to the closing off of access to traumatic emotions, or it may be that they were resistant to the relationship with me because they felt unsafe.

QHD2 is the one girl who briefly mentioned a dream. This dream occurred during the night after we first met. In the dream, she returned to her hometown and felt so happy. QHD2's situation is rather special. Her hometown is Xi'an, a city that is much more developed than her current residence. She was the only child among the seven interviewees in Qinhuangdao who wanted to return to the hometown. She also had a close emotional connection with the relatives in her hometown. She mentioned her grandfather, her mother's father.

The rest of the girls in Qinhuangdao have a different situation from her. Qinhuangdao itself is

a small city with a low level of economic development. Compared with Beijing, Shanghai, and Shenzhen, it lacks good educational resources, and migrant children also cannot receive much social support. The parents of these children often come from more disadvantaged provinces and regions. They cannot afford living costs in first- or second-tier cities, so they choose a smaller city with better development than their hometowns. In other words, the economic conditions of these families are worse than others; parents bear greater pressure in life and provide less physical and emotional care for their children.

These parents also have more traditional ideas about children's education than those who received "Mother's Class" education in Beijing. Many of them showed little understanding of their children's situation and even refused to communicate with me. When I insisted on talking with them, they directly said: "I don't know, just ask the child!" Some parents, who did not know their children's current situation, responded to my questions by referring to things that happened many years ago. As we mentioned earlier, the mother of QHD4 talked about his primary school teacher's evaluation of him.

Children who are not seen within the family cannot see themselves. The drawings of the interviewees in Qinhuangdao were the most monotonous and stereotyped among the four cities. However, compared with girls, the boys in QHD depicted richer images and expressions. This gender difference will be discussed in the following chapters. No matter whether positive or negative, at least they have feelings about life itself. Having feelings means they have had certain experiences, and their self could be more complete and

powerful.

Girls showed more curiosity about me. For them, I seemed to symbolize the “outside world” and “excellent academic performance”. They kept asking me, “What are foreign universities like?” and “How can I get into a famous high school?” but had nothing to say about their own lives. These girls, because of their gender, might not be valued in their hometowns, and also find it difficult to get attention or support from their parents. Similarly, one-third of the girls in Beijing didn’t report their dreams either. This might indicate they are suffering the same emotional neglect as the girls in Qinhuangdao.

Our participants showed significant gender differences, which will be discussed more in later chapters. The preference for boys in migrant families contribute to the formation of this gender difference. Such a preference allows boys to receive more attention, thereby promoting a deeper connection with the environment of their current residence or hometown. This leads to different feelings about “home” between boys and girls and affects their drawings and dreams.

4.2.3 Two Major Themes: Family and School

Home and school are two important living spaces for school-age children, and also are the most common dream themes reported by our interviewees. 12 children mentioned dreams related to home, including 4 dreams with mainly positive emotions and 8 dreams with mainly

negative emotions. 5 children reported dreams related to school or teachers. 7 children reported dreams in which aggressive creatures appear, including dinosaurs, monsters, mutated animals, and zombies. 4 children dreamed that they were being chased or captured. 8 children reported recurring dreams.

Table 1.

City	Participant Number	Emotional Tendency	Dream Content	Special Element	Whether it is Compensation
Shenzhen	SZ2	Negative	Fall from a residential building roof	Recurring Dreams	
	SZ6	Negative	Keep opening the bedroom door		
Qinhuangdao	QHD2	Positive	Return to hometown		Yes
	QHD3	Negative	There is a flood in his hometown and he and his grandfather are drowned		
Beijing	BJ5	Negative	Parents quarrel	Recurring Dreams	
Shanghai	SH3	Positive	Grandpa Yuan		Yes

		Longping come back from the dead and returns to his hometown	
SH5	Negative	Qiqi and Didi (the protagonists of <i>Baby Bus</i>) are lying in bed, and a ghost appears in their home	The ghost is on the back of the paper
SH8	Positive	The future of home and technology in the home	Yes
SH9	Negative	Many monsters appear inside and outside the home	
SH10	Negative	He comes out from home and wants to go play with his friends, but his friends are doing homework	

SH12	Positive	The lost cat is back	Yes
SH13	Negative	His parents turn into zombies and chase him, trying to bite him	

“Home” Theme Dreams

7 migrant children living in Shanghai reported dreams of family, accounting for 46.67%. They are all at the primary school (6-12 years old). If we refer to Erikson’s theory of development, at this stage the child’s important relationship is the school, whose central task is education. However, the theme of these children’s dreams remains in the family, the important relationship in the previous stage, the preschool period (3-6 years old). Their families might have brought them so much negative emotion that their self-development seems stuck here. Among all these participants, those living in Shanghai often are the most physically neglected. Their hygiene doesn’t look good. Older children must shoulder some parental responsibilities and care for their younger siblings at home.

The negative feelings of the interviewees’ dreams related to “home” occupy the largest proportion. Three children’s dreams have ghosts, monsters and zombies appearing in their home; one participant dreamed that he was killed in his grandfather’s home by a flood; and two interviewees have some tense interactions with houses themselves. SH10 and SH12 expressed their loneliness in life through their dreams. The four “positive” dreams about

home are compensations for real life. Among them, only QHD2 expressed her nostalgia for her hometown. Due to the impact of COVID-19, she hadn’t returned to her hometown for two years. Behind the dreams reported by the other three are underlying deprivations in life. For example, SH8 depicted a home filled with modern technology. In the dream, everyone in the family has a separate room. Their relationship is harmonious and life is convenient. In real life, however, he has to share the same room with his twin brother and is seriously dissatisfied with him because of their different living habits.

Table 2.

City	Participant	Emotional	Dream Content	Special	Whether it is
	Number	Tendency		Element	Compensation
Shenzhen	SZ1	Negative	Because he was	Bitten by a	
			“disobedient”,	spider	
			his parents sent		
			him to a		
			boarding school		
			in another city		
	SZ9	Positive	Participated in		Yes
			the relay race at		
			the school sports		
			day and won		
			first place with		

			his classmates	
Shanghai	SH4	Positive	He won a	Yes
			scholarship	
			because of his	
			excellent grades	
			and received the	
			award in front of	
			the whole class	
	SH7	Negative	Math class	unfinished
				drawing
	SH15	Neutral	Her former head	The
			teacher came	perspectives in
			home from get	the drawing
			off work	are not
				uniform

“School and Teacher” Theme Dream

Five children from Shanghai and Shenzhen reported dreams related to school or teachers. The dreams of SH4 and SZ9 are the fulfilment of wishes. SH4 won a scholarship in his dream because of his excellent grades. The dream thus fulfils his mother’s expectations. In the dream, SZ9 won first place in the relay competition of the school sports meeting with his classmates. However, they didn’t make the top three in the actual competition. SZ1 and SH7

depict scenes during class. The drawing by SH7 is a math class. The teacher explained a problem on the blackboard, but students couldn't understand it. This is a portrayal of his real life. In SZ1's dream, each classmate has a different personality and behaves differently. He also expresses his rebellion against his teacher and mother. SH15 depicted the scene of her former class teacher coming home from work, the female teacher in the drawing is probably her ideal self.

Participants expressed their complex emotions and cognitions about home, which will be discussed in detail in Chapter 5. Dreams about schools and teachers often compensate for real life and express the students' ideal selves. In addition to family and school, some children's dreams emphasise money. In SH4's dream, he won a scholarship because of his good grades. In SH9's dream drawing, a hundred-yuan bill (the highest denomination of RMB) is also specifically depicted. This coincides with the sensitivity to money shown by other children. BJ3 repeatedly emphasized that she wanted to eat lollipops worth 50 Cents instead of 1 Yuan; BJ1 said that the cost of his lunch was only 3 Yuan and 50 Cents; QHD1 complained that the family had neither money nor parents to accompany him. It's worth noting that this situation didn't occur among the interviewees in Shenzhen. One potential reason is the interviewees in Shenzhen come from local public primary schools. Only children from relatively well-off families have the possibility of enrolling in public primary schools. Money, an important material resource, is why most of the interviewed families migrated, and it profoundly impacts the lives and unconscious of these children. This part of the content will be mentioned in Chapter 6.

4.2.4 Frequent Nightmares

Dream reports do have limitations as they cannot cover all dream content. Weisz and Foulkes (1970) found that a high level of dream recall occurs spontaneously in individuals due to the emotional aspect inherent in dreams featuring fear, conflict, or trauma-like experiences. That might explain why nightmares are a common phenomenon for children (Schredl et. al., 1996; Schredl et. al., 2008; Schredl et al., 2009; American Academy of Sleep Medicine, 2005). In our research, 18 of 32 interviewees reported nightmares, but this doesn't mean that nightmares constituted the majority of all their dreams. The dreams they choose are more impressive than the rest and may contain stronger and richer emotions and symbols. This is consistent with the purpose of our research, as we are not concerned with all dreams, but with those parts that have special meaning and symbolism.

We found that most of the nightmares reported by our interviewees are closely related to their lives. For example, natural disasters; being grabbed, hurt, and chased; falling from heights; parents quarreling; or something scary happening in the home. 4 children reported that they were captured, hurt, and chased; 5 children's dreams were about scary things appearing in their homes; 7 children had images that frightened them, such as monsters, ghosts, zombies and aliens, in their dreams.

Anxiety, trauma history, and dissociation all contribute to the variance in nightmare distress

(Secrist et al., 2019). Unconscious and symbolic aspects of children's dreams are related to deeper conflicts and developmental issues, and many important aspects of their lives may influence the content of dreams (Foulkes et al., 1969; Green, 1971; Markowitz et al., 1963; Markowitz et al., 1967). Ablon and Mack (1979) proposed that "desperate creativity" may be reflected in children's nightmares. They suggest that it functions as a defence and tension discharge (Mack, 1965, 1974).

Next, we will delve into the dreams of a girl and a boy, and analysis with the combination of their HTP drawings. SH6's dream can help us understand the relationship between daughters and mothers, migrant children and their peers and their surrounding environment. It also expresses their desire for success which is difficult to achieve. The dream of SZ2 is a recurring dream. In addition to the parent-child relationship, the fragile self, insecurity and migrant children's difficulty in obtaining external support also appear in his drawings and narratives.

SH6: The Dream of being Chased

SH6 is a 7-year-old girl in Grade 2 of a primary school in Shanghai. Her parents are from different provinces, the mother is from Sichuan and the father is from Anhui. SH6 was born in Anhui, but her parents divorced when she was two. Since then, SH6 and her mother have come to Shanghai, and her mother's parents also came to Shanghai to live with them.

The ways in which the family environment is closely intertwined with the ancestors gives SH6 the chance to acquire more “Ancestral traditions” (Sow, 1977; Terranova-Cecchini & Toffle, 2014), such as proficiency in dialects. Ancestors bring a unique cultural background, which parents pass down within the family, and the children acquire this part of the culture and abilities at home. Most interviewees are not sufficiently connected to their home culture even through their parents. Even if their parents speak the dialect at home, they only speak Mandarin or Mandarin with an accent. However, SH6 speaks fluent Mandarin and Sichuan dialect, which shows that she is more deeply influenced by her family than any other children. She showed shyness, embarrassment, also pride with regard to this situation.

Most children often have a clear attitude towards dialects. They would directly say that they can speak dialects or not, or respond with embarrassment when they could understand the dialect but couldn't speak it. Their attitude towards the dialect is often closely related to their attitude towards their hometown. If children had a relatively close relationship with their hometown, they would show embarrassment at not fully mastering the dialect; if children were alienated from their hometown, their attitude towards this issue would be indifferent.

In contrast, SH6's attitude towards dialects is complicated. After children enter school, the groups they contact almost every day are teachers and classmates, and conflicts between home and school arise (Sow, 1977; Terranova-Cecchini & Toffle, 2014). Those abilities that come from ancestral cultures may have difficulty adapting to new environments and new cultures. SH6 has begun to separate further from her family, identify with her peers, and

accelerate the process of socialization (Erikson, 1959). As her classmates don't speak dialects, she might feel shy and embarrassed that she is different from them. However, the situation is also mixed with expectation. She seemed to know this would shock me and was expecting my reaction. In the subsequent phone interview with her mother, her mother mentioned things that corroborated my feelings at this time.

The mother said she often takes SH6 to play with her friends' children. The kids are all close in age and familiar with each other, so parents get some downtime. However, SH6 behaves completely differently from other children. She never plays with her peers but is always ready to compete for the attention of all adults. The same situation occurred during my two weeks in Shanghai. The activity centre organized three group activities. SH6 was not interested in her peers but was always watching every move that I and the other staff made. While telling me her dream, she kept staring at me and waiting for my response. She stopped every few words and only continued if I gave some feedback, whether it was language or facial expressions. She had a smug look when I showed surprise or interest.

The performance of SH6 implies that she has insufficient self-energy, has been in a state of low self-esteem for a long time, and needs constant recognition, support and feedback from adults. Migrant children are at the bottom of the social and family pyramid, while adults have a great deal of control over children's lives. Having been unable to control her life for a long period, the solution strategy she adopted was that of observing feedback from adults to satisfy them at all times.

The dream reported by SH6 reflects her living conditions and fearful attachment to her mother. It indicates that SH6 is in such an insecure attachment state, and her mother is both a source of fear and comfort for her (Granqvist et al., 2017; van Ijzendoorn et al., 1999). In her dream, she and her mother go to the beach, and her mother teaches her how to swim. Then she sees the shark's fins but thinks it's a dolphin, so she swims to the fins. After swimming to the shark's side, she realizes it's a shark. She wants to swim back to shore, but because she "can't swim", her mother pulls her to shore and saves her. She built a castle on the beach before entering the water, but when she returned, the little red flag on the castle was gone. A crab steals this little red flag. The little crab stole the red flag to show off to its buddies, who react "strangely", envious of the little crab. So they say, "It's nothing to get a red flag." The little crab is surprised to hear their response and doesn't know why they say that.

The dream drawing shows a shark is about to eat the little girl who has no arms or hands. SH6 said that she hadn't realized that what she thought was a dolphin was a shark, so she still had a bright smile. Not far away, the great white shark had opened its mouth, revealing its sharp teeth.

Figure 14.

SH6's Dream Drawing

There are two types of sharks in the dream. One is the great white shark, in film and TV often a symbol of ferocious revenge. The mother and the sharks in this dream are reminiscent of the Great Mother image. According to Neumann, the archetypal female is considered to have three different forms: the goddess of goodness, the goddess of evil, and the goddess of both good and evil (Neumann, 1974). The third form of the goddess is what makes possible the unification of polar opposites. The feminine in SH6's dream contains two contradictory characteristics, both good mothers and bad mothers appear in it. The dolphins she expected to see meant the gentle and good mother who taught her how to swim just now, while the great white shark she saw represented a bad mother. The little girl in the drawing has no arms. In the face of great white sharks, she even lacks the possibility of protecting herself. Other contradictory features also appear in the dream. For example, she can swim to a shark, but when she needs to escape, she can't swim. She seems to lack the ability to escape the "bad mother". However, when she was attacked by the "bad mother", the "good mother" suddenly

appeared and took her out of danger. A story from Indian mythology expresses the same theme: the good mother Airavata helps the hero defeat the bad mother Naga (Chaturachinda et al., 2004).

The other shark is a multi-headed shark. The multi-headed sharks in her dream have three or more heads, and every head keeps biting the other heads. SH6 said: "It can also bite off its own head!" Only the shark that has lost all heads will die. Multi-heads often appear in the image of the powerful god of war (Dynda, 2014; Eisenfeld, 2018). Besides, Hydra and other multi-headed monsters appear in mythology from all over the world, and they are often the monsters that the hero wants to kill. Their weird images represent evil, their huge bodies represent strength, and their multiple heads represent powerful vitality. It gives multi-heads another kind of two-conflicting-qualities, which highlights the super combat power, and brings a sense of intimidation, making people feel fear.

Neumann (1974) mentions that heroes in mythology often need to fight the negative mother goddess to gain independence. Children who are unloved by their mothers, or influenced by their mothers' negative features, may project good and bad mothers onto the real world, transforming themselves into dragon-slaying heroes. At this time, the multi-headed dragons they face symbolize the negative mother image (Berry, 2017). For children with a Western cultural background, slaying the many-headed dragon or attacking the dark mother is one way to transcend their original family and achieve self-realization (Berry, 2017). However, Chinese children have to use the opposite method. Trapped in the filial piety mentioned in

Chapter 2, Chinese children are burdened with debts they cannot repay to their parents. Thus it's difficult for children to reveal their aggression to parents. They often first direct their aggression toward themselves and repay the "favour" of their parents through self-attack. Only then can they start to look for the possibility of becoming themselves.

This is the path of Nezha, a multi-headed god in Chinese culture. Nezha took the knife from the father and cut off the flesh to return it to his mother, then removed the bones to return it to his father, which symbolizes returning his father's sperm and mother's blood (Xu, 1992). His soul went straight to the Western Paradise to pray to the Buddha and the Buddha brought him back to life. Nezha later becomes a man with three heads and eight arms (Xu, 1992). The multi-headed shark in her dream shares the characteristics of the Nezha image because of its self-attack. The heads on the same body attack each other instead of attacking the outside world in unison. It implies that the multi-headed shark in her dream is a self-attacking child. This child is using self-harm to achieve the purpose of severing contact with parents, but "as long as there is still a head (SZ6)", as long as there is still a soul like Nezha, the child can transcend the negative connotations of fatherhood and motherhood.

Aggression against the mother can be easier for migrant children than for common Chinese children because they rarely have a close relationship with their mother due to widespread emotional neglect. However, it can also be more difficult because their families are often deeply entrenched in tradition and trapped in the filial piety culture. For SH6, such attacks and separations are difficult. As a child in a single-parent family, she is tightly attached to her

mother. Also, there is no mature man in her life who plays a fatherly role and facilitates her separation from her mother.

The girl in this dream can swim, as she swam to the great white shark by herself. However, when facing the bad mother, she lost the ability to protect herself due to fear and had to rely on the reappearance of the good mother to be saved. This might indicate that when she experiences her mother as negative or destructive, she feels utterly powerless. If she continues to live in her mother's shadow, she is in danger of losing herself and becoming a continuation of her mother.

However, dreaming can bring resolution and closure to the emotional and psychological problems of the day (Jung, 1916; Samuels, 1985; Rossi, 1972; Whitmont, 1978). SH6's dream suggests the path to break through this dilemma. Learning to swim is the process of learning new skills, which also means growth. During this process, dangers will arise. SH6 should have her own hands and use her newly acquired skills to get out of danger, instead of waiting helplessly for the mother's rescue. The multi-headed sharks bring the image of Nezha, showing the possibility of transformation.

The experience of the crab in her dream reflects the tension between her and her companions and is the embodiment of the defence mechanism of Isolation (Baumeister et al., 1998). After saying that she didn't understand why others disapproved of her showing off, thinking that their attitude toward the crab was envious, SH6 fell into a brief silence and then started

discussing sharks in movies she had seen. This defence mechanism can temporarily but effectively help her maintain self-esteem (Baumeister et al., 1998). However, the crab in the dream hints at the attitude towards achieving transcendence. The red flag in her dream, like the one in the BJ6's HTP drawing discussed in Chapter 3, is a special recognition from someone in authority in Chinese culture (whether it is a teacher or a parent). One can complete his or her transformation like Nezha only by being detached from the attitude of superiors.

SH6's desire for energy and success appears in her HTP drawing. The picture has three different fruitful trees. She gains arms and even is taller than her mother. However, she gave up halfway through colouring, showing weakness, hesitation and lack of energy. Her drawing can be easily divided into left and right parts. The left half of the picture is colourful and informative, with the sun, the house, the banana tree, and two figures. The little girl and her mother both look happy in the picture, but the girl's wink easily attracts more attention.

Figure 15.



SH6's HTP Drawing

Note that the mother's blouse is the same colour as the house door. Jung once said: "The city is a maternal symbol, a woman who harbours the inhabitants in herself like children." (Jung, 1925, para. 303) To a certain extent, the same is true for a house. The mother shelters the inhabitants within it. However, the home in this picture is not totally a relaxing, cosy haven. The colour of the walls is soft pink, making the home look comfortable and relaxing. Yet the door to the house is red and locked, and the chimney is deeply blackened. These strong colours might be seen as bringing pressure, disharmony, instability, and insecurity into the home.

In SH6's life, family or mother, appears as a dual image of both good and bad. Her mother thought that the single-parent family environment affected the development of SH6's interpersonal skills. Sometimes, the mother beat and scolded her. If the father was at home he might comfort SH6, and help her analyze the reasons for the mother's anger. SH6's mother believed this could help her maintain a firm and clear attitude, avoid feeling confused and make her education more effective. At this moment, without the father's intervention, there is a change in the mother's attitude and she becomes quite chaotic and blunt. The mother may be in thunder and anger one second, and the next second become a mild spring breeze. The mother's chaotic attitude may affect the child's cognition and make the mother's image emotional and complex. Such splitting has "extraordinary power" (Berry, 2017, p. 20), young children have difficulty handling such situations and may become overwhelmed and powerless. A possible way to resolve this dilemma would be to embark on the hero's journey,

and this transformation is hinted at in SH6's dream.

The educational dilemma in SH6 families is not rare, nor is it found only in divorced families. Many migrant families are faced with such a dilemma: the father is busy supporting the family and is absent from childcare, and the mother has to resort to "widowed childcare". In some migrant families, although the father is the primary caregiver for some children, such as SH5 and BJ9, he still refuses to provide emotional support to the children. Therefore, the father image and the paternal function remain missing within the family. This lack also further aggravates the fragmentation of the mother image, as she assumes the functions of both mother and father.

4.2.5 Recurring Dreams

Recurring dreams have added significance because they reflect significant themes, problems or conflicts for the dreamer. They are indicative of critical dilemmas or issues because of their recurring nature. Such dreams act as self-revealing reflections of self-identity and reveal persistent concerns or conflicts experienced.

Freud (1920) believed that recurring themes in dreams indicate a general or specific dilemma or conflict for the dreamer, and are expressions of a neurotic repetition compulsion. Bonime (1962) also assumed that people "recurrently reflects the same personality problem in dream" (p. 41). Jung proposed that recurring dreams are meant to repeatedly attract attention,

indicating that the dreamer had overlooked a certain theme in the dream. He suggests that in recurring dreams, “the unconscious seems bent on conveying a powerful impression of reality to the dreamer ... The sources of such realities are known to be physical sensations on the one hand, and archetypal figures on the other.” (Jung, 1989, p. 261)

During the interview, 8 participants reported recurring dreams. 3 of these dreams have simple content and positive emotions, such as eating cakes and chicken legs (BJ7, BJ8), or playing in a castle/amusement park (BJ10). The remaining five are special. SZ2 dreamed every Saturday that he fell from the rooftop of a residential building and was awakened. When asked about the possible ending of the dream, he said “It could only be death.” Twice after our first interview, SZ4 dreamed that she was captured by a woman in a red dress and transported to “another world” on the other side of the river, from which she “never came back”. BJ5 often dreamed about her parents quarrelling. QHD5 built a fantasy world by expanding the contents of his recurring dreams. BJ6 often dreamed that monsters were about to attack her.

These five recurring dreams are anxious and unsettling. Children are chased, attacked, or fall from a building. Harris (1948) suggested that the two most common anxiety dreams are dreams of falling and dreams of being attacked. He proposed that these two types of anxiety dreams corresponded to two basic childhood fears: dreams of falling stemmed from the fear of losing the love of the object, while dreams of attack stemmed from more advanced castration anxiety in development. He attributed the dream of falling to the dreamer’s

insufficient internalizations of the sustaining functions of the mother (Harris, 1951, 1960).

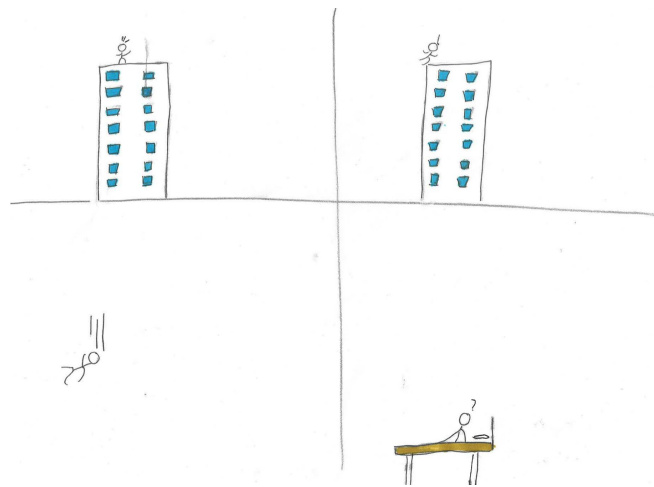
This function is not only related to the child's real mother but also closely related to the function of the house and the unconscious. SH6's dream in the previous section is a dream of being attacked. Next, let's analyze a dream of falling.

SZ2: The Dream of Falling

SZ2 is an 11-year-old boy studying in Grade 5 at a public primary school in Shenzhen. His parents are self-employed and own their shop, and he has an elder sister who studies art at a boarding high school in Shenzhen. During the first interview, SZ2 appeared particularly nervous. His body was stiff, his eyes looked away from me into the distance, and his voice was almost a whisper. Full, flowing sentences rarely appeared, replaced by abbreviated phrases and frequent silences. By the second time we met, he seemed more relaxed and started making eye contact with me. SZ2 also mentioned more emotions and details in the dream drawing than in his HTP. His HTP drawing is in black and white, while the dream drawing is in colour.

Figure 16.

SZ2's HTP Drawing

Figure 17.

SZ2's Dream Drawing

SZ2 told me about a dream that occurred almost every Saturday for more than a year. The dream begins with him playing (like catching butterflies) on the top of the building, and then he trips over something and suddenly falls from the top of the building. While he is in mid-air, he wakes up and becomes confused. The building in the dream is a white high-rise

apartment with a garden on the top floor. This garden is similar to the one in his school which has a lot of trees and a small swing. Sometimes the form of the dream changes. He might be in a place similar to a square when a stone bigger than him suddenly falls from the sky and he wakes up. When asked about the possible ending of the dream, SZ2 said he thinks that the only possibility is to fall to death or be stoned to death.

His dream drawing is a four-panel comic strip, describing the whole process of him playing on the roof, falling, and finally waking up in bed. The images in the picture are simple, and only the windows and bed boards are colored. Through “!” and “?”, SZ2 clearly expressed his feelings.

The subcortical system is considered the physiological basis of personality development (Eysenck, 1967; Gray, 1982; Canli & Lesch, 2007; Cremers et al., 2010), and various emotional factors, centred on the subcortical system, are related to dream experience (Yu, 2013). This nightmare is not only a falling dream but also a recurring dream, thus it may contain strong emotions. SZ2’s dreams combine the two most common anxiety dreams proposed by Harris (1948). Sometimes it takes the form of dreams of falling, and at other times dreams of being hit by a stone. Harris would see his dreams as closely related to two basic childhood fears: the fear of losing the love of the object may lead to dreams of falling, while more advanced castration anxiety in development may occur in the form of dreams of attack (Harris, 1948).

Since Freud, scholars' understanding of castration anxiety has continued to develop (Freud, 1905; Lacan, 2014; Horney, 1924, 1926; Balsam, 2018). What remains unchanged is that castration anxiety emphasizes the fear of authority, and its core lies in an excessive fear of the punishment that authority can inflict. SZ2's HTP drawing is closely arranged in the lower left corner, consistent with his stiff, contracted state. The vulnerability of SZ2 is also evident in other areas. As he is living with diffuse anxiety due to his mother's erratic attitude, sometimes it is difficult for him to complete a task and he is prone to emotional breakdowns. The mother said when he was halfway through brushing his shoes if he felt that the effect might not be as good as he expected, the shoes would be left there. The teacher told me that once in class, he didn't whisper to anyone else, but the teacher misunderstood and criticized him. He immediately started crying till the end of class.

The search for the universal symbolism of falling dreams has continued for many years. Facing danger, being lost, and being chased are considered typical dream themes related to interpersonal conflict (Ward et al., 1961). Freud thought that falling dreams were typical dreams (Freud, 1900), but he didn't form a clear opinion on their regular meaning. Some scholars after him, such as Rank (1929/2020), Fodor (1949), Bergler (1957), and Roheim (1952), discussed from different angles the dream of falling and the birth experience, the fear of losing the mother or motherhood, and reentry into the mother and rebirth. Harris attributed the dream of falling to the patient's insufficient internalizations of the sustaining functions of the mother (Harris, 1948, 1951, 1960). Andresen (1985) synthesized previous views and proposed that the falling might symbolically represent maternal loss.

The mother herself didn't appear in SZ2's dream. However, the mother's containing function is not only related to the real mother but also connected with the function of the house and the unconscious. Besides, this dream occurred regularly on Saturday mornings, when he ended his school life every week and was at home all day. The house is a sanctuary, like the mother's womb, which houses the child (Freud, 1936; Avrane, 2020). It serves as a symbolic boundary that separates the child from outsiders and is a wall that protects children from wind or rain, heat or cold. The home guarantees the continuation of life because it's where the protectors live (Avrane, 2020).

"Its intra-uterine existence seems to be short in comparison with that of most animals, and it is sent into the world in a less finished state ... the dangers of the outer world have a greater importance for it, so that the value of the object which can alone protect it against them and take the place of its former intra-uterine life is enormously enhanced." (Freud, 1936, pp. 154-155)

SZ2 drew the two different buildings during two interviews, and both of them seem unsafe. The house in the dream drawing is a high-rise apartment building and the garden on its top floor lacks the proper protection measures. This house couldn't provide him with adequate protection and accommodation, and he is not safe in it. The potential danger that something bad could happen at any time makes him anxious. The real-life story he told in the HTP drawing explains the reason for his anxiety: he and his mother returned to their hometown to

celebrate the Chinese New Year, and were welcomed by his grandparents. However, for some unknown reason, his mother suddenly beat him when the whole family was happy.

Perhaps due to the pressures of life, SZ2's mother is overwhelmed by the little things he does. These include washing his hands in the outside toilet and dripping water on the floor instead of using the inside bathroom. Despite repeated reminders, SZ2 still did not obey, leading his mother to resort to corporal punishment without explanation. The mother stated that she had only pushed him, rather than hitting him, but he claimed that she had hit him. His teacher was particularly concerned about SZ2's perception of corporal punishment because she sometimes patted him on the shoulder or arm when he made mistakes. SZ2 said that the teacher had never hit him. Therefore, the teacher believed that if he were told the clear reasons, SZ2 would not regard such mild physical contact as corporal punishment as claimed by the mother.

Considering the tense relationship between him and his mother, the uneasiness around or within the house may be a symbol of maternal loss as previous research has suggested (Freud, 1936; Andresen, 1985; Avrane, 2020). SZ2 once told his mother this dream, but his mother said that he would have that kind of dream while he was growing taller. He then mentioned this dream to his friend, another migrant child, who said he had such a dream too. SZ2 was surprised but relieved that he was not the only one who had such a dream. He found comfort in his companion, not the mother.

The mother's response to this type of dream is common in China, as the neglect of children's feelings pervades the culture. Chinese people often regard children in the growth stage dreaming of falling from a height as a manifestation of the physiological phenomenon of growing taller. Instead of asking about the child's feelings, parents respond rudely with "You're growing." This neglect is exacerbated by the high-pressure migrants bring. When discussing cultural homelessness as a Chinese cultural complex, we mentioned that migration has caused these populations to be uprooted. Such severance exacerbates children's alienation from close relatives, community and peer groups, leaving them unable to obtain vicarious motherhood and care, as well as protection from the wider context and network of relationships in their lives. In SZ2's HTP drawing, his grandparents and their home are not located on the horizon, but on a step as high as half a person. It's undoubtedly difficult to cross such a step to enter a home and gain the care and love of ancestors. For him, if relatives are nearby, such as when his sister doesn't have to go to school, or when his grandparents are at home, he will receive continual care and love as a kind of maternal substitute.

However, SZ2 was still trying to seek discontinuous maternal tenderness from his sister. The mother mentioned that he unilaterally pestered his sister. The sister was in a boarding school and only went home on weekends. Every time she went home, he "pestered" his sister to draw or do other things together. The mother believes his sister is impatient with him, although she always accompanies him to do whatever he wants. The mother's view on the sibling relationship might be her own projection, as she finds SZ2 annoying and assumes that

the sister thinks the same way. In addition to his sister's attention, if SZ2 feels cared for and respected during his interactions with others, his psyche will also burst with vitality. After our two interviews, I once went to their class to look for SZ9 during recess. SZ2 rushed out excitedly as soon as he saw me. However, he was restrained and didn't greet me directly. He rushed into the corridor and stopped towards me, clutching the railing with both hands, sitting back, smiling relaxed.

In addition to the mother's wildly swinging mood, his father is absent from home for a long time and is an "invisible person" in terms of childcare. The absence of the father can cause difficulties for the boy's growth. Fathers are thought to serve a more specified role than mothers, as they can help sons undergo socialization in terms of same-sex interactions (Macfie et al., 2005). Also, the mother's frequent corporal punishment constituted child abuse. The World Health Organization (2006) defines child abuse as "all forms of physical and/or emotional ill-treatment, sexual abuse, neglect or negligent treatment or commercial or other exploitation, resulting in actual or potential harm to the child's health, survival, development or dignity in the context of a relationship of responsibility, trust or power." All types of abuse can cause physical, emotional, and psychological damage to children and lead to long-term difficulties in behavioural and mental health development (Al Odhayani et al., 2013). SZ2, (just like SH3 as we will see later), doesn't have a clear idea of how to get along with peers. He has difficulty controlling the limits of physical contact and often hurts others. However, not only did his parents fail to create a good environment for SZ2 to imitate and learn interpersonal communication, but they also blamed him for not being obedient enough

compared to his peers, thinking this is the reason for his difficulty in socializing.

His falling dreams indicate SZ2's inner insecurities or the anxiety of uncontrollable external events. This narrative is consistent with the story he told in his House-tree-person. The beginning in both situations is happy and relaxing, but as the story progresses, for some unknown reason, the emotion turns from positive to negative. He doesn't know why such a sudden change happened, nor how to deal with these situations. In his dreams, either SZ2 falls for no reason, or huge stones which correspond to huge pressures suddenly drop, which both could be connected with his insecurities in reality. When he falls into the void in a dream, there is no support or safety rope. Also, stones come from the earth, and the huge stones falling from the sky seem to be the sudden and unpredictable anger of the mother. Children who have been physically abused may stare at their parents or caregivers and appear worried as if they are waiting for the next episode of abuse to occur (MacMillan et al., 1999).

The accommodation and protection SZ2 received are far from enough, and he encountered visible and measured difficulties in his psychological development in such an environment. Two months before we met, the school conducted a census of students' mental health (2021-2022 First Semester 5th Grade Students' Mental Health Census). SZ2 showed a strong suicidal tendency in this census and the school listed him as a student requiring special attention. His MHT (Mental Health Test for Primary and Secondary Schools; Zhou, 1991) score is as high as 75. For this test, a score of more than 65 indicates serious mental health

problems and requires effective intervention. However, due to the serious shortage of psychological teachers in the school, at the point we met, the psychological teachers had not yet conducted one-on-one interviews with SZ2 as required. His teacher thought he was a good child, but that he was beaten too much by his parents. His parents were informed of the results of this census, but his mother didn't pay much attention. Instead, she blamed it on him watching too many videos of Chinese students "jumping off buildings" under pressure.

However, SZ2's dream not only expresses his anxiety and maternal loss, it also contains the potential for transformation. The recurring dreams may represent "a situation equivalent to reality" (Jung, 1989, p. 261). Such dreams can "compensate a defect in one's conscious attitude, or they date from a traumatic moment that has left behind some specific prejudice, or they anticipate a future event of some importance." (Jung, 1935, para. 478)

Facing pressure and falling into trouble are common problems that everyone faces in individuation. Currently, SZ2's drawing is still huddled in the paper's corner, and he has a pessimistic attitude toward the future because he lacks energy. However, SZ2 still retains enough potential to be nourished. When he is seen by someone, such as the teacher and me, he will reveal vigorous vitality. To realize his development potential, SZ2 needs to break away from the constraints of the family and get in touch with the broader maternal. When he drew the tree trunk in HTP, he used a pencil to draw a thicker trunk at first, but when drawing the lines with black pen, the trunk was changed to be thin. The difference between the pencil and the outline is like the difference between his current and potential maternal.

He needs stronger roots to help him stay rooted in the earth. A historical story about Emperor Taizong of the Tang Dynasty and the legend of Sun Wukong in Chinese culture can help us understand this path.

On the night when Emperor Taizong of the Tang Dynasty ... first planned the uprising, Taizong dreamed that he fell under the bed and was covered in maggots ... The next day, he asked Zen Master Zhiman of Anle Temple for advice on whether this dream was a good or bad omen ... The Zen master said: "You should kneel down to the sky and thank God! Falling under the bed means you will become distinguished ..."

(Li, 2013, para. 276-278; my translation)

When this nightmare of falling happened, Emperor Taizong's attitude was the same as SZ2's, feeling confused and scared. However, as Zen Master Zhiman said, if his attitude changes, then this story also tells a new turning point. Nightmares of falling may also imply the potential for transformation.

In addition to the attitude he should have when facing difficulties, SZ2 also need to find solutions. The story of Sun Wukong in *Journey to the West* (Anthony, 2012) can inspire us. After Sun Wukong got drunk with the monkeys in Huaguo Mountain, his soul was taken to the underworld by two ghosts. Wukong killed the ghost with one stick and asked the King of Hell why he was detained. He said that he shouldn't follow the rules of death. Then he forcibly canceled his death record and back to life proudly.

When Sun Wukong was taken to the underworld, he showed the features of migration. He jumped outside the requirements of the superior, the King of Hell, and didn't follow the so-called "rules". However, such transitions are particularly difficult for migrant children.

Sun Wukong absorbs the aura of heaven and earth and the energy of the sun and moon (Anthony, 2012), which means receiving maternal care from a wide range of society.

However, the long distance from relatives and the lack of social support in their current residence make it difficult for these children to form a close social network, let alone recover from the maternal loss. For the migrant children in China, three potential factors combine to hinder the functioning of the mother image: the migrants cannot be accommodated by society, migrant families cannot find stable shelter as their new homes, and anxious, financially strapped mothers cannot provide adequate care for their children. We will discuss these three aspects separately in the next two chapters.

All in all, unsafe or unattainable houses and imaginary homes appear frequently in the children's HTP drawings, guiding us to further explore the image of "home" in the unconscious of migrant children in the next chapter. Migrant children's self-development, their relationship with their parents, and differences caused by different regions will also be discussed in subsequent chapters.

A surprising amount of unsettling appears in the dreams of our interviewees. Their

self-development, parent-child relationships, and homeless situations are all worrisome. They often experience emotions such as fear and tension in their dreams. They are being chased, getting found, attacked, or suffering pain. Some children are unable to move or run fast in their dreams (such as BJ4 and SH13), which may be due to their lack of awareness or ability to avoid the difficulties they face in life; some children have nowhere to hide or are always found (such as SZ4 and SH5), so the animals or people chasing or attacking them may be their shadows, complexes, or images of painful and worrying experiences. No child can fight his/her pursuers or make peace with the enemies in their dreams. The prevalence of nightmares may be related to migrant children's sense of self-powerlessness and the multiple difficulties in their lives. We will consider their living environment from several perspectives in Chapter 6.

However, dreams are an internal space between the self and upsetting events, a bridge between the dreamer's own experience and external reality. They potentially allow the dreamer to cope with frustration and overcome it creatively. For example, although a shark in the sea chased SH6, she was eventually rescued by her mother. Recurrent traumatic dreams tell a different story. In such a dream, the self attempts to distance itself from the experience and master it. If it doesn't work out, the dreamer might be forced to relive the traumatic scene in the same way, perhaps at least until they can gain some control over their anxiety.

Chapter 5 The Home Image for Chinese Migrant Children

5.1 Home as an Image

A house can be seen as a protective image and has many meanings. It can represent shelter, love of family, openness to the outside world, etc. From a personal point of view, houses in drawing analysis can be seen as the habitat of people, representing the relationship between a person and the home, and their sense of security. In the first interview with all interviewees, I asked them to draw at least one house, one tree and one person. As we mention below, there is a close connection between house and home in Chinese, which may be why even if the details about the house were not stipulated, the vast majority of the children still unanimously chose to draw a “home” rather than other forms of houses. No matter which culture we are in, home is an eternal theme. Home as an archetypal image may be a refuge, but just as the definition of home varies from culture to culture, its specific connotations may continue to develop and change according to cultural background and personal encounters. This chapter will first explore the meaning of home, and then analyze children’s drawings and expressions from the following perspectives: What is home for migrant children? What are they going through at home? How are the relationships within the family? How do they feel?

5.1.1 The Home Image outside China

Although all of our interviewees are from China, the English expression for home is still helpful in understanding the psyche of these children. The Oxford English Dictionary defined home as “a village, a town, a collection of dwellings”. Furthermore, home is “a refuge, a sanctuary; a place or region to which one naturally belongs or where one feels at ease.” Thus, “home is not only the place but also the cluster of feelings associated with it.” (OED, 2024)

A French psychoanalyst, Avrane (2020), emphasized the function of the house as a shelter or refuge. Home can provide a protective and holding containment for the family members who live in it. It fully embodies its original function, that which the newborn discovers when it comes from the mother’s arms to the cradle, when the walls of the house become familiar. Still later, the house became a place from which he could come and go. It’s the house image we carry with us, combined with the house we live in—most often, the house we live in with our loved ones (Avrane, 2020). As Jung once mentioned, “The place where one is cared for often takes on a motherly meaning, in a figurative sense. One gets a personal relationship with it, more or less as to a mother. It then contains some directly personal quality. A house where one is psychically and physically cared for, where one is caressed, becomes an extension of the family web.” (Jung, 2008, p. 40)

Besides, home is also a desired destination. When talking about the idea of reaching home, it is not just about an aspired goal, it includes a return to the home of origin, whether from

physically, geographically or metaphorically (Papadopoulos, 2021). Homer's *The Odyssey* is about the journey home. At the beginning of the poem, Odysseus yearns to see the smoke from his homeland and then die. It could be said that home here has a deliberate double meaning: it is not just a land, the "most solid and tangible substance", but also the smoke, "a most elusive and intangible entity" (Papadopoulos, 2021, p. 157). Therefore, home is not just a physical residence, such as land or a house, but also implies spiritual relationships, cultural and social atmospheres. People who return home need to re-establish all meaningful connections within one's own family and own self (Ibid.). The spiritual return is more difficult than the physical return. Can our interviewees establish a stable psychological connection with the local culture?

The dreams of QHD4 and SZ2 discussed in Chapter 4 both involve the function of houses and children's feelings about the home image. As mentioned above, home is both connected with the tangible land and intangible spirit. From this perspective, the home image of migrant children seems to be incomplete. Because of the household registration system, they undoubtedly have a so-called hometown, but at the same time, they still lack a close spiritual connection, attachment, familiarity, atmosphere, and sense of belonging. Therefore, their nominal hometown is not necessarily their trusted homeland. More examples of this will be discussed in the next section. Next, let's take a look at the connotation of home in the Chinese context.

5.1.2 Home in Chinese Culture

Home(家) in Chinese may have richer symbolic meaning than in English. In English, home and family are two intertwined words. However, in Chinese, everything revolves around one character, 家. It includes the double meaning of home and family. Also, as mentioned in the Chapter 2, the structure and functions of the home in Chinese society are different from those in the West. Society's emphasis on home has given it more functions.

In China, house has a deep symbolic meaning. The orientation of the house, the furnishings and the decorations inside and outside the house represent the preference and taste of the owner. The two-colour house drawn by SZ3, which will be discussed in the next chapter, manifests this. In addition, in “Shuo Wen Jie Zi (说文解字; interpretation of chinese characters)” (Xu, 2012), an inhabited house is the paradigm of a house. Therefore, “house” is extended to refer to “home”. In *Shuo Wen Jie Zi*, it is said: “宀 is the house”; “豕 is the pig” (my translation), and the two characters are written together as 家 (home) (Xu, 2012).

The upper part of the 家, 宀, means protection and tolerance, and it has the image of a primitive house that shelters from wind and rain and protects against wild animals. It is not only the protection and containment of a general house, but also like the mother's womb, the archetypal image of the Great Mother, the gestation of life contained in it. This underground cave is like the basement in Jung's dream as we mentioned in Chapter 4, and it is also a place where human nature is nurtured.

The lower part of the word 家, Pig, plays an important role in Chinese people's understanding of home. For ancient Chinese, raising pigs became a sign of settled life (Tong, 1975). The universality of "pig" breeding determines that the ancients often used pigs as sacrifices (Liu et al., 2010). It can be seen that because ordinary people use pigs to worship ancestors at home, there is "pig" in the word 家, which implies that 家 has the meaning of ancestral temple, and those who sacrifice to the same ancestral temple belong to the same clan or family. Therefore, 家 is extended to mean family and clan. A clan is made up of individual families, and the family is the cell of the clan. This can help us understand why migration is an act of "uprooting" people, the differences between migrant children and their parents, as well as the gender differences. Their parents still go back to hometown to worship their ancestors. However, in most cases, females are not qualified to be included in the genealogy and participate in the sacrificial acts. Gender differences in customs imply that boys and girls will have different feelings about their hometowns, which can be seen in the discussion of BJ1 and BJ6 in Chapter 6.

Also, pigs may be related to family descendants. The character 亥 in Dazhuan (ancient style of calligraphy, current in the Zhou dynasty) is an image of a man and a woman lying on a bed, meaning "two animals mate in a specific place". The glyph also uses 乙 as the side, which resembles the bulging abdomen of a pregnant woman carrying her fetus. Not only that, according to *Zuo Zhuan* (Zuo, 2022), 亥 is an animal with two heads and six bodies. Wen Yiduo's (2006) *Fuxi Kao* (Research on Fuxi; my translation) believes that two heads often symbolize sexual intercourse. This demonstrates the important significance of 家(home) for

the reproduction of offspring. The 孩(also *Hai*, means child) in 孩子(child) is composed of the two characters 子 and 亥. It can be seen that the character 亥 can be interpreted as gestation through copulation. Both children and pigs may represent stability. 亥 also connects the 核(nucleus), the 核(nucleus) of the 核心(core), which means the seed. Children are considered the seeds of the family. 家 in Chinese puts more emphasis on its stability. It doesn't tell us about a journey like that of Odysseus, where home is not only the beginning but also the end. The animals it raises are not cattle or sheep that need to be nomadic. A house is a home, and the building of the home is stable there, with pigs and children.

Figure 18.

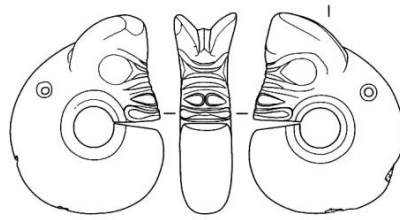


“Guo Jizi Baipan” from the Western Zhou Dynasty (Editorial Committee of Complete Works of Chinese Art, 1984)

Chapter 4 discusses and analyzes the dreams of three migrant children, including a dream of falling and a dream of being chased. Whether chasing or falling, they are closely related to the image of the pig mentioned above. The original meaning of the character 逐(chasing) is to chase pigs, which was later extended to mean chasing in general. The original meaning of the word 坠(falling), is also related to “pig”, which refers to the hunting scene of a pig

falling into a trap. After humans domesticated pigs and turned them into domestic animals, the image of pigs also represented people's peaceful residence and wealth. One possibility is that this reflects the living situation of migrant children and their parents. They have yet to capture the wild boars, establish a home, and are in an uneasy and volatile environment.

The image of the pig also has the prototype of the Jade Pig Dragon. The Jade Pig Dragon, with the head of a pig and the body of a dragon, is a typical representation of Hongshan culture jade wares. It can be said that in ancient times, the Chinese regarded the "pig" as a symbol of ferocity, and combined it with the mythical dragon to express their admiration for it and their wish for divine protection. Such worship gradually evolved into an idiom in Chinese, 豕有龙象. 豕 means pig, and 龙象 represent the image of an emperor. This word generally refers to a person who looks like an emperor despite his/her humble status. Considering the close connection between pigs and ordinary people and their descendants, it also symbolizes the beautiful hopes of crossing classes. Such dreams are often placed by parents on their children. Several of our interviewees expressed that they were expected to lead their families across class. Such a "big dream" has been passed down from ancient times to the present day, and combined with the story of the migration overthrowing the ruling class, which has created a dream for every Chinese. As explained in Chapter 4, today's migrant population used to respond most to build up the "Chinese Dream" (Xi, 2013). When they wake up from the dream of transcending classes, they may also experience the deepest pain of being deceived and confused about the future.

Figure 19.

Dragon-shaped Jades (Cui, 2016)

To sum up, home in Chinese is an image that can shelter from wind and rain, gather wealth, and reproduce offspring. It is inclusive, stable, the core of people's lives, and a security base for children's development. Correspondingly, in a psychoanalytic sense, there may be three levels of home. The first is the real home; the second is the image of home, which refers to anything that can bring the feeling of home; the third is the archetypal image of home, which is the refuge and home of the soul. Our interviewees are migrants' descendants and are included in the Chinese image of 家. Descendants of these families recount disturbing dreams, describing their imagined resting places for their souls. They are chasing, falling, have no money, no psychological homeland, cannot live in peace, and have encountered visible difficulties on the journey of individuation. Migrant children can be chased and controlled by their parents like wild boars. Besides, in their parents' generation, the state of the migrant population was just like the state of interaction between primitive people and wild boars. They are still trying to capture and tame wild boars, and cannot provide a stable refuge for their children. During the pursuit, they might even run too far and cut off the cultural inheritance with their ancestors. Therefore, these migrant children couldn't be like

pigs living at home, and they have no way to obtain a spiritual home.

5.2 Home for Migrant Children

As mentioned above, the connotation of home includes physical land as well as psychological connection. Therefore, for the convenience of distinction, hometown and homeland here are distinguished as two different concepts. Hometown is the physical location of the place of household registration, while homeland is one's psychic belonging. Our interviewees have a hometown, but not always have a homeland. Most of them chose to depict their dreams and their psychological destinations in fantasy in their drawings.

As discussed in Chapter 3, children from different cities created these drawings with the same theme in markedly different styles. This difference has a certain connection with their living environment. The subject drawings produced by children from Qinhuangdao (QHD) were sketchy, stereotyped, and dark. In contrast, the drawings of children from Shanghai (SH) and Beijing (BJ) were bolder, brighter and more vivid. Regardless of the drawing style, there are some disturbing factors in their perception and expression of the home image. However, before discussing the characteristics of home, we must know where the home they drawn is.

For migrant children, their homes can be defined in a variety of ways. (a) Their home in their hometown; (b) their past residence, if they have moved; (c) their current residence during their migration; (d) their aspirational, idealized home. Therefore, migrant children's

expression of home is very complicated, just like their cognition of self. When we say migrant children are culturally homeless, it means they have lost their psychic identity. In the following we will first discuss the different situations in which children find themselves and then give examples of children in these different situations. Besides, the HTP manual and some Jungian scholars refer to the rightward movement as a future-oriented feature (Yan & Chen, 2019; Abt, 2005). Thus we also need to consider the direction of their drawings, such as whether they are moving to the left or right, towards home or away from home, and then analyze how they draw and express their home.

5.2.1 Two Important Factors

Our interviewees can be categorized according to different factors, the first of which is whether they have lived in their hometown. For migrant children who were born in the place of household registration and spent a short period of childhood there, leaving their hometown and going to their current place of residence is their first separation. When they arrived at their current residence, they would encounter difficulties in adapting. If they could get enough help and support from parents, they would experience love and gradually develop a connection with the place. At this time, they would occasionally back to their hometown during holidays. However, they don't go back to live, but only to experience and be guests, so they never truly return and always remain absent. In addition, if they have to go back to their hometown to continue studying, they would face separation again when they enter adolescence. They would be hurt twice, face separation again, and return to their former

hometown. As time goes by, people and things might have changed, and he or she needs to adapt again. Therefore, whether it is the place of household registration or the current place of residence, his or her feelings will inevitably be complex and contradictory.

For children who are not born in their hometown, hometown, like their place of origin, is just another concept on paper. How they view their hometown and current place of residence will be related to the transmission of ancestral culture by their parents and their own feelings about the living environment. Children who have a closer relationship with their parents (mainly mothers) tend to have a deeper affection for their hometown and, to a certain extent, consider themselves to be members of their hometown. These children might encounter difficulties and experience pain when they were unable to integrate into their hometown, such as BJ1. However, they are often not particularly averse to going back to hometown to study. There are also some children who have moved to many places since birth and have not established emotional connections with any of them. The homes in their drawings tend to be more “unreal” and have more fairy-tale elements. Another kind of child shows indifference towards their hometown and consider themselves locals at their current place of residence. When these children face the situation of returning to hometown, they not only experience loss, but also face the denial and reconstruction of their self-cognition. Their homeland may be at risk of collapse.

Another important factor is their awareness of the “old home”. Some interviewees consider their “old home” to be the place of household registration. These children often have some

form of connection with their native place of ancestral origin and household registration, but this connection is also weak. The vast majority of respondents could not accurately name the city where their registered residence was, or even quickly find the approximate location of their hometown on a map of China. Therefore, we cannot simply think that their spiritual homeland is their real hometown. Their understanding of their hometown is vague, and many times it is even inconsistent with the real situation. The “hometown” they drew is infinitely ideal, and the real hometown has become the carrier of their spiritual homeland. The “homeland” in the drawing reflects their fantasy about home.

There are also a few children who reply, “I don’t have an old home.” These children are divided into two groups: one group consider themselves to be locals where they are living, and the other group does not know which city they should belong to. The situation of children who consider themselves locals is precarious as they may be forced to leave their current place of residence at any time. This “hometown” is not recognized by society, and is constructed by themselves. Home is no longer a refuge, no longer a place for their self and their growth. SZ6’s HTP shows the collapse of his spiritual world that he faced when he was forced to return to his hometown. This picture is consistent with the ancient Chinese poem *Major Odes: Mulberry Trees* (Wang, 2008) mentioned in Section 2.3. Houses collapsed, people died, and there was no help from Heaven. People are on the move and cannot find their future home.

5.2.2 Migrant Children’s Drawings and Expression

SZ6 considered himself a native of Shenzhen. However, because the policy of hukou in China, his younger brother couldn't attend a public primary school in Shenzhen, so he would have to go back to his "hometown" in Fujian to attend junior high school. He told me that the last earthlings in this drawing are about to be wiped out by aliens, leaving only dead wood, polluted rivers, zombies and collapsed houses on the earth. The little boy's psychological home could be considered as having been completely destroyed.

Figure 5.



SZ6's HTP Drawing

Children who have no answer for where they belong are even more unable to experience the so-called "homeland" and "nostalgia". The Greek for home is nostos. Nostalgia thus means literally home pain, the memory and emotion of homeland, as mentioned above, Odysseus' yearning. In human consciousness, hometown is never a name or symbol, but a spiritual home composed of many specific scenery, characters and stories. This is also what migrant children need to accomplish symbolically, to find their homeland, which is a spiritual

paradise endowed with many emotions and memories. The nostalgia and descriptions of hometown show up in countless literary works, and are closely related to the author's experience. For example, Yu Guangzhong wrote in a poem that his nostalgia is like a small stamp with him on this side and his mother on the other side (Yu, 2018). This is because he had studied away from home during the war and could only communicate with his mother through letters. Therefore, the stamps on the letters became his connection with his hometown, carrying his longing for his hometown and relatives.

This is why these migrant children experience cultural homelessness, as they lack a psychological homeland where they can find emotional support and intimate connections. They placed their wishes in these drawings depicting their psychological home in fantasy. In the House-Tree-Person drawings, many of the interviewees drew their dream home or ideal paradise, a place where they could feel safe and comfortable. They need a stable container of psyche. They need to reach their psychological home.

Over 70% of our interviewees depicted a particular scene in HTP: the person in the picture comes out of the house and walks towards the tree. Most of them move to the right, and a few are to the left. The direction in which the picture develops is a noteworthy feature. BJ5 drew two scraps before finally completing her HTP drawing. In these two scraps, the house is on the left; in her final drawing, the ideal home is on the right of the drawing paper. For a few children, such as SZ8, the figures in their drawing seem to be feeling relaxed and comfortable after arriving under the tree. In these drawings, the house serves as the home of

these people, as well as their safe base and refuge. The figures move on from their past and toward a tree that is growing well. These trees can be understood as symbolizing the bright future in their fantasy.

SZ4 is a child who cannot identify herself with any city. Her drawing shows striking detail in the depictions of the subject. SZ4 said that the house in her drawing was a tree house. She had a romantic imagination about it. There were large and small gaps on the wall, and the little girl could lie on the bed and see the starry sky outside; the roof was made of hay in the shape of a chestnut and decorated with pink flowers. The little girl waits under the tree every day, because the tree is no longer blooming. She saved the last pink flowers from the tree and decorated them on the roof of the house.

This tree has dense roots as wide as the house, which can be considered to have an overemphasis on stability. It's also firmly rooted in the ground, perhaps symbolizing in a way its stability and immovableness. At the same time, the home in the picture is like a hollowed-out, romantic but fragile tree, unable to shelter the little girl from wind and rain. The tree and the house share similar qualities, which may be closely related to the drawer's upbringing.

Figure 20.

SZ4's HTP Drawing

SZ4 has followed her mother on five migrations since she was born. The only hesitation she showed during the interview came when she talked about her hometown. She said she didn't know where she was from, nor could she say which city had a deeper impression of her.

Then she started talking about her parents' "old home", as this was clear for her. Such a tree may symbolize her yearning for a stable environment, and suggest that the vitality of the tree, her self, has been damaged to some extent. At the same time, the little girl has no facial features and her face is a melancholy blue, but the dress she is wearing is carefully depicted. We could perhaps interpret this as this little girl has a clear understanding of her persona, but her self is blurred. Overall, this picture has fresh and natural colors, detailed brushwork, and looks full of vitality and hope for the future. Nonetheless, there are still many disturbing details that cannot be ignored.

The starry sky appeared in SZ6's HTP drawing. It is worth mentioning that our interviewees drew a lot of night sky, which may be related to their unstable homes. As we mentioned in

our analysis of BJ6's HTP drawing, the starry night perhaps brings a maternal atmosphere. The large starry sky and tree house occupying half of the drawing paper gives the picture some maternal atmosphere and a lack of paternal expression. This may be related to the father's absence, which is an intergenerational trait in their family. As the mother felt that this factor had brought many adverse effects on her psychological growth, she attached great importance to SZ4's mental health. She "sent" SZ4 to sandplay therapy and tried to accommodate SZ4's difficult emotions as much as possible. For example, SZ4 experienced maladaptation when she switched from quality education in small classes to exam-oriented education in public schools. The mother was able to allow her to stay home for a week before returning to school. Currently, SZ4 has good academic performance and a good relationship with her classmates. Without looking at her drawings, it would be difficult for us to directly discover her lack of vitality and vague understanding of the true self, and the image of a less solid and secure family might also be overlooked.

After briefly analyzing the drawings of two children from Shenzhen, let us turn our attention to an interviewee who was born and raised in Shanghai. SH8 was a nine-year-old boy. He created a quite dynamic HTP drawing. A car passes by the crowd and drives from the lower left to the upper right of the picture; the chimneys of the houses are emitting thick black smoke; people with blurred faces gather together in shadows and make noises (depicted by the orange shapes above). The people in the drawing are living in a community where suspicious outsiders have appeared, so they are arguing, trying to find a solution that everyone agrees on. This drawing is full of anxious, out-of-place unease. This may be related

to the fact that SH8's living space was invaded by his twin brother as mentioned before, or it may symbolize his status as a migrant population. Migrants are seen as invading big cities, and the gathering places of them will also be invaded by law enforcement officers at any time. This space, this house, does not serve as a refuge where they feel contained and safe.

Figure 21.

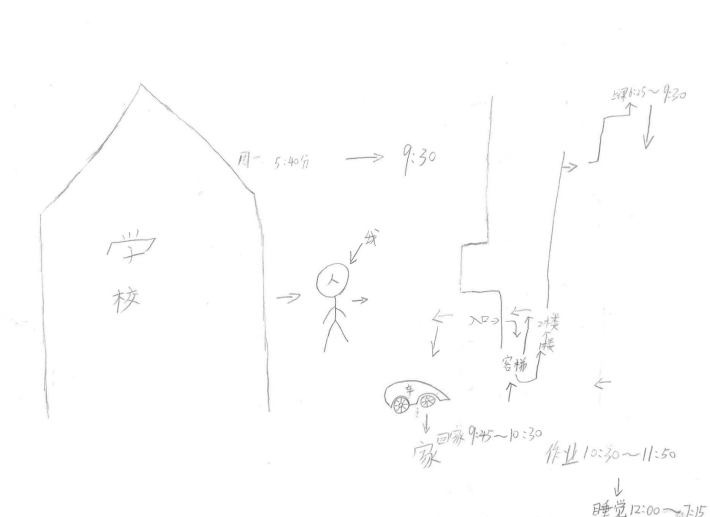


SH8's HTP Drawing

In addition to the two children we just mentioned, the drawings of SZ7, QHD3 and QHD4 also follow the development logic from left to right, while showing different characteristics. SZ7 drew a flow chart of his high-pressure Monday life. He had to get up at 5:40 in the morning and attend extracurricular tutoring classes for three hours after school, so that it was not possible for him to finish all his homework until 12 midnight. As an eleven-year-old primary school student, such a routine is undoubtedly unsustainable and harmful to his physical and psychological development. SZ7's life was over-squeezed. During our interview, he expressed high levels of anxiety and considerable dissatisfaction with his parents. His "forgetting" to draw a tree in his HTP drawing may symbolize that there is no space in his

life for his self to grow. The school (the building on the left) and the cram school (the building on the right) almost take up the entire paper, and the word “home” only appears in the form of text in the lower right corner. For such a child, he almost exists as a cross-class expectation of his family, so learning nearly occupies the entirety of his life. Home and its attendant feelings of containment, protection, and security have no place to go.

Figure 22.



SZ7's HTP Drawing

QHD3 is the interviewee mentioned above who frequently chews his nails. He had a certain degree of identification with Qinhuangdao and Inner Mongolia. He missed his grandparents in his hometown, and felt that Qinhuangdao was more urbanized. So he felt that both places had their advantages and disadvantages. There is no apparent connection between the house, tree and person drawn by QHD3. They appear to be arranged as three separate drawings on the left half of the paper. After talking about it in depth, the connection between the three emerged: all of them are connected with his childhood fantasies. The tree is drawn in the

most “perfect” looking way that is taught by primary school art teachers. The person in the drawing is Nick Young, who joined the NBA in 2007 and has been his idol over the years. He felt sorry for Nick Young’s talent being underappreciated today. The house on the far left is Spongebob’s pineapple house from the cartoon he watched when he was in the first or second grade of elementary school. He had longed to live in it, but now knew it was impossible. These three images are all childlike, dreamy, and longing for perfection. They reflect QHD3’s regression and hint at his life itself full of regrets. When describing the pineapple house he said he found it to be beautiful and private. He also believed that just as he couldn’t live in a pineapple house, it was impossible for him to live in a “big house”. His life with his parents was also like these three images in the picture. They seemed to be a “family”, and the house was the drawing paper that brings them together, but there was a lack of connection between their lives. His father only came home a few times a year, and his mother was away from home early and came back late. At that moment, he seemed to be the only one at home, without money and lack of company. Every day after school, since his parents were not at home, he would go to the rooftop of the apartment to get some fresh air until late at night after finishing his homework. He constantly expressed his disappointment when describing his home and family.

Figure 23.

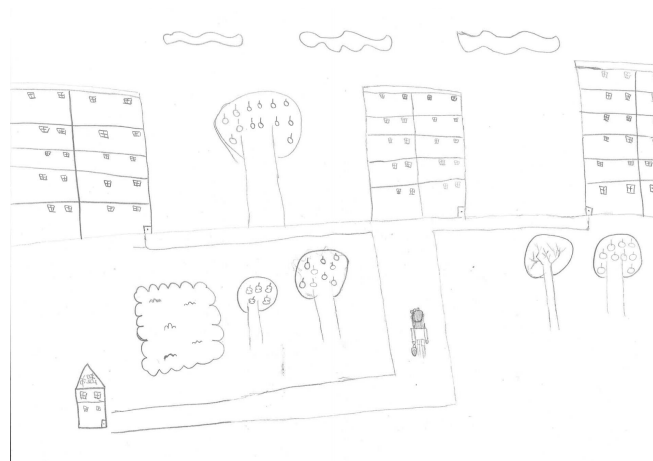
QHD3's HTP Drawing

We have already partially discussed QHD4's HTP drawing in Chapter 4. He told me that the 20-year-old office worker has just finished working overtime late at night and is walking towards his "home" in this house. This picture could be seen as QHD4's prediction of his future life, and gives full of negative information and emotions. This may be why many of the homes in the picture have anti-theft windows. Their homes are unprotected and unsafe. The light in this picture is so dim that it is difficult to distinguish with the naked eye, whether it is the stars of three colors as natural light or the artificial light of the street lamp. QHD4 cannot even imagine the type of work the man does or the specific room he lives in. The man has no idea where he came from or where he is going. He is insignificant and there is no bright guidance around him. Similar to the children mentioned above, his home did not provide him with protection.

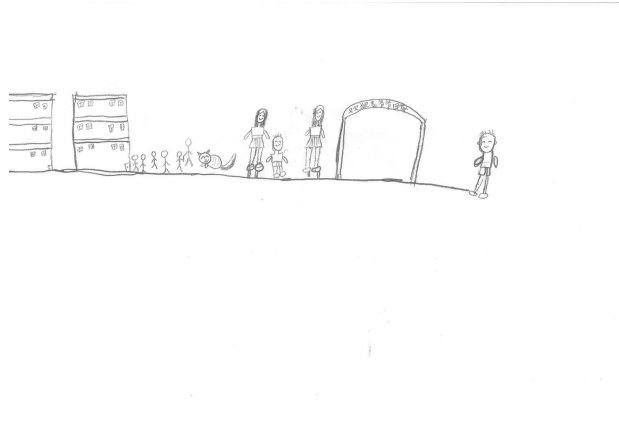
A girl from Shanghai shared similar feelings in her drawing. The development direction of her drawing is from right to left and bottom to top, which is different from the several works

we have just introduced. SH3 said that the little girl is walking home from the supermarket in the lower right corner after shopping. SH3 only used pencil and did not add any color to the picture, so it is completely black and white. The trees in the drawing are full of different kinds of fruits, which undoubtedly puts a lot of burden on the trees themselves. Besides, this is a silent and confused drawing. SH3 did not know the species of trees, what the girl bought from the supermarket, or which flat the girl lives in. She felt that there should be many trees here, and the trees should be full of fruits. This could be understood as she is expected to take on and fulfill her parents' expectations, but she doesn't know how she needs to do it or which direction to go in. When asked about the girl's home she pointed to the apartment building and said "these are all possible (the girl's home)". "All possible", and none of them seemed to be, she "didn't know where (the girl's home) was". This reminds me of the potential multiple definitions of home for migrant children that we discussed at the beginning of this section. These houses and cities can all seem to be their home, but where exactly is their home?

Figure 24.



SH3's HTP Drawing

Figure 25.

SH3's Dream Drawing

Her HTP drawing is about a girl returning to her home, her dream is also about the theme of return. In the dream, Yuan Longping comes from dead to alive and back to his home. At the same time, it expressed a confused state of mind. She told me about a dream in which a crowd of people gathered at the gate of the community to welcome “Grandpa Yuan Longping” home. Yuan Longping is a Chinese agricultural scientist, known as the “Father of Hybrid Rice” in China (Ashraf et al., 2020). He passed away in 2021. On the left side of the gate in the dream drawing are Yuan Longping’s family and neighbors, and on the right side is Yuan Longping himself who has come back from the dead. The same lack of detail is evident in her description of the dream picture. She told me that Yuan Longping’s family lived in the community on the left side of the gate. However, it is unknown who the family members are, nor where Yuan Longping’s family lives in. This story not only shares the uncertainty of home with the HTP drawing, but the hidden food image reminds us of *Song of Wang: The Millet* (Wang, 2008) discussed in Section 2.3, which can be understood as the anxiety and confusion of migrants about the long road ahead.

There are also a few children's drawings that show movement from right to left, showing an avoidance of the future. Let's take two children's drawings from Beijing as an example. Both BJ8 and BJ4 draw a huge and fiery red sun in the upper right corner. The scorching sun is cartoon-like, staring directly at the children. Its light can radiate to the entire picture. The children in the drawings do not chase the sun, but run away from it. BJ8's drawing also features birds flying to the left and singing while facing the left.

Figure 26.



BJ4's HTP Drawing

Figure 27.



BJ8's HTP Drawing

“The sun is not only beneficial, but also destructive.” (Jung, 1952, para. 176) The right amount of sunshine brings warmth to people, but the scorching sun makes people unable to survive. Only by keeping an appropriate distance from the sun can we receive its blessings without being scorched. The sun in the drawings of BJ4 and BJ8 has a fiery color, an intense expression, and a large size, which may be overwhelming for them. In this case, children and birds in the drawing flee from the sun.

In Chinese, children are often described as “the sun at eight or nine a.m.” (Mao, 1957; my translation) to show that they are full of hope. This is also a heavy trust that is difficult to escape. At the social level, young people are expected to lead the world forward (Mao, 1957). In migrant families, it’s a beautiful expectation that children will lead the whole family to live a more prosperous life. The heavy hope is placed on them, which they cannot bear, and the idea of escape is implied in their drawings. Under such circumstances, their current home will inevitably be unsafe and unstable. The HTP drawn by BJ4 has no horizon, and people, house and tree are all floating in mid-air. The tree is also cut off on the left side of the paper. This is an unstable presentation. BJ8’s home is not safe either. Although she put the house and the tree at the lower edge of the paper, she specifically emphasized that the door lock is “super-super-super advanced”. This is a door with advanced anti-theft features that can recognize a person’s fingerprints, face and iris.

Figure 28.



SZ1's HTP Drawing

Finally, let's take a look at the drawing of a child who firmly believe that he is from his hometown, which also follows the regressive development direction from right to left. SZ1 was a nine-year-old boy. He was born in Shenzhen but considers himself to be from Hunan. The right side of the picture is the temporary building during the construction, and the left side shows the completed residence. Another symbolic bird appears in this drawing: the wild goose. The geese are in the upper left corner of the entire picture, covering the tops of the trees and the left side of the house. Wild geese move south every autumn, a sight that often causes migrants to feel homesick and saddened. The autumn wind is rustling, and the wild geese fly south. Poets use geese to express their homesickness, and a lone goose often becomes the messenger of letters and enters the poets' works. For example, Du Fu's *Thinking of My Brothers on a Moonlit Night*.

戍鼓断人行，秋边一雁声。

露从今夜白，月是故乡明。

有弟皆分散，无家问死生。

寄书长不避，况乃未休兵。

Garrison drum cut person movement

The army drums cut off human travel,

Autumn border one goose sound

A lone goose sounds on the borderland

in autumn.

Dew from today night white

Tonight we start the season of White

Dew,

Moon is homeland bright

The moon is just as bright as in my

homeland.

Have brother all disperse

My brothers are spread all throughout

the land,

No home ask die life

No home to ask if they are living or

dead.

Send letter all not reach

The letters we send always go astray,

Particularly as not stop fighting

And still the fighting does not cease.

(Hawkes, 1967, p. 73)

The image of the migrating geese can be interpreted as connected with the migrating family.

At the same time, the truncated river is located at the lower left of the trees and houses,

echoing the geese as migratory birds at the top of the picture. Thus the stagnant and

degenerative characteristics of psychic energy may be associated with migration.

Besides, we can see the tree as a symbol of the growth of the self, and the house as a symbol of his family. The HTP Analysis Manual (Yan & Chen, 2019) believes that a canopy of leaves skewed to the right often signifies an extroverted personality or distracted attention. However, at the same time the twigs on the left are thicker than the ones on the right, achieving a delicate balance.

The special emphasis on the roots of the trunk suggests an attachment to Mother Earth. In a narrow sense, the earth symbolizes the mother; in a broad sense, the earth is also the hometown. Children draw nutrients from it, and develop a unique self. There are two different varieties of fruit on the tree. The larger fruit is grown in Shenzhen, and the small fruit is grown in Hunan and looks malnourished. This may hint at the composition of his self. Although he linguistically identifies himself as belonging to Hunan, he might have actually been unconsciously influenced by the culture of Shenzhen. Such mismatches underscore the hallmarks of cultural homelessness. The tree, the house has no horizon at the bottom, showing a migrant quality. It is also can be analyzed as a metaphor for the state of life.

The contact between the tree and the house might show his need for attachment to the family, but it is worth noting that the branches are pointed to the wall. The sharp part of the tree canopy could be interpreted as his potential aggression to the outside world and self-protection (Yan & Chen, 2019). So this may reflect his ambivalent attitude toward family that encompasses both anger and attachment. The square house, as discussed in the

previous section, could be a symbol of protection, boundaries and stability (Avrane, 2020).

The outer walls of the house are askew and look unstable. We could interpret the triangular roof as a symbol of three-way communication between father, mother and child, which reflects important psychological experiences of children living with their parents. There should be three characters in the picture, but himself and father disappear and only mother is working hard. However, the father's jeep appears under the right wall as a father image, almost connected to the right vertical wall. In this way, the jeep looks like the cornerstone of the house, supporting the slanted right wall. This is perhaps a symbol of the father's role in the family.

5.2.3 Hometown and Homeland: Physical Fact and Psychic Belonging

In the previous section, through several cases of migrant children, we have seen their uneasiness about their families, their uncertainty about their hometown, and the resulting ambiguity in their self-recognition. In this section we would like to further discuss the gap between migrant children's physical and psychic belonging. Through their drawings and descriptions, we can realize that they share similar feelings with the homeless in ancient China. The national policy's emphasis on *Ji Guan* has not given these migrant children a sense of belonging. They still lack a spiritual homeland.

The house in SZ1's HTP drawing is the category most frequently drawn by our interviewees: a detached house in the countryside. 66.67% of our participants drew this type of house in

HTP, including 6 in Shenzhen (66.67%), 4 in Qinhuangdao (57.14%), 5 in Beijing (45.45%), and 13 in Shanghai (86.67%). 21.42% of interviewees drew apartment buildings where multiple families live together, including 3 in Shenzhen (33.33%), 2 in Qinhuangdao (28.57%), 3 in Beijing (27.27%), and 1 in Shanghai (6.67%). Both houses and apartments appear in the BJ6 drawing, so there is a double count. Another 6 children depicted other types of buildings in their drawings: SZ7's shop; QHD3's Spongebob's pineapple house; BJ1's tree house; BJ3's Peppa Pig; BJ5's magic house; and BJ7's robot apartment.

What most children draw is a picture of a contented countryside, which is far from their current living environment. These children's concept of home is still classical, reflecting the Chinese people's eternal pursuit of pastoral. In Chapter 2 we mentioned that Chinese people tend to have a strong pastoral complex. However, as China's farming tradition gradually disintegrated, this complex gradually has nowhere to rely on. Fei Xiaotong mentioned that "with the process of modernization, rural society is already being changed." (Fei, 1992, p. 51) Meanwhile, the transformation of China's family structure continues, and the division between "city people" and "country people" has seeped into people's unconsciousness. The tradition that should be overthrown is given as the representative of the countryside, the unspeakable "pastoral" has thus become a new cultural complex: "When the word rural became synonymous with backwardness and conservatism under the impact of modern civilization, those deep-seated 'Sympathy for Peasants (Chinese poem)' and 'pastoral' have unexpectedly become a 'chronic soil disease' among Chinese literati." (Li, 2008, p. 248; my translation)

Li Rui's views coincide with Heidegger's discussion of Hölderlin's poem, *The Ister*: "Full of merit, yet poetically, man dwells upon this earth." (Heidegger, 1988) What gets emphasized is the distortion by intellectuals of the rural and pastoral essence. The pastoral was enlarged "into the entire universe and internalized ... into the entire personality." (Li, 2008, pp. 249-250; my translation)

What the interviewed children express here is this unreal nature that is influenced by human beings. The atmosphere of this environment is lofty, quiet, simple, warm and peaceful with singing and dancing. The "hometown" drawn by migrant children is also a product of this transformation. The homeland here is not an actual reference, but an ideal home, which represents the wealthy, happy, and natural life they desire. The pastoral becomes a version of nature which is shaped by human beings, "The fields have been cultivated by people, and the gardens have been established by people. Both of them convey ethical and family atmosphere." (Li, 2008, p. 251; my translation)

Pastoral at the same time brings a comfortable psychological distance. Cities are too crowded, and they also bear too many expectations from their families. They need space, a paradise of freedom. It is safe, leisurely, reassuring, and has its own independent space. Therefore, there is no close correspondence between it and the real hometown and the home in the drawings. The real hometown is far from as beautiful as the picture.

It is an interesting fact that in HTP, none of the interviewees drew their own real homes. The closest drawing to reality was the flow chart of SZ7. What they drew is a beautified version of the realistic home, a psychic homeland. They would tell you that this is their old home/hometown or the place where they live now, but as we explore the details, it will be found that the “home” in the picture is full of beautification and symbolic language. The “home” in the drawings of these children is located at the second level just mentioned. Some of the children’s drawings had no obvious relationship to real life, but simply expressed their imaginary psychological refuge, a house that makes the figures in the pictures feel safe and secure when they think about it. What these interviewees created was the house as an archetypal image.

Hometown and homeland here are distinguished as two different concepts. Hometown is the physical location of one’s registered residence (place of household registration), while homeland is one’s psychic belonging. Our interviewees must have a hometown, but not necessarily a homeland. In the drawings, they depicted their dreams and their spiritual destinations in fantasy.

Some children drew a picture of a relaxed life in their hometown. Take this little boy, for example, who is leaning against the trunk of an apple tree to enjoy the sunset. However, the sun seems a long way from setting. In fact, the distance between Shanghai and his hometown is more than 2,000 kilometers. Hometown is like a distant warmth, and what he can truly feel is limited.

Figure 29.

SH4's HTP Drawing

Other children described their dream spiritual home, but also pointed out that this home is difficult to reach. For example, the little girl in the BJ5's drawing wants to go to that house whenever she is scared and frightened. However, a river standing between her and the house, and there is no bridge for her to cross the river. This dreamy scene overlaps with Lin Chong's experience in *The Water Margin* (Shi & Luo, 2005). Lin Chong fled to Liangshan overnight. His possible refuge was blocked by wind and snow, as it was difficult to cross the river in such weather. The little girl wanted to go to her dream home, but there was also an uncrossable river in front of her.

Figure 30.

BJ5's HTP Drawing

Another child from Beijing, BJ1, expressed his frustration at wanting to integrate into his hometown but being unable to do so. He was born in Guangdong Province but was brought to Beijing at an early age. He did not learn the customs and habits of his hometown, such as the dialect. Because of the huge difference between Cantonese and Mandarin, every time he returned to his hometown, he felt like “a fool” because he “couldn’t understand a word”. He carefully explained to me the product, language and economic differences between different cities in Guangdong, and expressed his desire to be “accepted” by his hometown. BJ1 also discussed the “higher and lower” classes’ distinctions between different accents in Cantonese, and yearned for himself to be able to speak the “highest Cantonese with a Hong Kong accent”. When talking about Beijing, he mentioned the ancient buildings all over the city and expressed another yearning to become the “Supreme Emperor”. This is a desire developed from the “migrant nature” (Wang, 2023) we discussed in Chapter 2. He talked about how he is “nothing” now, and therefore Beijing’s parks are his favorite because “everyone can go there”. Whether in Guangdong or Beijing, he felt strongly out of place as a “stranger”.

In 1997, the song *快乐老家* (*Happy Hometown / Happy Old Home*; Chen, 1997) came out and became very popular in the Chinese media scene. With its cheerful rhythm and relaxing melody, the song brings the listener into an old home full of joy and warmth. It tells us that no matter how hard life is, as long as there is love and a sense of belonging in the heart, there is a source of happiness. Yes, the premise is that you have to have a specific and stable “old home”.

My Translation:

There's a place that we call it the happy old home,
sometimes it's near the psyche and sometimes far away.

Everything I have is just to find it,

Even if I pay the price of sadness.

Maybe I can get there tomorrow only after crossing one more worry river.

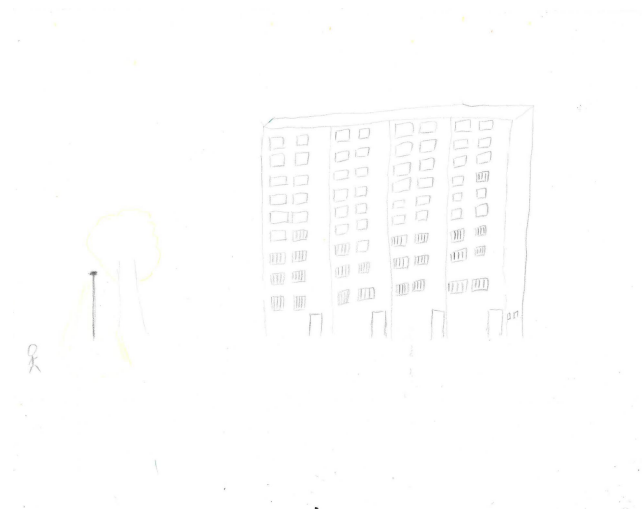
Everything in my life is just to have it,

Let us treat it with sincerity.

Waiting for every wandering heart to stop worrying.

The situation of some migrant children is just like what BJ5 drew. She and the “home” in her dream, which she felt warm, comfortable and safe when thinking about it, were separated by a river without a bridge. The cheerful atmosphere in this song comes from people who have such a “happy old home”. However, this is difficult to achieve for migrant children. Thus, although the picture is dreamy, the atmosphere is also heavy, it's still a home that cannot be returned and a river that cannot be crossed, showing their cultural homelessness.

Still other interviewees have given up on the illusion of a warm and relaxing homeland. They were pessimistic and lack expectations for their future; they were numb and ignorant of the details in their drawings; their self was weak and the lines they drawn were intermittent.

Figure 11.

QHD4's HTP Drawing

Figure 31.

SZ5's HTP Drawing

The drawings of migrant children deeply reflect the damage that being a migrant can do to their home image. Migrant children's homes in reality are constantly changing, and with the migration, they may lose the tangible buildings that give them a sense of holding. At the same time, most of them do not have a stable homeland. If "going home" is healing, and

returning to “home” brings peace of mind, then these children are homeless.

This situation is not unrelated to China’s current development trends. The disembedding of individuals from the family or the collective in China is not a natural and voluntary process, but involves political movements and state orders. We mentioned earlier that a house is a refuge. However, refuge does not have only one color, nor does it only inscribe in a transferred relationship. To use psychoanalytic language, it depends on whether it is voluntary or forced. For migrants and migrant children, migration is often forced. Their “choices” must be subject to many regulations over which they have no control, even if they understand and accept it. The door and the refuge is closed, the dominion over the house is changing.

From a sociological perspective, China’s individualization is still in process, and the structure of the family is also changing (Whyte, 1992). In the classic patriarchy of ancient China, the rights of individuals were not asserted (Shen, 2019). Therefore, in traditional Chinese culture, “home” is the core and the purpose. For current Chinese individuals, in addition to being moral subjects and carriers of ethical relationships, they are also trying to be themselves. In other words, Jung’s individuation has meaning for them. In such a wave of change, the image of “home” in migrant children’s drawings no longer fully conform to the traditional Chinese definition of home, and may show the intertwined characteristics of China and the West. Home may have a double directionality for them, as described in *Odyssey*: home is not only the place they come from, but also a destination needs to be found.

Hometown is defined by law and policy, while homeland exists in a variety of situations, all of which are unstable.

On the whole, when talking about content related to “home”, the cognition of our interviewees showed individual differences. Some migrant children’s drawings and dreams show obvious features of separation. SZ1, SZ2, SZ9, BJ4, SH4, and SH13 all drew scenes related to their hometown in HTP, but their dreams were related to their current place of residence. Of these children, only SZ9 was born in his hometown and spent the first few years of his life there. As Jung said, the aspects that “during the day were insufficiently appreciated or even totally ignored”, occur to the dreamer in the state of sleep (Jung, 1916, para. 469). Thus, after the “conscious process of reflection”, we could realize “the aspects and consequences of a problem”, and thus “find the right solution” (para. 469). This may mean that their perception and belonging of the concept of home is separate from their life itself. Similarly, QHD1 does not mention dreams, but her HTP is also a scene from her hometown.

The HTP drawings of BJ6, BJ9, QHD2, SH2, SH3, SZ5, and SZ7 depict scenes related to the current place of residence. For them, “home” is more closely related to the city where they live. Among them, the dreams reported by QHD2, SH3 and SZ5 are related to their hometown or fellow villagers, and their hometown is a problem they have to face. SZ5 is a ten-year-old boy. His drawing lines are very weak, could be interpreted as his weak self and uncertainty. His dream was interesting. In the dream, he participated in the Olympic sprint

competition, and met many international friends and fellow Fujianese. This dream embodies the Chinese proverb: “No matter where you go, don’t forget your roots.”

The third situation is BJ10, SZ4, SH5 and SH12. SH15 describes their ideal home in HTP. Most of their dreams take place in the home where they currently live. BJ10 creates a fragmented picture. The lower half of this picture is city life, and the upper half is mountains like her hometown. The two parts are separated in the drawing. She tried to use balloons, a fairy tale element, to connect her current residence and her hometown.

Across all four cities, SZ children had the highest proportion of mentioning their hometown in their drawings. Shenzhen is recognized as the city that is most tolerant of the migrant population, as there is a saying we mentioned in chapter 3: “If you come, you’re a Shenzhener.” (Lu et al., 2021) However, this highlights that this is an immigrant city, and everyone knows that they are immigrants or second-generation immigrants, not “locals”. In a way they are forced to express a dual identity, to both hometown and current living place.

However, no matter which situation the children interviewed were in, they were in the dilemma of cultural homelessness. For those children who consider their hometown to be “home”, few of them have lived there for a long time. Therefore, hometown is more of a vague concept. Their lives are local, and the troubles in their lives are also local. Most children do not even know the name of the city where their hometown is. For children who regard their current place of residence as “home”, their egos are uncertain and weak, often

showing confusion about life. The remaining children showed no clear identification tendencies and did not seem to belong to either side. Some children struggle to integrate elements from different regions, while others clearly express their uncertainty about where they belong. All in all, even though every interviewee has a legally defined hometown, no one has a clear, definite, non-fantasy psychological homeland.

Chapter 6 Living in the Migration

From the previous chapter we have learned that migrant children's feelings and expressions of the home image are complex and affected by multiple factors. This chapter will explore several different aspects of the lives of migrant children. The first is the nuclear family in which the interviewee lives, including parents and siblings. Secondly, by looking at life outside the family, (e.g. other relatives, schools and after-school activities) we try to place migrant children in a broader social environment, so as to achieve a more three-dimensional understanding of their life and self-development in migrating.

6.1 Migrant Children and their Parents

In addition to their mixed feelings about the image of home, our interviewees usually have a tense relationship with their parents who provide them with a "home". Through the next few cases, we will find that most of their attachment styles are insecure, and the reasons for its formation are complicated. The turbulent living environment might make parents neglect the emotional care, or it may be because their method of education is traditional and crude.

Harsh treatment experienced by parents in society and at work may also be borne by children as a result of displacement. The parent-child relationship will continue to deteriorate when the children are "beaten until they remember their mistakes" or locked up in a dark room.

Looking further, even though they are living with their parents in their current place of

residence, they may always be afraid of being sent back to their hometown or other potential separation. In most cases, parents don't return to their hometowns, but send their children back to their hometowns alone to attend school. At this point, the children seem to be abandoned at the family level. Another situation is, the whole family are forced to move back to the place of their registered residence, the family as a whole is ostracized by society. Either as individuals or as part of a family, belonging to any specific place is difficult for them.

It is generally accepted that factors such as the maturity and stability of the parents, alongside enlightened parenting methods, have an important impact on children's development. According to Fordham, the archetypal structures of the family are strongly influenced by "the child archetype, the anima in the father, and the animus in the mother" (Fordham, 1994, p. 111). The maturity of the adult, their "stability of the inner world and so of inner resources" (p. 112) affect this structure. For a family, "the ideal aim of parents may be defined as fostering maturation of the self and so facilitating the child's sense of self-reliance in relation to them, his siblings and the larger environment into which he progressively embarks as time goes on." (Fordham, 1994, p. 11) In addition, by the time of adolescence, children begin to develop particularly strong individuating processes. The child archetype also begins to influence a "more complete self representation" (Fordham, 1994, p.113), and indicates "the figure that comes from the synthesis of conscious and unconscious elements in the personality" (Jung, 1940, para. 278). Developmental psychology also emphasizes the importance of caregiver stability and parenting methods from a similar

perspective: “The importance of safe, supportive, and nurturance during childhood is key to healthy childhood development. This includes adults who are able to communicate with children in a non-harming manner.” (Dube et al., 2023, p. 4)

Parents of our interviewees were born in an era of rapid change, and their inner world was therefore difficult to stabilize. They inherited a collectivist and traditional cultural background from their parents, and are also looking to find their own direction in the changing tide of the times. Through the cases discussed previously, we found that parents’ own inner resources are also scarce. From this perspective, it is difficult for them to play a facilitating role in their children’s individuation journey. Most of them display a lack of paternal and maternal resources, and fail to enable children to develop a sense of self-reliance or indeed reliance on their parents, siblings and the larger environment.

This section will discuss the relationship between migrant children and their parents from three aspects. First, abuse and neglect in migrant families are examined from the perspective of developmental psychology; second, the closeness of the parent-child relationship is explored by looking at the different dialects and accents that can show up within the family; and finally, the feelings and predicaments of migrant children who have been parentified are understood through in-depth exploration. Parentified children are required to take on excessive responsibility for the physical and emotional care of their families, which has a negative impact on their psychological development.

6.1.1 Abuse & Neglect

Different degrees of parental abuse and neglect of children can cause significant harm to the parent-child relationship and the children's development. An immature or distorted ability to differentiate within the polarity of pleasure/unpleasure is likely to occur in children who had unstable, emotionally and/or physically neglected caregivers during early childhood (Zeuthen, 2009; Hagelskjær, 2017). Emotionally abused victims may adopt a negative self-image, and experience developmental and personality damage (Frankel, 2002; McCarthy & Taylor, 1999). The manifested psychopathology among adults who underwent emotional abuse in childhood is produced by the detrimental effect of abuse on personality and takes the form of immature defense organization and damaged self-representation (Finzi-Dottan & Karu, 2006). It shows that the more severe the experience of childhood emotional abuse, or the more controlling and non-caring the parents, the higher the levels of immature defense mechanisms and psychopathological symptomatology, and the lower the level of self-esteem.

Among our interviewees, very few parents have enough emotional connection with their real children. Some children described being locked up in a "little dark room" in their drawings (BJ1), and some told me about their experiences of having their pet dogs sold (BJ6) and their hobbies banned (SZ1). Some of these children experienced physical abuse, such as the harsh corporal punishment discussed in previous chapters; others experienced emotional abuse; and still others were sent back to their hometowns alone for various reasons and were separated from their families. Furthermore, there is rarely adequate mourning within families

for the separation between parents and children, or the departure from a city where they have lived for a long time. Parents refuse to acknowledge that this kind of separation has caused harm to their children. The last part of this section will discuss the parentified children. Our interviewees often need to bear excessive responsibilities in the family, which is not conducive to their psychological development.

It appears to us that these children have experienced varying degrees and types of abuse, with underlying emotional abuse being the most common. This is consistent with research results from the World Health Organization and scholars from other countries (World Health Organization, 2022; Swedo et al., 2023; Bellis et al., 2023). Considering the high degree of control that Chinese parents have over their children as mentioned above, verbal abuse (CVA), which has always been classified as emotional abuse, may be the most common form of it. This can include “negative speech volume, tone, and speech content, and their immediate impact” (Dube et al., 2023, p. 1), and result in an increasing prevalence of long-term negative mental health effects.

Shanta Dube et al. (2023, p. 1) mentions that “the most common perpetrators of CVA were parents, mothers, and teachers”. She lists twenty two common forms of verbal abuse of children (Dube et al., 2023). The most common behaviors are yelling or screaming, others include belittling, humiliation, making negative comparisons and scapegoating (Dube et al., 2023). In addition to verbally abusive behavior during interactions between adults and children, refusal to communicate or treatment with indifference can also be considered a

(non-verbal) form of verbal abuse. Abuse of this kind, whether verbal or non-verbal, is a daily experience for children in Chinese society. In my own encounters with parents, there were very few who didn't criticize or blame their children during our brief conversation.

The high-pressure environment created by the experience of migration might also cause our participants to experience harm. In our study, 30 children clearly reported that they had experienced different types of traumatic events within their families. 8 children were regularly subjected to corporal punishment, 2 children reported physical neglect, 27 children reported emotional neglect, and 15 children reported verbal abuse. Such traumatic experiences also appear in their drawings and dreams, either symbolically or directly. For example, the boy and girl in BJ1's picture were originally locked in the "little dark room" on the left by their parents; SZ1 was sent to boarding school in his dream because he was threatened by his parents during the daytime.

In interviews, several migrant children from four different cities described a similar scenario. In addition to possible emotional abuse and neglect, there are also demands for children to be overly sensible and parentified, as will be discussed below. The children said that sometimes their parents were bullied by other adults, so when they got home they would scold their children: "We (parents) provide you with food, clothes and a place to live, but you don't care about your parents, and you don't even let us have a rest. You are sorry for your parents' efforts and hard work, you don't know how to be grateful and you don't study hard." Sometimes parents don't get angry, but just look at their children coldly and find faults

everywhere. In the children's accounts, the frequency of such incidents is often positively correlated with the degree of stress the parents are under.

Parental neglect of children may have an indelible impact on the child's development.

During the transcription and translation process, we discovered that some migrant children were unable to express themselves fluently in an age-appropriate manner. Their narratives are logically confusing, unclear and intermittent, causing significant difficulties for understanding. Some teachers and activity center staff also expressed corresponding concerns to me. A total of 11 children showed varying degrees of difficulties, including 4 in Shenzhen, 3 in Qinhuangdao, and 4 in Shanghai.

The richness and poverty of drawing and verbal content may be symbolic of the richness and poverty of the children's inner world. For example, as discussed in the section 4.1, the drawings of children in Qinhuangdao are simpler and more rigid, and they lack the vividness and vitality than the children from other cities drawings show. These pictures occupy little space and have a large proportion of white space on the paper. These children also reported the fewest dreams. Their unconscious is silent, just like their weak voices and curled up bodies during interviews. Although the social environment in which they live is generally more tolerant to migrants than other three cities, the long-term neglect by their parents might have left a deep mark on their psychological development. Many parents in Qinhuangdao showed alarming neglect of their children: QHD1's father refused to discuss his daughter's current situation, QHD7's mother didn't know why she came home crying every day for a

whole semester, and QHD4's mother talked about her son's performance in school six years ago.

Dysfunctional inter-generational transmission has appeared in many migrant families interviewed, the persistence of traditional education methods, which are riddled with abuse and neglect, might contribute to this. Parents in some families never consider their children's opinions, but instead impose their own will on them. For example, SZ9's grandfather unreasonably forced his mother to return to hometown to get married ten years ago. In the end, the marriage ended because his mother often suffered domestic violence. Now, whenever his mother felt that SZ9 has done something wrong, she would beat him without explanation. Another example is that the social status of QHD4's parent is low, and he said "it's like his position in the teacher's heart is also low". Parents were struggling to survive in society, so that they neglected QHD4's physical and mental health; the child was unable to develop good interpersonal relationships in the class and was angry because he didn't gain the trust of his teachers either. This situation is not unique to lower socioeconomic families. In the family of SZ4, which was in good economic condition, an inter-generational transmission pattern emerged: absence of father and tense relationship between mother and daughter.

6.1.2 Different Accents

Parental neglect of children in migrant families can also be observed through the accents

they speak. Accent is often a signifier of a person's identity. The fact that migrant children acquire the local accent of their current place of residence could also be the proof that they have been integrated. On the other hand, the inheritance of accents within a family may represent a child's closer connection to his or her parents or hometown. Although all of the parents interviewed had accents of varying degrees, only 16 of the children had clear accent characteristics. More than half of the parents not only had strong accents, but also used more than 10 dialect words which I could not clearly understand during our short conversations. This created huge difficulty for me in understanding their semantics. A few parents have a slight accent and only retain dialect pronunciation on certain words. However, only BJ10 and BJ11 share the same accent with their parents, while the vast majority of parents and children have developed different accents.

A small number of the interviewees would use their hometown accent when talking about their hometown, but would immediately switch to the local accent when talking about their current place of residence. This expresses the character and flexibility of a dual identity to both hometown and current living place. Half of the children speak unusually standard Mandarin, suggesting the possibility that they may not fit easily into any identity. Only Mandarin, learned in Chinese classes and on television, is nearly completely standard in China. This means that these children not only didn't acquire the accent of their hometown within the family, but also didn't acquire the accent of their current living places outside the family. We can interpret this as showing that they had little social interaction with their parents or with the local society, and were therefore not influenced by either party. Only one

interviewee could speak the dialect of her hometown; four children mentioned that their parents communicated with each other in the dialect at home, but he/she could not understand it. More children can partly understand the dialect of their hometown, but they cannot speak it themselves because of lack of language environment and practice.

6.1.3 The “Sensible” Children

The tension within the parent-child relationship is not only reflected in the two ways mentioned above, but also shows up in the family responsibilities borne by migrant children. As migrant workers, parents have a hard life, and they tend to also put high demands on their children. This requirement is often reflected in “obedient, sensible”. It limits children’s exploration of their self but comply with traditional filial piety requirements. Some migrant parents do not seem to have enough energy to care for or tolerate their children. Therefore, the “sensibleness” that parents expect is their children’s precocity, helping them to share the responsibilities of caring for the family. This might have the effect of causing children to prematurely enter conscious society and fail to develop an appropriate relationship with their unconscious. However, as mentioned in Chapter 2, such expectations are deeply rooted in the cultural unconscious and are implemented in the lives of Chinese intergenerational inheritance.

Parents who are migrants often say, “children of the poor have to take charge of housework from an early age”. This is a line from the modern Peking Opera *红灯记* (Legend of the Red

Lantern; Cheng, 1970): “She carries a basket to collect cinders, and she also relies on her to carry water and chop firewood. A leader inside and outside, the children of the poor have to take charge of housework from an early age.” (my translation) This phrase, “the children of the poor have to take charge of housework from an early age” quickly became a familiar folk proverb as it so accurately described the prevailing social situations.

In the opera, Li Yuhe uses these words to praise his daughter Li Tiemei. Li Tiemei has witnessed the hard work of her parents and has experienced the hardships of life since she was a child. She has thus gained a consciousness of struggle and hardship. This is also in line with the many migrating parents’ expectations for their children. However, “the children of the poor have to take charge of housework from an early age” is actually an invisible psychological trauma, which shows up in the form of the parentification of children, also known as “role reversal”.

The term “parentification” was first explored in depth by Boszormenyi-Nagy and Spark (1973) as a description of a common component of the parent-child relationship. During this process, children are performing household tasks or providing occasional emotional tasks that are typically carried out by the caregiver in order to provide support to the parents. To a certain extent, it is believed to be healthy for children as they begin to see the potential for themselves in an adult role (Boszormenyi-Nagy & Spark, 1973).

However, a family system that is predominantly characterized by parentification brings with

it serious problems (Hooper et al., 2008), as what develops is a lack of boundaries such that parental roles and childhood roles and behaviors are not properly delineated (Hooper, 2007a). Sometimes children are expected to be their parents' helpers. The child recognizes that by providing the physical care and emotional support that he or she would normally elicit from the parent, he or she can develop a closeness with the parent and avoid feelings of loss and anxiety (Barnett & Parker, 1998). The child therefore interprets these undertakings as necessary and sees the logistical and emotional needs of the parent and family as taking precedence over all other needs, including their own personal needs (Hooper, 2007b). In extreme cases, the roles of parent and child are completely reversed. Parents need to be taken care of, because they are physically and mentally fragile, and children are obliged to support and protect others, and be strong and tolerant.

Therefore, if children need to bear too heavy responsibilities to maintain the balance of the family system, this will have a significant negative impact on their development, whether in terms of attachment, mental or behavioral well-being (Engelhardt, 2012; Earley & Cushway, 2002; Jacobvitz et al., 2004; Katz et al., 2009; Macfie et al., 2005). "A truly parentified child is a disembodied child." (Reeves, 1999, p. 174) These children long to explore their true self but are continually denied permission by their parents, so they psychologically experience loneliness, abandonment, and emotional deprivation. Children in role reversals are very likely to miss out on developmentally appropriate and essential activities in childhood, such as forming healthy interpersonal relationships, developing secure attachments to caregivers, and differentiating the self (Boszormenyi-Nagy & Spark, 1973 ; Bowlby, 1958, 1969;

Hooper, 2007a, 2007b).

There are many reasons why parents may have “parentified” their children. Primarily, because they are poor, lack assistance, and are overworked, the children are the only ones there that they can ask for help. This situation is common among migrant families. They might also be emotionally immature and unable to take care of their own emotions, and therefore resort to using children as an emotional outlet; in the intergenerational transmission of trauma, parents who were themselves “parentified” as children simply become accustomed to it. This coincides with what Fordham (1994) said about the maturity and stability of parents in the family structure, which is also what is lacking in our migrant families.

Another possibility is related to the interdependent family structure in traditional Chinese blood families. Today’s migrant families may retreat into isolation, because they lack the experience and ability to take care of their families on their own. In the earlier discussion of the dream of falling, we touched on the distance between migrant children and their ancestors. In today’s Chinese society, grandparents take on a lot of housework instead of mothers. They are like mothers’ “wives” (Shen, 2019). As we will see later, some migrant families live with relatives and raise their children together. However, many more migrant families lack support and connections.

The emphasis on filial duty in Chinese culture also intensifies children’s “consideration” for

their parents. In migrant families, parents are busy and find it difficult to take care of the family and children. At the same time, they use the “Filial Duty” to make demands on their children and hopes that children will be “obedient”. The cultural tradition of “filial piety is the most important of all virtues” (Wang, 2020, para. 93) not only requires adults to be filial to their elderly parents, but also asks young children to take care of the parents in their prime

Stories in the *二十四孝* (*The Twenty-Four Filial Exemplars*; Jordan, 1986) provide some good illustrations. For example, Zeng Shen’s mother is unable to take on the responsibility of entertaining guests and forces her son to take on this responsibility through self-harm such as biting her own fingers (Jordan, 1986). Also, nine-year-old Huang Xiang use her own body to warm her father’s bed in winter (Jordan, 1986). These minors are expected to take on many responsibilities beyond their ages. This is often also what migrant families require of their children. Migrant children need to have maturity and capabilities beyond their age to complement their parents’ deficiencies.

Generally speaking, almost every Chinese child is required to be “sensible” (懂事). However, the migration living environment forces migrant children to bear more family responsibilities than ordinary Chinese children, both materially and emotionally. Some scholars believe that parentified children can be divided into two subtypes (Aldridge, 2006; Hooper, 2007a; Hooper et al., 2008; Katz et al., 2009), both subtypes can be found among our interviewees.

The first subtype, instrumental parentification, refers to the parentification of children

through the assignment of functional responsibilities, such as shopping, paying bills, cooking meals for the family, and taking care of the general logistics of running a household. Migrant children with siblings, regardless of gender, assume more functional parental responsibilities than only children. For example, SH3, as the eldest daughter in the family, needs to take care of her two younger sisters; SH8, as the more meticulous and tidy child, has to take care of his twin brother; SH11 is asked to take care of her younger brother; and SZ3 needs to take care of his younger sister.

Another type, emotional parentification, requires the child to fulfill specific emotional and/or psychological needs of a parent and is more often destructive for child development than instrumental parentification (Hooper, 2007a). In this case, the parent is not ready to serve as a container for the child's emotions. If the external environment takes away too much from the caregiver, the caregiver will take it from the weakest child, just like the kicking cat effect. In this case, the difference between only children and non-only children is not significant. As mentioned before when discussing filial duty, children owe their parents a debt of gratitude that cannot be repayed. Children need to understand the hardships of their parents. They not only need to devote their own psychological energy to fill the emotional void of their parents, but also need to obtain excellent academic performance in return to satisfy their parents, and thus "repay their debt". Although this phenomenon is common in Chinese families, the "debt" will increase as the difficulty of life increases. In other words, just like the lines in the *Red Lantern* mentioned above, children born in these families are required to fully understand their parents' difficulties and repay their parents' favor.

Our interviewees' parentification, whether instrumental or emotional, conscious or unconscious, comes about as an attempt to avoid the occurrence of severe conflict within the family. As they fear or have experienced it, if they refuse to be parental, their parents may not love them (BJ6), the family may fall apart (BJ4 dreamed of parents quarreling), and severe verbal or physical violence may occur (SZ9). For example, SZ1's mother was a stay-at-home mother who had a bad relationship with her "child's father" and was once very close to her child. SZ1 thus was seen as the mother's only hope and sustenance. BJ9 is the eldest daughter in the family and only seven years old. She already had to meet the family's time plan and needs, so it became difficult for her to find the space and time to express her own feelings. She couldn't even talk about something as small as going to the bathroom, and as a result, she often peed her pants in dance class. BJ7's mother is the director of the Migrant Children's Activity Center. Once, a lady donated a batch of snacks to the activity centre, and gave BJ7 an extra bag, saying it was for her. BJ7 had an emotional breakdown because her mother gave "her snacks" to other children without her permission. However, she could not gain her mother's comfort and understanding. Her mother believed that BJ7 didn't understand her difficulties at work. Thus the mother first threatened BJ7 to leave her alone, and then left her in a dark room with no one around and the lights turned off when BJ7 was still crying. The mother quietly watched her reaction out of the room, hoping that she could "cure her bad temper" through such threats. It can be seen that when parents blame their children for not being sensible and obedient, it implicitly means that these children are failing to fill the gap in their parents' responsibilities.

Before specific cases are presented, it is important to emphasize that migrant children not only help their parents with the details of life, but also are expected to shoulder important responsibilities such as saving their parents from a life of hard work but poverty and leading their families to a bright future. Chinese myths and legends are filled with archetypal images of children going to great lengths to save their parents. For example, God Erlang (Yang Jian) successfully rescued his mother by splitting Peach Mountain, Mighty Miracle God split Hua Mountain to save his mother, and Chen Xiang also split Hua Mountain to save his mother. In these stories, the mother is helpless. She cannot provide protection and care for her children, but instead needs to be rescued. It is not only boys who have to bear the extraordinary responsibilities, girls are also encouraged to make outstanding contributions to the family, such as the ancient story of Mulan joining the army on behalf of her father. Mulan is depicted as having practiced horse riding since she was a child. When the emperor is recruiting troops, her father's name is on the roster. Her father was old and sick and was incompetent, so Mulan disguised herself as a man and went to war on his behalf. In the current social context of China, Mulan's story emphasizes "Filial Duty", and this is what "joined the Army in place of her father" means. Being filial to one's father at home means being loyal to one's king in terms of the country. In this story that every Chinese child has learned, women temporarily take over or play the social functional role of men through makeup. As a true believer in the culture of filial piety, Mulan's transgression was exempted and promoted.

This kind of thinking has lasted in China for thousands of years. From this we can see that

society has multiple implicit expectations of women. After the May 4th Movement, and furthermore, under the leadership of Mao Zedong Thought, Chinese women began to break away from the female norms in the patriarchal culture. However, gender differences were only permitted to emerge in the context of class opposition. Among brothers and sisters of the same class, there are no essential differences, let alone conflicts. Thus, after the founding of New China, under the requirements of authoritative instructions, women entered the social stage and played social roles that were no different from men. Women gained the status of being a social subject, but at the cost of having to regard male norms as the only correct norms and losing the possibility of enjoying or expressing their status as unique gender subjects. There is no place for the female archetypal image in Chinese society, and the value of the male archetypal image has become infinitely magnified, eventually flooding the entire society. There is no doubt that a society that lacks a maternal temperament is likely to have an adverse impact on children's development.

Parents of migrant children grow up in this kind of background. The vast majority of their families have always been, or for various reasons have become, proletarians. In such an environment, women do not share labor equally with men, but are "selected as the best candidates who must sacrifice for social progress" (Dai, 2006, p. 21; my translation). In the name of the traditional virtues of the Chinese nation, in addition to creating value in social production, women are also required to take the traditional role of caring for husbands, raising children, and supporting the young and old within the family. When a girl was born in the family, parents would have two implicit expectations for her. They either hope that "my

girls are more promising than other people's boys" (such as BJ6), which means that women will masculinize themselves and compete with men; Or they want their daughter to be a well-behaved lady so that she can exchange her female identity for male protection, which herself has no value (such as SH12).

BJ6's drawings and dreams have been discussed in Chapter 3, and SH12 forms a sharp contrast with her. Despite having considerable drawing skills, SH12 is unable to draw an image of any person independently. In her HTP drawing, in addition to the disappearance of a person, the tree has been replaced by two potted plants. At the end of the interview, I asked her if she could try to draw a person alone. She tried twice, finally erasing the unfinished image and sheepishly telling me she couldn't. It can be inferred from this that SH12's sense of identity is vague and may not be independent. She must "refer to others" in order to create a persona that meets expectations.

This may be related to her mother's attitude. After the two interviews, I met her mother again. The mother, proud of her daughter's good drawing skills, urged her to "show" me how to draw. The migrant population's identity and environment made the mother as a matter of course ask her daughter to share the responsibilities in life with her, whether instrumental or emotional. As her husband was away from home all year round, she praised her daughter for often helping her with housework and taking care of the younger brother. She also believed that girls don't need to study too hard, "the real [important] thing is to marry well in the future". In the life of SH12, there was a lack of space for exploration and self-development,

and such behavior was not encouraged. Therefore, unlike BJ6, who expressed the conflict between daughter and mother, SH12's self was still hidden outside the picture even though she was approaching adolescence.

Figure 32.



SH12's HTP Drawing

Just as girls receive love and admiration from their parents that are also full of demands and conditions, boys cannot receive unconditional love from their parents either. Men are seen as naturally having the function of carrying on the family line and worship their ancestors, while women are not considered to have these functions. Only men are regarded as descendants and offspring of the family, so they can help their parents gain face and feel satisfied, as if their lives have been extended. This is also a materialized value. For example, two different colors were painted in this house drawn by SZ3. When asked the reason, he replied:

SZ3: Because I think green represents vitality, that is, it represents strong vitality. Then, the yellow ones represent that they, they, they are particularly, well how should I say, particularly

(*pause*) responsible. That is, well, that is, when you start a business, not only, not only, not only, not only... How should I put it? Not only, not only do you have to do homework, but also, um, you also have to live a very vital life. That's what it means (*emphasis added*).

He didn't use an ordinary conversational tone in this case, but instead spoke with a recitative cadence. He sang the praises of the house in a beautiful, sing-song way. The house was exactly what he was expected to be, good and family-responsible. In his current daily activities, SZ3 was working towards this direction. For example, when choosing pens and notebooks after the interview, he chose what his sister might like. When discussing the decoration style of the house in his drawing, he tried to satisfy the preferences and needs of everyone in the family. However, beneath the "brotherly love and respect" that parents praise so much, there is an undercurrent. The teachers had noticed his dissatisfaction with parents' "favoritism toward his younger sister" and believed that his behavior is an attempt to cater to his parents' demands. Unlike the intensely colorful sun, house and tree, the figures in the picture are sketchy and lack color. His real self is blurred in the picture.

Figure 33.



SZ3's HTP Drawing

Whether the child can see its own existence or use external values to define its materiality might be an eternal question for Chinese parents. For the vast majority of parents of migrant children who have not received higher education, such traditional parenting methods are common and established. Therefore, parents cannot see the children themselves, they rather see the children's functions. Children may also become props for parents to express their love. Even if parents pay a lot for their children in material terms and the children think their parents love them very much, these children still cannot find a psychological homeland that makes them feel safe and contained. They still feel lonely and anxious. Therefore, taking into account family environment and cultural traditions, migrant children are more likely to take on the parental role, voluntarily or involuntarily and to varying degrees, in order to compensate for parental deficits and to allow the family to function as a whole.

Although a certain degree of parentification can be beneficial to child development, it is a process that may become pathological and produce multiple negative effects when the tasks are too burdensome or when the child feels obligated to take on the role of adult. In our interviewees, some children were expected to take on the responsibilities of parents and provide daily care and emotional support. At this time, children couldn't fully understand their own emotions or meet their own needs. In these circumstances the children are unlikely to be able to establish their own boundaries or advance their own potential.

Besides, in such an environment, attachment issues between parents and children are particularly likely to affect children's interpersonal relationships. The mother's role is

commonly seen as vital in the development of a child's interpersonal skills regardless of child gender (Zayas et al., 2011). Due to the fact that emotional parentification causes particular dysfunction in the mother-child relationship and thereby hinders the development of a secure attachment, the child is typically unable to form healthy peer relationships (Macfie et al., 2005). Nor are the sources of these adverse effects limited to mother and child. Another possible influencing factor is the father's absence in the family. Macfie et al. (2005) speculate that same-sex role reversal may particularly disrupt the development of interpersonal skills with same-sex peers, as children learn appropriate ways to interact with others through their relationships with their own parents. Therefore, the absence of a father cannot help his son to socialize through same-sex interactions.

Except SZ2 mentioned in Chapter 4, some other interviewees also had problems in communication with their peers. For example, SH3 had difficulty expressing her friendliness to her classmates. Her classmates thought her tone of voice was stiff. When they play together, she always hits others very painfully. SH14 frequently showed social withdrawal in group activities. SH1 had a better relationship with the staff of public welfare organizations than with other children. He could pay attention to the needs of everyone in the room at any time, and would even help without asking. SH2 is aggressive when interacting with classmates. QHD3 felt looked down upon and wanted to be like Nick Young, a former American basketball player. However, Nick Young had a difficult relationship with his parents and lost his elder brother who was important to him. Therefore, Nick Young, as a hero without support and protection, became the self projected by QHD3 and his

expectations for his future.

As we have just seen, many scholars have warned about the development of self, intimacy, and interpersonal relationships in parentified children. In order to gain a deeper understanding of the causes of such parent-child relationships, the children's self, their ways of coping and possible future development, Paula M. Reeves's (1999) exploration of the archetypal images of parentified children may be helpful. In her view, there is "less individuated personal narcissism of the adult (Reeves, 1999, p. 174)" due to their own emotional deprivation, which results in their inability to differentiate between their own needs and those of their children. This perspective is in line with the intergenerational transmission of Chinese families that we have discussed repeatedly. Generation after generation of children need to sacrifice their own feelings to satisfy their parents, and when they become parents, it is their children's turn. For migrant families, the difficulties that migration brings to family life will further prompt children to make more contributions and sacrifices.

The blurred boundaries within the family create parentified children who may become the Athena child or the Hermes child. Athena manages splendidly as a "little adult" while avoiding the messiness of her emotions at all costs (Ibid., p. 173). The Athena child has made great progress in intelligence and rationality, but has certain deficiencies in emotion. For these children, parentification "both enhances and thwarts individuation" (Ibid., p. 173).

Some of our interviewees exhibit qualities of the Athena child. They tend to emphasize intelligence in life and pursue rational success. Once their vulnerabilities are exposed, anger can flow out and become uncontrollable (Ibid.). For example, the above-mentioned SH3, who had to take care of two younger sisters, would fight against her classmates if he felt rejected during the communication; SH8 cried for an hour after discussing his brother's intrusion into his life.

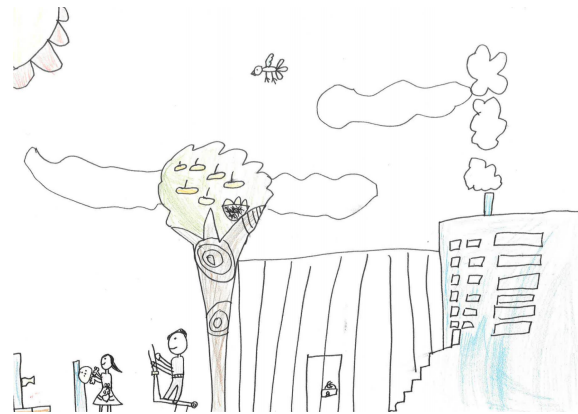
The Hermes child has another kind of expression. They lie frequently in life or like to use money to bribe others. Hermetic children are prematurely included in the adult world, and their identity is likely to be weakened or even eliminated by adults. Because they lack the developmental experience to deal with this situation, they often use cunning deception as their primary means of self-defense. Once they are hurt, they will quickly abandon responsibility. These children are often evaluated as "dishonest", "glib-tongued" or "like to show off their cleverness". There are also a few children who can symbolically express their aggression in pictures through humor or a childish approach. For example, the explorer in BJ1's drawing got a backpack of bird poop, BJ7 had a snowball fight with her friends in the dream.

The parentified child "does not earn his fate, he inherits it." (Reeves, 1999, p. 176) These children's tasks are Sisyphus-like, and parentification is likely to be passed down through generations. Parents with a weak sense of self need support and provision from their children. Their children are not given the opportunity to explore and develop themselves, but are

instead trying to accomplish an impossible task: becoming a parent to their parents.

A question then arises: Why do migrant children continue to inherit this fate? Apart from the demands of filial duty, the child can be whatever the other person needs and exist in any role the other person needs. Children need to please others in exchange for their own survival, and they must constantly deceive themselves into believing that what the other person gives them is good enough, no matter what they themselves need. Children always comply and cheat because the challenge requires a price. Sisyphus was punished for challenging the absolute power of Zeus. Similarly, China has the story of *Wu Gang Chops the Osmanthus Tree*. There are three versions of Wu Gang's story and in each of them he is sent to the moon to cut down the tree of immortality because he challenged the authority of the monarch. Every time Wu Gang strikes with an axe, the branches and leaves cut by the axe will grow back into the tree. Therefore, for migrant children, firstly, traditional culture tells them that they should not resist, and secondly, they are unable to bear the possible costs of resistance.

In fact, migrants can be regarded as "sensible children" in the big family of Chinese society. There have been many rebellions by the homeless throughout history, but most of them have failed. Today, they continue to contribute their labor force, but still struggle to demand the rights and benefits they deserve from society. If each migrant family is viewed as a symbol and epitome of such a social metaphor, then migrant children bear similar demands in their families as society does on their parents.

Figure 8.

BJ9's HTP Drawing

Next, let us gain an in-depth understanding of the inner world of these sensible children through the HTP drawing is from BJ9, who was a 7 year old girl. It is rich in content and fresh in color. However, the kindergarten in the picture is behind a locked iron gate, and the home is on high steps. It is a closed scene, like its creator, a child who cannot express her needs. Her father suffered from severe mood swings and would not allow BJ9 to go against his wishes. The father was afraid of confronting his child's emotions. He was like many immature parents who often ignore their children's feelings or don't allow them to express them. BJ7 was prevented from expressing her feelings or talking about them freely.

Before the interview began, her father rejected her request to stay and draw with me without any explanation and accused her of not caring about the feelings of other family members. He then expressed disgust at her crying and threatened to stop talking to her if she continued to cry. BJ7, who lived in constant fear, had difficulty expressing her needs. Toward the end of the drawing, I observed her starting to squirm on the stool, so I asked her if she needed to go

to the toilet. She nodded, whispered yes, then immediately broke down crying and said it was too late, she just had peed on the floor. Her father was indifferent to all this. The staff took her to change into shared spare cotton pants and packed her wet pants for her father to take home.

In short, parentification can be divided into two categories: instrumental and emotional. It is common, driven by traditional culture and exacerbated by the migrant living environment, imposed on both boys and girls, and has brought multiple negative impacts on the development of migrant children. Two potential coping styles and development directions that children may have after experiencing over-parentification, the Athena child and the Hermetic child, also appeared among our interviewees.

This section discusses child abuse and neglect within the family, which can lead to disruptions in attachment relationships at critical moments in childhood development (Styron & Janoff-Bulman, 1997), causing difficulties in children's self-esteem and social interaction, and thus affecting their broader life in school or society. When parents were less emotionally responsive to their children, the children would have poorer abilities to understand, experience, express, and restrain emotions than their peers, or have difficulty learning the same boundaries and behaviors as other children (George & Main, 1979; Howes & Espinosa, 1985). They might experience more depressed mood, and were more likely to use destructive behaviors in conflict situations, and as a result experience some social difficulties.

Growing up in a home with immature parents who, as children, were ignored or worse blamed for normal needs, our parentified interviewees were unable to ask for help normally when they needed it, and suffered from guilt and panic, even when their needs were normal and small. When faced with setbacks or exposed to vulnerability, they might either flee or become aggressive. Although these parents had different parenting styles and created different insecurities for their children, all emotionally immature parents suffered from a lack of empathy, unreliable emotional support, and a lack of sensitivity. Their inconsistent behavior didn't instill trust or security in their children. In the context of China's traditional filial duty culture, these parents' requests for children had become "sensible" and it was difficult to gain people's attention. As mentioned above, families of migrant children were the hardest hit by this situation. This makes the love that migrant children receive often conditional, causing them to experience more anxiety and uneasiness. When facing the rejection of the social environment, their parents fail to help them and become accomplices of society.

6.2 Migrant Children and Siblings

In addition to parents, migrant children's family members often include siblings. 57.14% of the interviewees have siblings. The situation of multi-child families is related to China's fertility policy as we mentioned in Chapter 2. Among our interviewees, not all the younger children were born after the relaxation of birth restrictions, most of these "extra kids" are

boys. This is similar to the tendency mentioned above to keep boys with them and send girls back to their hometowns. It could also be interpreted as a manifestation of preference for boys, and may have an impact on the relationship between migrant children and their siblings.

Furthermore, even though there was often a lack of close connection between siblings within the families, there were still differences among interviewees depending upon which cities they inhabited. Of the 24 children, only 5 of them mentioned siblings in their HTPs, and 2 of them featured siblings in their dreams. This may be related to the policies implemented by cities, which affect the early or late separation. Austerity policies are often accompanied by earlier separations between siblings, leaving them with little affection or even familiarity with each other. For example, BJ10 didn't know which grade her elder sister was in; BJ2's impression of her elder brother was limited to the fact that he would take her to play when he came back on vacation and the parents' complaints. For example, her parents felt that her brother, who was studying in a boarding school in their hometown, spent too much money every month. In contrast, some children spent longer periods of time with their siblings and formed closer bonds despite the hardships of life. SH1 and SZ2 both had tense relationships with their parents, but had better relationships with their elder sisters. In HTP, SH1 expressed his nostalgia for the years when his sister didn't leave home; SZ2's sister was boarding in high school, and when his sister came home on weekends, he would take the initiative to seek warmth from her.

However, not all long-term siblings could form good relationships. On the surface, SZ3 seemed to have a good relationship with his younger sister, and his parents thought that he took good care of his sister. However, jealousy of his sister lurks in his unconscious. Sometimes, he would think that his parents favored his younger sister and ignored him. Considering the fiery red sun and strictly two-color house mentioned earlier and their symbolic meaning, one might see him as a person with a powerful persona. Therefore, “elder brother” was also an identity that should be fulfilled for him. This implies that not only will he receive less emotional care from his parents, but it will also require him to put in physical and psychological effort to care for his sister. It undoubtedly left hidden dangers for the future relationship between siblings.

The lack of resources within the family also contributes to tensions between siblings. Among the 40 families interviewed in our study, several parents felt that the limited resources they had were only allowed them to cultivate one child. Other parents in the same situation still raised multiple children as they believed “more children means more blessings” and “the poor are the way to be raised, and the rich are the way to be rich”. However, most of the interviewees from these families expressed strained relationships with their siblings. Some of them couldn’t get along well with each other even if they had been living together for a long time. SH11 and SH10 are siblings from the same family, with an age difference of less than three years. The mother often asked the elder sister to take care of the younger brother. The elder sister was unwilling to do this, and the siblings established their own social circles. However, there were some “tasks” from their parents that the elder sister could not escape.

SH2's parents were busy with work, so during holidays, his sister, who was enrolled in a technical secondary school, had to take him from school to the group activities. Similarly, SH3, as the eldest daughter in the family, had to take care of her two younger sisters even though she was only eleven years old. QHD6 was forced to share a bedroom with his younger brother. At the age of 14, she longed to have her own independent space.

It is true that traditional parenting concepts, such as "the eldest sister is like mother", force the elder sister in the family to take on some of the responsibilities of taking care of the younger siblings. However, gender was not the only factor in the tension between siblings. There may also be undercurrents in the relationship between siblings of the same gender.

SH7 and SH8 were eight-year-old twin brothers. Their parents were not around, and their grandparents took care of their food and daily life. Due to financial constraints, they had to share bunk beds. However, their living habits were very different. The elder brother didn't like to organize things, but the younger brother would keep everything in order. This caused the elder brother to destroy the younger brother's work at any time, and even made it impossible for the younger brother to accurately find his "perfect folded" school uniform. Another example is QHD7, who is the younger sister of twins. According to her mother, she and her twin sister had completely opposite personalities. Her sister was cheerful, while she was sensitive and delicate. Her mother thought she was "very anxious and don't know what's going on". QHD7 believed that the mother's emotions were more directed more positively towards her sister. When she encountered difficulties, she never went to her mother for help.

From here we can see that she was not securely attached to the mother. What is even more worrying is that there was no good friendship between the sisters to make up for the lack of parent-child attachment. She would not speak to her sister as she was worried about being laughed at.

Generally speaking, the limited resources of migrant families affect the possibility of forming close positive emotional connections between siblings. Considered from the perspective of material conditions alone, some families were extremely resource-poor, even impossible to provide good material support for any child; there were also some families that were rich in material resources and could support multiple children at the same time. In both cases, the lack of parental emotional support for each child made it possible for siblings to form close emotional bonds. There were also some families whose material resources were relatively scarce and insufficient to support each child; or parents whose limited emotional resources meant that they gave more emotional care to one of the children. The scarcity and tension of material and emotional resources caused siblings in these families to become spatially overcrowded and compete with each other both emotionally and materially.

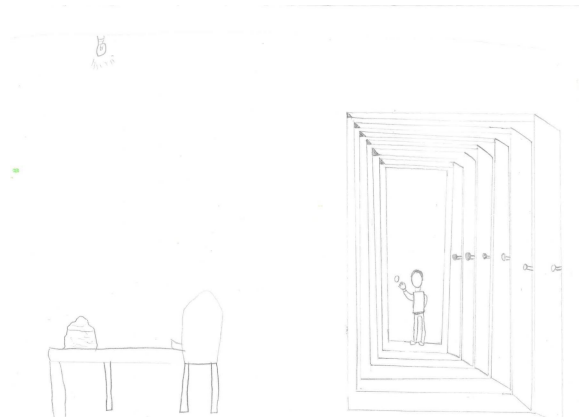
Some “second children” even brought more insurmountable difficulties to their elder siblings. An example is SZ6. He was born and raised in Shenzhen and firmly believed himself to be a Shenzhen local. At the time of the interview, he was in sixth grade and faced the threat of being forced to return to his hometown. According to SZ6’s own situation, he had good academic performance and was old enough. Although he didn’t have hukou, he still could

attend a boarding school in Shenzhen. However, his younger brother was about to enter elementary school. As a migrant, the family's "points" were not enough for his younger brother to attend a public primary school in Shenzhen, so he had to follow his family back to Fujian. SZ6's psyche suffered a serious blow, and his parents were neither able nor trying to understand his feelings. When discussing the causes of cultural homelessness among China's migrant population, I mentioned that SZ6 was about to lose what he considered his homeland, but his parents would not allow him to mourn it. His mother thought it would be a better choice for him to return to Fujian. In his hometown, his parents could provide him with "better conditions". When they return to Fujian, they would "change from an eighth-level people to a first-level people". However, SZ6's unconscious expressed the opposite message. Confusion, pain, loss and despair permeated his drawings and statements. In his HTP, the earth has been polluted, and the last people on earth have escaped to the moon and are about to suffer a devastating blow. In his dream, he kept repeating the action of opening the bedroom door, but he didn't know what might be outside it.

Figure 5.



SZ6's HTP Drawing

Figure 34.

SZ6's Dream Drawing

The relationship between migrant children and their siblings is affected by many factors. Because of the dual lack of material and emotional resources within the family, parents' potential preference for boys, and the premature separation caused by policies, it is difficult for migrant children's siblings to form close relationships. The affection between siblings can hardly supplement their attachment, let alone help them form a more warm and secure home image. In some cases, having siblings might even increase the likelihood that these children developed negative feelings about the threat of cultural homelessness.

6.3 The Dilemmas of Migrant Children

Given the overriding importance of family to children, we have first addressed the relationships between migrant children and their parents and siblings. However, just as their lives are not limited to their families, the dilemmas of migrant children are not confined to the problems of the family.

In order to gain an understanding this issue, let's first go back to the migrant children themselves, and consider the issues that occur in their development of the self. As we mentioned in Chapter 2, considering that Chinese society has long emphasized the relationship between people and between people and society, Jung's theory of individuation is helpful in understanding the development of migrant children. Many scholars following Jung have explored the concept of the self. Among them, Louis Zinkin (2008) emphasized the importance of language and culture to the construction of the self: "what a person means by having a self will depend on the notion of the self shared by his or her particular society." (p. 404) The self is considered "depend greatly on the culture in which he or she has been brought up. It is created, made and formed not by any single act but by a continuing interaction with others." (p. 394)

6.3.1 Dilemmas within Family and Clan

Therefore, in addition to the migrant children's nuclear family, their relatives in a broader sense, the school they attend, the tolerance of their community, and even the long-term social atmosphere will all have an impact on their psychic development and their journey of individuation. In the previous discussion, we borrowed the concept of individualization from sociology, the key factors of which lie in individual choice and self-realization (Bauman, 2000; Giddens, 1991; Beck & Beck-Gernsheim, 2001). This is reminiscent of the developmental tasks of adolescence in the developmental approach (Catalano, 2013), which

is also a way of thinking about the self-exploration necessary for the journey of individuation. However, whether within the family as mentioned above or in society as we will discuss next, migrant children lack the possibility of choice, and this is undoubtedly detrimental to their psychological development. Next, we will consider migrant children in the context of a broader interaction between family and social life, in order to integrate these different factors in their lives.

Because China has a vast territory and huge differences in dialects and cultures, at the beginning of my research I assumed that different regional cultures might have an impact on migrant children's understanding and the unconscious image of the home and homeland. Therefore four representative cities from both the north and the south of China were selected. However, after in-depth interviews and long-term analysis, I generally discovered that although regional differences do exist, the more critical factor for these children's development is the role of their parents.

Taking into account "cross-cultural" considerations, we can utilize the experiences of immigrant families to provide some reference for the lives of migrant children. Generally speaking, cultural differences affect the first generation more, while for the second generation, "environment" is more important. This environment includes the family atmosphere created by parents, the degree of tolerance of the living community, and even the community and school chosen by parents. Therefore, many previous studies have found that most of the people who were able to achieve a transition from one culture to another were

second-generation immigrants. These people were able to utilise resources from two or even multiple parties and their self-exploration found sufficient emotional support (Alati et al., 2003; Hackett et al., 1991; Harker, 2001).

For the first immigrant generation, a strong identification with their mother culture means that they suffer a huge cultural shock, and this impact has the capacity to introduce catastrophic trauma to the self. Second-generation immigrants often come into contact with the new culture before they have fully established a sense of belonging to the old one. They also have the advantage of naturally gaining a peer group into which they can integrate. Referring to Erikson's point of view, school-age children (6-12) need to acquire diligence and ability, and their important relationships are with peers and teachers. The main task of their subsequent adolescence is to establish a sense of identity of their own image in the eyes of others, as well as their emotional position in the social collective, find the group to which they belong, and clarify their social role. We can see therefore, how significant peer influence is for humans. Whether there is a group identity into which they can be integrated a significant impact on a child's identity. Our interviewees were also in this position. They were aged 6-16 years old and had initially stepped out of the home, which means that their participation had expanded to society even outside of school. The greatest influence on them might no longer be their parents.

The essence of the cultural conflict faced by migrant children therefore comes back to the adaptive function of families when facing cultural conflicts between regions. The cultural

conflict that children face directly is the difference or tear between the society of their parents' hometown and the society where they currently live. Can parents protect and contain their children? Can they unite the divided cultures to create a new protective space? Can children be exposed to peer groups that they can integrate into? The answers to these questions determine the extent to which migrant children are able to motivate themselves beyond cultural homelessness.

In fact, for the vast majority of interviewees, the answer to these questions was no, and they therefore suffered different kinds of cultural homeless. If parents neglected their children's emotional care, the children would not be exposed to the cultural background of their "hometown" to a large extent, nor would they suffer the cultural conflicts between two places. However, for these children, "returning home" could be dangerous, as it would mean leaving their familiar place of residence (or even their psychological homeland). Their former sense of belonging and self-perception would then be made "wrong" (SZ6). Another potential problem was that there was a lack of real contact between some children and their current place of residence. Their living space was limited to home and school, and they were not fully exposed to the second regional culture. This brought up two possibilities. They might inherit more of the ancestral culture from their hometown (SZ1), or they might not be able to find a place to belong to as their connection with their ancestral culture was not close enough (BJ5). Some other children faced conflicts between regional cultures (QHD1), but parents either did not realize that this matter might have a significant impact on children, or they underestimated the children's pain, or they were unable to provide help to the children.

When children tried to piece two regional cultures together alone, they always failed because of a lack of adequate psychological resources and support.

As a result, it has become the norm for migrant children to experience an irreparably broken self and identity. In view of their own growth environment, level of education and difficult living conditions, the vast majority of parents in migrant families were unable or unwilling to see the problem, and they didn't have the extra psychic energy to care for these children either. Even if they didn't take the suffering for granted, changing their children from left-behind to migrant was the best they could think of and do. Many parents rationalized the neglect of their children, believing that they did not "abandon" their children in their hometown, but "overcame all difficulties" to take the children with them so that they could receive better education and more care or constraints from them. In their eyes, such actions and feats were worthy of commendation. As for the psychological development, self-awareness, self-identity and security feelings of migrant children, these were far beyond the scope of what they could or want to understand.

Of course, a small number of parents were aware of their children's uneasiness. However, among these parents, only the mother of SZ4 attempted to remedy the problem. The remaining parents either chose to ignore their children's emotions, or out of self-defense accused the children of not being contented, or not being sensible and obedient enough. For example, SH12 had excellent drawing skills but was not able to draw a person independently. After returning home, she tried to explain her difficulties to her mother. In exchange, her

mother continued to encourage her (with a disguised pressure) to draw characters in public at the next group activity in order to show it to everyone. More interviewees, such as SH1, SH4, SZ2, SZ9, BJ7, and QHD3, experienced projection from their parents. Indifferent to the children's emotions, the parents chose to see it as the children's fault that they didn't take care of their parents' feelings. Children who had this kind of experience tended to have higher levels of parentification. There were also a few parents who having harmed their children through projection, then tried to offset this harm with symbolic repair. For example, having blamed the child for being ignorant so that the child cried, they then bought them snacks or other "delicious foods". In this way, the image of parents was double-protected: not only did they tolerate children's ignorance, but they also provided extra care to their children. As a result, for these children, the reality of home lost the quality of being a refuge. Moreover, if they went on to internalized these unreasonable criticisms, they might result in self-blame and shame as has been seen in previous research (Vivero & Jenkins, 1999).

As we saw in the previous section, the girls interviewed reported higher levels of parentification. Likewise, gender also affects cultural conflict issues. Girls were considered "outsiders" and were generally ignored and excluded. In contrast, boys were considered members of the clan, the continuation of the bloodline, and could participate in sacrifices and be included in the family tree. They were more likely to be cared for by their grandparents when they were young and tended to receive more attention when they followed their parents back to their hometowns.

BJ1 was a nine-year-old boy currently living in Beijing, while his hometown is in Guangdong. Because he couldn't speak Cantonese, whenever he returned to his hometown, he felt out of place. At the same time, he accepted the class classification of Cantonese accents in his hometown and aspired to be able to speak fluent Cantonese with a Hong Kong accent. This would make him appear to be of higher status than other people in his hometown, and would make him recognized and welcomed by his family and clan. As mentioned above, the frequent acts of resistance by the homeless have scared the government, and this has caused migrants to be excluded. BJ1's fantasy about the accent reflected this trait: he wanted to be someone of higher status. QHD3 believed that both his hometown and current residence have their own advantages and disadvantages in different aspects. At that time, he didn't identify more with either side, nor did he receive good enough care from his parents. He showed confusion and uneasiness in the face of contradictions and changing norms, communication methods, and attachment processes.

Similarly, SH6, BJ6, and QHD2, who were the only children in the family, might receive more resources because their parents had expectations for them to surpass men. Girls in this position shared the sense of division and the dilemma of dual identity with boys.

Corresponding to them, BJ5, as an eleven-year-old girl, even didn't know the name of her hometown. Whenever she returned to her hometown, she was not as an independent individual, but as a subordinate to her parents. Therefore, she knew little about her hometown and was unwilling to have deeper contact with it. These children who were unable to cope with differences, like children who tried to define themselves as local, experienced

another form of cultural homelessness. They couldn't ultimately gain a cultural identity and a sense of security in their current place of residence because they knew that they were not welcome and might be evicted at any time.

In exploring the concept and image of home, we can see some commonalities between East and West. They both emphasize stability and being contained, and show that home is not just the physical infrastructure, but also contains various relationships. The blood family in China is constantly changing according to the demands of family relationships. Whereas the traditional Chinese family prioritized the overall interests of the family, today's Chinese urban families constantly adjust according to the interests of family members (Shen, 2019). For parents of migrant children, migration or separation is usually the result of family members' negotiating based on their respective interests. Tradition becomes a resource that individuals decide to use based on their own needs, family becomes a means for individuals to achieve themselves.

Some scholars even use the term "transactional" to describe traditional Chinese families, believing that "Reciprocity marked the exchange of people, goods, and services between households" (Ransmeier, 2017, p. 103). However, in today's Chinese society, where individualization is gradually emerging, the small family may not be considered to still have such characteristics (Yan, 1996). However, these traits do still exist in the extended families of some of our interviewees. Parents of migrant children lived with their siblings, shared the rent, took turns taking care of the children, and exchanged benefits. Migrant children grow

up with their cousins and even shared the same bed for a long time. Some children referred to their cousins as their siblings. At the same time, their relationship is fragile because it is their parents who have the right to choose, not them. Some interviewees from Beijing, Shanghai and Qinhuangdao talked about their past closeness with their cousins and the forced separation, and expressed their longing for their cousins.

However, such close ties were not intergenerational, and there was still a lack of in-depth communication between the two generations. In the population wave after reform and opening up, it became possible for people to go to new places to make money. However, it was difficult for new migrants to become locals regardless of whether they had a hukou or not, so they were more likely to maintain their self-perception and original accent. Parents would communicate in dialect within the family, but the child often didn't pick up these dialects. These children almost only spoke Mandarin.

Cultural homelessness was therefore also strongly highlighted in their language.

Linguistically, most children used a lot of written language in their spoken conversations. This reflects the singularity of their language acquisition environment, within schools. In addition, some children switched accents depending on whether they were discussing their hometown or their current place of residence. This can be interpreted as the cultural environment they face being dual.

6.3.2 Dilemmas in Schools and Communities

There is evidence to show that strong relationships with peers can partially compensate for the impact of poor parent-child relationships. Even if children experience poor treatment within the family, good peer relationships can serve as a supplement to enhance their ability to interact (Howes & Espinosa, 1985; George & Main, 1979; Howes & Eldredge, 1985).

However, many of the interviewees were unable to establish close peer relationships with their peers due to the unfriendly social environment, lack of after-school support systems, and strict school rules.

Among the sample, children from Beijing lived in the strictest social environment. Not only had their living space been reduced by the policy of “clearing out the low-end population”, but their life in school was also depressing. Recently, the issue of giving “ten minutes between classes” back to children has aroused heated discussion on the Chinese Internet. Today in many schools, students are not allowed to leave the classroom during their ten minutes break. Except for P.E. classes and the daily collective exercise, these schools don’t allow students to leave the classroom, nor are they allowed to make noise or play inside the classroom. Students must sit in their seats except when they need to get water and use the toilet. As a result, not only do children not get enough exercise, social interaction becomes difficult. These schools even turned “Don’t leave classroom during recess” into rules, rewards and punishments, and even a slogan, all of which have been integrated into children's school life. Extra points would be given to the quietest class during the break, and points would be deducted if students left the classroom. This also involves the selection of

mobile red flags between classes. The mobile red flag is a red triangle pennant used to reward groups that perform well. Its purpose is to inspire everyone and create a atmosphere of hard working and competition.

As the only way to leave the classroom during recess is to go to the toilet, the toilet has gradually become a gathering place for students. In order to cope with this situation, some schools have created the position of “toilet director”. Students as “directors” are responsible for recording and reporting students who do not return to the classroom in time after using the toilet.

Despite these harsh living environment, the interviewees in Beijing produced the most colorful drawings. Their pictures are brightly colored and mostly contain beautiful fantasies about real life. Besides, when reporting their dreams, no one mentioned school. In addition to the fulfillment of daytime wishes such as eating delicious food and going to an amusement park, the dreams they reported were filled with anxiety. For example, being chased by a giant fly, being stabbed in the stomach with a knife, and having parents quarreling. Therefore, these gorgeous drawings could be interpreted as a kind of compensation to their harsh living environment. BJ5, who often dreamed of her parents quarreling, has a “dream cabin” in her drawing. The little girl in the picture would feel at ease whenever she thought of this cabin. BJ7 drew a robot-style tall building and showed that as long as people were put into it, there would be a lot of space to build a playground.

The harsh living environment has undoubtedly affected their psychological development, but the families of these children have given them a certain amount of care, and the activity centers run by public welfare organizations have also provided them with a group of migrant children into which they can integrate. They can participate in some after-school interest classes, which reduce their sense of loneliness. The peer group compensates by enriching their world and allowing them to form strong bonds with others. Many children kept coming back even after their families moved to the other side of the city. Mom classes run by public welfare organizations also provide the possibility of parents (mostly mothers) learning and exchanging advanced parenting knowledge. All these provide favorable factors for the development of migrant children in Beijing.

School life for interviewees in the other three cities wasn't as harsh as Beijing, but it is not greatly superior. According to the school's requirements, students and teachers need to be in place and ready to start class three minutes before class begins. Because the course content is heavy, the teacher of the previous class often "holds" the class for three minutes to ensure that the course can be completed. In this way, the student's class break is compressed to four minutes. This makes it difficult for students to adequately socialize in school, let alone "fit in" where they live.

6.3.3 Dilemmas in Culture

In addition to the impact of the accommodation function of families, schools, and living

communities, the long-standing exclusion of the homeless in Chinese culture and society seems to work as a cultural complex, hidden in the unconscious of individuals. It also affects the psychological development of individuals and the adaptive function of families.

Distrust of migrants runs through China's long history. Kuhn (1990) proved that in the late feudal society of China (Qing Dynasty), the homeless were generally suspected of being "Soulstealers" who wanted to deceive the souls of the general public and a potential threat to a stable community. Chi (1996) traced back the refugee society in early modern China and found that refugees and displaced people were historically closely related to peasants who were forced to leave their hometowns, lost their land and were unemployed. In addition, historical nomads may have been associated with secret societies that challenged the existing social order (Chesneaux & Bianco, 1972). Therefore, governments often view refugees as unstable and dangerous social forces. Today's "migrant population" also shares the key signifier "migrant" with the historical migrants, which is associated with many negative connotations.

After the 1970s, urban residents' rejection of migrant workers also contributed to their own difficult lives at that time. When the "internal migration wave" with migrant workers as the main body began to surge across China, a large number of "laid-off" workers also appeared in cities. The huge panic that arose is due not only to the turmoil of their lives but also because the social welfare and security systems for unemployment are either close to zero or ineffective. Under such circumstances, migrant workers who come to the city with longing

for a better life in the future have undoubtedly become resource claimants and possessors.

Since the 1980s, the Chinese government's policy philosophy has shifted to "consumer socialism", which means "allowing some areas and some people to become better-off first (my translation)". This has resulted in a sharp divide between rich and poor and deep and fierce conflicts. The people at the bottom have experienced being exploited, abandoned and marginalized, and have become the recipients of historical violence and the victims of historical progress. Dai (2006) regarded this stage as a "direct conversion" of political power and monetary capital, and called it a process of "internal colonization". It is based on "the original urban-rural dual structure. For the rapid economic expansion of the above-mentioned regions, it provides extremely cheap labor resources without any legal and institutional guarantees for the mutual 'processing factories' of transnational capital in China." (Dai, 2006, pp. 128-129; my translation)

From this stage onwards, dense urban agglomerations in Beijing, Shanghai and the Yangtze River Delta and Pearl River Delta continued to expand, seeking and occupying resources from China's inland areas. The migrant population has also been described as *the other* of society. They are located at the bottom of society and shoulder heavy low-level work, but it is difficult for them to obtain any corresponding rights. If they try to organize and are able to find the room for maneuver in the implemented policies, such as Zhejiang Village in Beijing (Xiang, 2004), they end up being demolished (in 2006). This is still a cycle, because ten years later, in 2017, Beijing once again cleaned up the low-end population.

Cultural homelessness is not a special fact encountered by a certain “secondary” or “minority” group, but a rather widespread social problem. The rhetoric around these social phenomena fails to highlight the social shame and suffering experienced by the migrant population as the selected victims, but rather seeks to cover up the brutal process of class reconstruction in China during its transition. In this way, class and class narratives disappear from social discourse and become a sensitive “totem and taboo”. *The Research Report on Social Classes of Contemporary China* published in 2002 replaced the term class with estate (Lu, 2002). Laid-off workers and displaced farmers, the former “protagonists of the country”, reside at the bottom of the pyramid structure.

The plight of migrant children in their families is a microcosm of the difficult life of migrants in wider society. The Indian poet Rabindranath Tagore once said: “I THANK thee that I am none of the wheels of power but I am one with the living creatures that are crushed by it.” (Tagore, 1916, para. 50) The wheel of society presses on parents as well as migrant children. Not only that, migrant children also have the burden of filial duty from their parents. Children and young people in early adulthood who grow up under these conditions return to tradition to some extent. They have an understanding of the logic of power in traditional Chinese culture and those in power. This realization is not only intellectual, but also physical and emotional. They crave power, conquest and strength. This recognition and desire for power is a reflection of their own disempowerment. These people represent an inner emigration or internal exile of the culture that cannot be escaped. Not only are they forced to

find no place to belong, but they are exiled from society. The experiences of migrant children are not unique to them; they share the collective trauma and the cultural complexes of all the younger generations outside the power system. Cultural homelessness as a Chinese cultural complex has been deeply rooted in the hearts of generations of Chinese people and has had a profound impact on them.

6.3.4 Migrant Children's Expressions of their Dilemmas

Finally, let's briefly review the features that appear in migrant children's drawings and dreams that may be related to their life difficulties. First, in their HTP drawings, many children draw pictures of the house (home), as unsafe and difficult to reach. Their drawings include houses that need to be repaired/to be completed (e.g., SH9, SZ1); houses that are difficult to enter and reach (e.g., SH10, BJ9, BJ5); or unsafe houses or environments (e.g., SH8, QHD5, SZ6). It is worth noting that Beijing children's pictures show several houses with no doors or over-emphasize door locks and privacy (BJ1, 6, 8, 9, 10, 11), which may be related to the eviction and cleanup they have experienced.

Second, bearing in mind that trees are usually interpreted as be related to the development of the self, migrant children's representation of trees is also worthy of analysis. Some research suggests that those people attempting suicide having suffered significantly more childhood trauma than normal people also tend to draw more tree trunk wounds and broken branches in tests (Wang et al., 2007). One or two wounds on a tree trunk may be a manifestation of the

drawing learning a child has experienced, because art teachers sometimes teach students to draw scars or wormholes on tree trunks in China. Excessive scars, even almost all over the trunk, are a way of attracting attention. Not many children among the interviewees drew obvious tree trunk broken branches (e.g., SZ6, QHD5), but some children drew multiple tree trunk wounds: BJ4 (4), BJ9 (3), BJ11 (5), SH13 (6), BJ10 (4). The trees in many children's drawings are at the edge of the picture or even cropped (left: BJ4, SZ9, SH6, SH11; right: BJ1, BJ5) or disappear (SH12, BJ2). A tree on the edge may symbolize someone on the edge (Yan & Chen, 2019). Some children also drew trees with sharp branches that spread out to both sides, as if they were defending themselves (SZ1, QHD5). More than a quarter of the children drew small and numerous (more than six) fruits (e.g., BJ11, BJ3; SH2, SH3, SH4, SH6, SH8, SH10, SH11; QHD3), suggesting that although they have great expectations, they don't know how to achieve them (Yan & Chen, 2019).

Moreover, the relationship between the figures and the house is also worth paying attention to. Xu Jun collected some drawings of children aged 12-15 in a middle school in Nanjing in 2016. Most of the homes described by these children are negative images, only few children describe traditional and warm family scenes. Common features were as follows:

“Dark, cold, a room without light;

Sitting in front of a desk, mother watching me do homework;

Leaving home in a car to go to school or cram school.” (Xu, 2021, p. 113)

In our interviewees' drawings, although the frequency of school images is not so high, happy family scenes are still rare. Among them, "leaving home in a car to go to school or cram school" as a description of daily life, appeared in three children's drawings (SZ7, SH1, SH2). Doing homework was also a common theme. There were resistance, anxiety, depression, and loss, but also childlike innocence, which showed the vitality of children. BJ1 escaped from the small dark room where he was doing homework and went to explore the tree house; in SH10's dream, he wanted to play with his friends, but his friends could not go out because they had not finished their homework.

Finally, these migrant children were lonely. Many children in HTP were alone. Only one person appears in the HTP of 19 interviewees (QHD1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7; BJ5, 11; SH2, 3, 4, 11, 14; SZ4, 5, 7, 8, 9); the theme of the HTP of 4 interviewees is playing with friends in front of the house (SH5, 10; BJ2, 10). Only 12 children's drawings showed family members (SZ1, 2, 3; SH1, 6, 13, 15; BJ1, 3, 4, 6, 8). 7 of them are brothers and sisters (BJ1, 3, 4; SZ3; SH1, 13, 15), 5 are mothers (SH6, 13, 15; SZ1; BJ6) and 2 are grandparents (SZ1, 2).

A weak and anxious self also appears in different symbolic forms in the drawings and dreams. As discussed in Chapter 4, interviewees reported many complicated dreams that deserve further discussion. Some of them were tense and even recurring nightmares; others contained a lot of compensation, suggesting anxiety in real life. At the same time, some of the drawing lines were weak and the colors were too light to distinguish, showing extreme uncertainty (e.g., SZ5). In terms of the overall layout of the picture, some drawings didn't occupy 3/4 of

the drawing paper area, but were squeezed together (SZ2: the picture is shrunk in the lower left corner; QHD3: the middle left corner, with the horizon drawn; BJ7: shrunk to the left side of the screen; SZ1, SZ9: left side; QHD1: squeezed into the middle of the drawing paper; QHD2: left middle). Nearly half of the trees had worrying shapes. These trees may have trunks that are large at the top and small at the bottom (BJ9), have a compact crown shape (BJ3), or have slender trunks that cannot support a huge crown (BJ5, SH14, QHD2). There were also many children who overemphasize the roots and trunk, which may symbolize a lack of security (too thick roots: SZ4, SH4, SH6, QHD1, BJ7, BJ8; thick trunk, small crown: SH2, SH10, SH11, SH13, SH15, BJ10, BJ7).

To sum up, the causes of cultural homelessness among migrant children were multiple, and their expressions in drawings were diverse. Persistent emotional (or even physical) neglect by parents; lack of sibling companionship or close peer relationships (school and after-school activities); absence of social support; the long-standing discrimination against the homeless in Chinese culture. These intertwined reasons jointly created the psychological status of cultural homelessness among migrant children. Among our interviewees, not a single child had completed cultural integration and bridged cultural contradictions. Only one mother noticed and even grappled with the girl's insecurities and pain in the face of conflict. The vast majority of children were in the pain of facing divisions and contradictions alone; a small number of children were in fear of being expelled at any time as they tried to unilaterally identify with the culture of their current place of residence.

As mentioned above, some children drew their “hometown” in their HTP, while their dreams took place in their current place of residence. After paying attention to various factors, this feature may be because the “home” in their drawings was not the place of residence or hometown that didn’t have the function of a refuge, but a psychological refuge (homeland) in their fantasy. And dreams, as Jung said, face reality and seek to solve real problems (Jung, 1916). In the real life of migrant children, parents need to see their children and allow their children to be children, rather than letting the children bear the parents’ emotions and use their own mental health to pay the rent at home. However, cultural homelessness is not just a problem faced by this generation of migrant children. It has traveled through history and has become a cultural complex hidden in Chinese culture. Migrant children are still at the bottom of family power and have almost no right to make choices. Their personal development has to give way to the interests of their parents or the entire family. The migrant population has become the scapegoat of society, and migrant children are even more vulnerable, eventually becoming the scapegoats within migrant families.

Chapter 7 Conclusion

As we have now seen, the way in which family and society have been affected by culture and history has created problems for China's migrant children, leaving them in a state of cultural homelessness. They experience varying degrees of parentified, neglected, excluded, or even abused. These life dilemmas have brought difficulties that are visible or have been shown in the mental health census to the psychological development of migrant children.

7.1 Dilemmas Faced by Migrant Children

7.1.1 Dilemmas within the Family

Although all migrant children face many difficulties, the dilemmas in their life vary slightly depending on their gender and the socioeconomic status of their families. As mentioned in Chapter 4, the preference for sons is still prevalent among migrant families. When it comes to primary school children, boys are more likely to accompany their parents on their migration (The Seventh National Population Census, 2022). Girls after junior high school are more likely to leave their parents and current residence and return to their "hometowns". This is reflected in the children of this study, with more girls than boys being sent back to their registered household.

At the same time, girls who have siblings were also the most severely parentified. As “little adults”, they were required and expected to take on some care responsibilities, e.g. QHD6, SH3, SH11, and BJ9. The behavioural or emotional care they undertake in their families is far more than what their age group should provide. As a result, they experienced psychological loneliness, abandonment, and emotional deprivation, and were at risk of missing out on developmentally appropriate and essential activities in childhood (Boszormenyi-Nagy & Spark, 1973; Bowlby, 1958, 1969; Hooper, 2007a, 2007b). When discussing their House-Tree-Person creations and the houses in their dream drawings, they were often unable to point out the specific location (e.g. unit, floor or specific bedrooms) where the characters in the drawings lived. The apparent lack of fantasy activity in these girls is also reflected in the fact that they also rarely told me about their dreams or created dream drawings. At the same time, the drawings of girls without siblings were more interactive and the colors were more vivid (e.g. BJ6, BJ7, SZ6, SH5, QHD1 and QHD2). The trees in their pictures seem to offer a symbolic representation of the self, which has received more nourishment and is accompanied by expectations that are too high and difficult for these girls to bear and realize.

It needs to be emphasized that, the boys interviewed were also parentified to a relatively minor extent due to the combined effects of Chinese filial piety culture (Jordan, 2013), traditional family functions (Fei, 1992), and parents’ survival pressure. For example, SZ3 paid special attention to satisfying the preferences of everyone in the family when describing the interior decoration of the house, and gave the dual colors of the house a great meaning of

“responsibility” and “vitality”. Some stories in their drawings exhibit characteristics of the *Hermes child* discussed by Reeves. Such children are “dishonest”, “glib-tongued” or “like to show off their cleverness” (Reeves, 1999, p. 176). For example, BJ1 arranged for a piece of bird poop to fall into the explorer’s open backpack in his HTP.

Alongside this excessive parentification, both boys and girls experienced frequent verbal abuse and emotional neglect, with boys reporting frequent and severe corporal punishment. This may be related to the fact that most of the families interviewed are of low or middle socioeconomic status. Previous research results show that family economic factors can affect parents’ psychological state and their parenting behavior (Conger & Elder, 1994; Elder & Caspi, 1988). Parents in families with low and middle socioeconomic status have lower educational levels and less knowledge about education. They spend less time caring for and communicating with their children. The prevalence and frequency of corporal punishment are significantly higher than those in families with high socioeconomic status (Wang & Xing, 2012; Song, 2004), and the frequency of corporal punishment of boys is higher than that of girls (Wang & Xing, 2012). Some children directly depicted scenes of being attacked by their parents in their drawings. More children described the tense relationship with their parents through metaphors and symbols, such as SH13 being bitten by a spider or SZ2 being chased by a shark.

Specifically, the father himself disappears from the drawings, appearing only in the form of a small number of symbols related to him (e.g. the father’s car). In contrast, the images of

mothers drawn by migrant children are rich in form and full of complex emotions. Most of the migrant families in this study continue the traditional Chinese “couple separation” family form (Fei, 2011; Gong, 2021). The fathers are often busy with work, or only reunite with the families once or twice a year, or leave early and come back late without the possibility of interacting with their children.

In a few families interviewed, fathers began to be forced to take on some of the responsibilities of raising children because mothers were busier at work, e.g. the fathers of BJ9 and SH5. However, these fathers were unwilling to face their children's emotions and often refused to provide emotional care to their children, and even failed to provide necessary physical care. Such a father image is negative and is close to the narcissistic and selfish father in the Oedipus legend mentioned by Kohut, who is unable to truly empathize and care about his own children (Kohut, 1964, 1984). Therefore, whether the literal father himself is present or not, the paternal image that can help the child access society is absent. At this time, the image of the mother becomes particularly important, and the fate of children can seem to be in danger of being dominated by the devouring great mother. Therefore, the dark side and engulfing nature of the Great Mother discussed by Jungian scholars (Neumann, 2015; Berry, 2017) may be a more common dilemma for migrant children.

The importance of the mother to children is self-evident, as she “is the first world of the child and the last world of the adult” (Jung, 1938, para. 175). In the lives of migrant children, the image of the mother contains two opposite sides. A good mother provides them with basic

care and nurturing, she acts as a container, embraces all things (Neumann, 2015). However, the image of the mother also has the other side of its own nature of “being as lack, absence, deprivation” (Berry, 2017, p. 17), her psyche has shadowy, secret parts (Almond, 2011). Our interviewees’ mothers are often impatient and rarely consider their feelings, threatening to send them back to their unfamiliar “hometown”. Such mothers arouse migrant children’s fear and anxiety of being abandoned, symbolizing “death, limitation, and ending” (Berry, 2017, p. 21). Anxious mothers sometimes classify their children, migrant children, as targets of her attacks: “None of you with the last name X are good people!” The helpless mother believes that the child will unconditionally support the person with the same surname (e.g. the father and grandfather) rather than stay with her. Such attacks putting mother and child in opposing positions, also make migrant children feel the inadequacy of maternal functions.

Gong Xi (2021) identifies a specific cultural complex in Chinese society whereby men leave their families to achieve self-realization, pursue success in social life, and make money to support their families, leaving their wives to raise children and take care of the elderly. The husband is responsible for the world outside the home, is financially and socially responsible for his children, and also has the authority to discipline them (Fei, 2011). In traditional Chinese rural society, the division of labor between men and women evolved into a power competition between the inside and the outside of the home (Fei, 1992, 2011). Habits or traditions from the cultural unconscious show intergenerational transmission characteristics among our interviewed migrant families in different socioeconomic statuses. Some grandfathers left families with their children to earn money, while the grandmothers were

either responsible for raising their grandchildren or staying back in their hometowns to take care of the older generation. The next generation also repeats such stories. However, maternal authority within the family can't assume a fully independent position, but sometimes becomes the implementer and defender of patriarchal ideas in the home (Jian, 2013; Zuo, 2012). This gives possible rise to the occurrence of maternal loss we discussed in Chapter 4.

Maternal loss in migrant families is triggered and amplified by their difficult lives. The bond of surname creates divisions within the family. The child shares the same surname as the father and grandfather, while the grandmother and mother are members with "foreign surnames". As a helpless mother with a foreign surname, the only people she can rely on within the family are her husband and her children. However, because of the father's absence, the mother's intimate and emotional needs cannot be met by him.

The relationship between father and mother is supposed to constitute what Winnicott called "part of the natural foundation for a personal solution to the problem of a triangular relationship" (Winnicott, 1964, pp. 114-115). Fathers of migrant children have not made enough efforts to create a good-enough environment (Winnicott, 1964). They cannot be themselves and still support the mother (Winnicott, 1964). The fractured relationship between father and mother makes the mother either fail to provide her child with what the child needs, or she relies on her child to take care of and satisfy her own emotional needs. As the father is emotionally or physically absent, he will not or cannot intervene to create

appropriate boundaries between mother and child. This would further mix the originally close mother-child relationship, even to the extent that Jung called it “indissolubly blended” (Jung, 1928, par. 723).

At the same time, the mother has to take on the social education tasks of the father. The complex and huge task of taking on the functions of both father and mother at the same time makes some mothers live in anxiety all year round. Mothers who are anxious about about their ability to be a good mother are even less able to ensure that their children’s fears are manageable (Freud, 2010). Under the requirements of traditional Chinese filial piety, because the mother has put in a lot of hard work and spent a lot of money on her children (Fei, 2011), she has the power to discipline, and the children also need to repay her for her care. On the one hand, the child must appease the mother’s emotions; on the other hand, the child must absorb the mother’s emotions, and they cannot be separated from each other. Participants’ reports of their mothers’ aggression toward them suggest that the mothers are unconsciously acting out their own destructive and punitive aggression and disgust, or the personified part of her parent's disgust (Almond, 2011). A mother who brings unresolved, intense ambivalence about her own mother or husband into the relationship with her children is likely to transfer this ambivalence to her children as well.

Many representatives of the one-child generation born under the family planning policy have experienced the fear of being dominated by their parents. The girls interviewed expressed increased anxiety and mixed feelings about their mothers. This may be because in the

process of growing up, daughters usually have a close relationship with their mothers, and the blurred boundaries of the relationship make the emotions of both influence each other (Rich, 1995; Harding, 1955). For an only daughter, such tension is even more serious, because being the sole projection and focus of her mother's life exacerbates the only daughter's feeling of being controlled.

Generally speaking, our interviewees received conditional love from their parents. The parent's failure to love the child as an individual was more about loving the child's symbolic role as offspring. These parents placed many demands on their children, had unrealistic expectations, and constantly emphasized their efforts and sacrifices. Migrant children bore the anxieties and emotions of their parents and experienced forced and excessive parentification. The framework of the migrant family thus fails to fulfill its function of "representing society in a localized form" (Winnicott, 1967, p. 94). Within migrant families, due to the estranged relationship between parents, the family cannot provide migrant children with an effective example of how to deal with triangular relationships. Migrant families are not what Winnicott describes as a well-functioning "going concern" (Winnicott, 1967, p. 94), let alone allowing children to feel safe and explore destructive activities, thereby integrating their "destructive impulses in with the loving ones" (p. 94). In their drawings, the home is full of dangers, and parents may attack them.

What makes the situation worse is that the potential supports which could benefit their psychological development are difficult to access for migrant children. For cross-cultural

children, possible support can be received from close relatives (siblings, cousins, grandparents, other elders), other peers (classmates, friends), school (teachers) and other social support (community, charity organizations) (Chirkov et al., 2008; Yusoff, 2011; Fan et al., 2012). In the following section I will look at potential support from within the family, before going on to examine social factors.

Siblings and Cousins

How close migrant children are to their siblings is affected by local policies. Siblings in areas with tighter policies will separate earlier, and can only meet once or twice a year. Areas with more relaxed policies create conditions for emotional bonding between siblings. Even if an older sibling requires boarding, they can still return to the home for one or two days a week or a month. However, even close siblings cannot meet the emotional needs of migrant children.

Besides, new conflicts and competitions that may arise from siblings are particularly acute in the context of maternal deprivation. Some scholars have proposed the concept of an oedipal sibling triangle, which refers to a triangular relationship between two or more children and their mother, where the prize is “the exclusive love of a sibling” (Sharpe & Rosenblatt, 1994, p. 502). “Oedipal, in this usage, refers primarily to the developmental level of structuralization and object relations” (p. 492). For siblings of similar age, due to the mother’s emotional neglect and inactive response to the child, the child’s possession of the

mother may continuously exist, showing a kind of preoedipal rivalry between two siblings for a parent's love (Sharpe & Rosenblatt, 1994). When the age difference is greater, the older one may have been sent home or parentified, so the younger one will win. They will imitate their parents' tone to express dissatisfaction with their older brothers or sisters (e.g. SZ6, SH10, BJ3). There is a deep unconscious jealousy lurking in the failed child when he/she has to take on the responsibility of caring for his/her younger siblings. Still, other children may view their parents (or other siblings) as unwelcome intruders and continually ignore or defeat them in order to develop close bonds with certain siblings.. This also can harm the future development of these children, as they may unconsciously choose a mate who shows similarities to their siblings (parents) or may be afraid of success at work (Mallinger, 1978).

In addition, because some families work with relatives in big cities, cousins also appear in the lives of migrant children. Recently, this potential source of intimacy has been lost due to rising rents and tightening policies. Facing an increasingly severe living environment, each nuclear family will make its own choices, and this often mean separating from cousins (e.g. SH13, QHD3).

Grandparents and Other Elders

Only a small number of grandparents and parents of our interviewees migrated to the same destination for work. These migrant grandparents often shouldered the heavy responsibility of taking care of migrant children, letting the parents commit to their work. Grandparents

who remain in their hometown sometimes come to the current residence of the migrant family to care for their grandchildren. These grandparents showed a clear gender preference, preferring to provide short-term care for boys for about three years.

Some migrant families lived with relatives, and both parents jointly provide a certain amount of care to the children in both families. According to this arrangement, other elders replace certain parental functions. For example, BJ3 often slept with her aunt. These elders may also withdraw from the lives of migrant children at any time as the nuclear family moves.

7.1.2 Dilemmas Outside the Family

In addition to facing a lack of parental and maternal care within the family and competition between siblings, migrant children also have to deal with challenges from outside the family. The first thing they have to face is the increasingly harsh living and schooling environment. Apart from the declining proportion of migrants year by year and the increasing difficulty in enrolling in school, the strict prevention and control of COVID-19 in China for three years has also caused some migrant populations to lose their income, and children have been forced to return.

The last census in 2020 shows that children of the migrant population accounted for 46.4% of China's child population (The Seventh National Population Census, 2022). However, the rate of children of China's migrant population migrating with their parents is only 51.51%.

This situation is not optimistic, and it's still getting worse. At present, the numbers of migrant children who are in the compulsory education stage (6-15 years old) and living with their parents continue to decrease year by year, and the educational problems of migrant children are also more severe than before. The number of migrant children in junior high school is even less than that in primary school. The separation of migrant children from their parents is becoming more and more serious, and their living conditions are becoming increasingly severe.

The Chinese central government's ruling for equal educational opportunities for migrant children (The Central Committee of the CCP & the State Council, 2010) conflicts with its insistence on implementing strict population policies in large cities to promote the development and renewal of large cities. The migrant population in Beijing has already experienced the demolition of Zhejiang Village in May 2006 (Zhang, 2001), the closure of the Sun Palace Farmers Market in October 2013 (Yan, 2022), and the liquidation of the low-end population in November 2017. In 2018, Shanghai's ten-year inclusive education policy experiment of "incorporating primary schools for children of migrant workers into the private education management system (my translation)" also came to an end. Although the points-based enrollment system provides the non-household registered population with the opportunity to enroll in public schools, in the eyes of many ordinary migrant workers it's not easy to enroll in a school with points. This has even led some parents to donate blood for free to gain points quickly (Southern Metropolis Daily, 2023).

After they struggle to enter school, in addition to the frequent changes in classmates and friends that accompany migrant life, they, just like local children, have to face the difficulties in making friends caused by the strict school rules and to suffer the school's insufficient attention to their psychological status.

School Teachers

Some migrant children formed transference relationships with their teachers, in an attempt to get emotional care from them (e.g. SZ2, QHD3). However, in China, some schools' so-called psychology teachers are part-time teachers from other subjects. These teachers lack the ability and time to provide appropriate help to children. In addition, even if the interviewed school in Shenzhen had set up full-time mental health education positions, the limited time the two teachers were able to devote to the job was insufficient to cover the nine grades and more than 50 classes of students in the school. Other teachers also didn't have enough energy and time to provide them with extra help.

Classmates and Friends

Friends and classmates of migrant children are also subject to the uncertainties of migration, as they may be suddenly sent back to their hometowns by their parents. In addition, due to strict regulations within the school, students' movement within the school is restricted. As we have already seen in Chapter 6, regulations such as not being allowed to leave your seat

unless necessary and making noise during recess have greatly made it more difficult for children to make friends.

Social Support

As I have pointed out in Chapter 2, among the four selected cities, migrant children from Beijing and Shanghai received relatively stable social support. Here public welfare organizations provide them with a group to integrate into and rich after-school activities. They also set up parenting classes to teach parents the concept of scientific parenting. This has brought benefits to the children's development. As we saw in chapter 4, the drawings created by migrant children from these two cities are richer in content and relatively bright in color than those in the other two cities.

As a result of the dramatic changes of the last century, old ideas and wisdom were often abandoned in Chinese society, and “materialistic science became the fetish that would protect and guide people” (Xu, 2021, p. 110). This caused the prevalence of a negative cultural animus in society. This negative cultural animus pursues pragmatic knowledge and material enjoyment, is submissive to power, and has become a shadow in the society. The subsequent introduction of the one-child policy linked low birthrate and eugenics to economic development, exacerbating the impact of this negative cultural animus (Xu, 2021).

The migrant population who grew up in this social environment are affected by these changes, but expectations for migrant children are not solely based on academic performance. Although their ultimate goal is to “live a better life”, different families have different requirements for children. Most migrant children from Beijing and Shenzhen are expected to excel through school and after-school tutoring classes, and their primary identification is with the role of student rather than child. Other parents from Shanghai and Qinhuangdao believe that children don’t need good academic performance. Schools should teach children the “correct” view of money and discipline them so that they can adapt to society. These children are more likely to be neglected by their parents, who invest less financially and emotionally in them.

In today’s Chinese society, people have lost their connection with the traditional feminine archetype (Gao & Shen, 2021). This has created an inadequate maternal, supportive, accommodating and protective atmosphere. Mothers affected by such a social atmosphere refuse to see or contain their children (Xu, 2021). The high pressure brought by migration stretches the emotional resources of mothers even thinner, making it difficult to provide adequate material and emotional care to migrant children. The absence of fathers in migrant families not only results in a lack of protective and guiding fatherhood, but also further leads to the unhealthy development of relationships between mother and child.

This maternal loss is also bound up with society’s rejection of migrants. Powerless parents not only have to do 3D (dangerous, dirty and demeaning) jobs (Roberts, 2001), but also lose

their due power and social support as they enter what Dai Jinhua (2006) called the stage of being exploited. For urban residents, scarce resources and inequality in educational resources and economic development force migrants into becoming their competitors. They cannot tolerate migrant workers, nor can they accept migrant children. In such a negative social atmosphere, the efforts of the government and social welfare organizations (many of which are bankrupt) will be compromised.

7.2 The Psychological Development of Migrant Children

As mentioned above, migrant children face dilemmas in all aspects of life. In society, they are excluded as outsiders; within the family, they are expected to be sensible, obedient, considerate of their parents, grateful, and not to cause trouble. At the same time, the frequently changing living environment makes it possible for them to suddenly and irreparably lose relatives and friends. Such an unsafe living environment and severe emotional neglect have a serious negative impact on them. Moreover, when faced with separation, migrant children rarely get enough time and space to mourn their loss, let alone support from their parents.

The root cause may be that migrant children are unable to establish secure attachment relationships and good self-functioning as a result of such a difficult life. In Bowlby's view, a person's vulnerability to stressors is strongly influenced by the development and current state of his or her intimate relationships (Bowlby, 1988). The nature of the emotional bonds

developed in early childhood will profoundly impact the subsequent interpersonal relations and consequently psychological development (Boszormenyi-Nagy & Spark, 1973; Bowlby, 1958, 1969; Hooper, 2007a, 2007b).

Our interviewees' self-function is often insufficient and fragile. Migrant children in cultural homelessness experience a wide range of identity crises. Drawing and describing themselves is difficult for them. There are also some children who directly expressed their confusion about self-belonging. In their drawings and behaviors they also express their anxious emotions in different ways. Some children have persistent behavioral problems in their lives, such as QHD4 scratching his nails and making them pitted, and SZ2 and QHD7 crying frequently. A majority of migrant children showed varying degrees of social difficulties, with both overexcited and withdrawn tendencies. Some children had difficulty grasping the boundaries of interaction with others, and what they perceived as overtures was seen as aggression by others. Others lost the desire to interact with their peers and became unusually quiet in their peer groups.

Moreover, migrant children's drawings showed gender and age differences. Previous studies have found that migrant girls outperform boys in interpersonal communication, show fewer externalizing problem behaviors (Li et al., 2009), and have a higher sense of group happiness (Peng et al., 2011; Liu et al., 2013). Our interviewed girls in lower and middle grades of primary school (6-10 years old) showed a closer relationship with their mothers and friends, who often appeared in their pictures. However, these figures rarely appear in the drawings of

boys of the same age. Compared with girls, the self-esteem of these boys also can lack a sense of boundary, or can show withdrawal and vulnerability. These girls are the liveliest group in our interviews, contributing the most colorful and imaginative drawings.

Unlike younger children full of fantasies and hopes for the future, older children expressed their confusion about the future through their drawing, and their self-development was further restricted. They were more seriously parentified, and began to face the dilemma of being unable to survive in the city. As a result, their drawings show a lack of color, preferring to use only black and white colors in their pictures. Their pictures also featured tight compositions or trees cut off by the edges of the paper.

However, children of all ages and genders reported disturbing dreams. Only a few children aged 6-7 years reported dreams of simple wish fulfillment, and several children showed their expectations for the future. Most of the remaining children were chased and attacked in their dreams. Some children expressed their loss and dissatisfaction with life, and the psychic world in their dream drawings collapsed. Such widespread nightmares reflect the unconscious restlessness of migrant children and the diffuse anxiety in their lives. Most of the dreams revolved around their families, showing their negative feelings about the image of home. At the unconscious level, they generally lack a psychic homeland.

7.3 Where are their homes?

The problems of migrant children are not only to do with parental and maternal loss within the family and lack of support from the wider society, but also concern their sense of uncertainty about home. The home drawn by some children can represent their self (Cooper, 1974; Avrane, 2020), but in our participants' drawings the houses seem to indicate symbols of protection that separate children from outsiders. They guarantee the continuation of life because they house those caregivers (Freud, 1956; Avrane, 2020). However, migrants are subject to many regulations over which they have no control, their houses are not private spaces that cannot be invaded. They are not safe bases and cannot function as a containing and protecting. This leaves migrant children experiencing cultural homelessness. This could explain why our interviewees created a large number of compensatory drawings to express their yearning for an independent, safe, and comfortable home to live. These homelands are often difficult to reach. They may be far away, or separated from the figures in the pictures (e.g. across a river without a bridge).

7.3.1 Different Forms of Cultural Homelessness

The notion of "Going home" is healing, and can also bring peace of mind. However, these migrant children from China seem to have lost their real and stable psychic identity, and they don't have a psychological homeland. Cultural homelessness is strongly highlighted in their language and drawings.

Physically isolated from their registered hometowns, they are unable to adapt to the local

accent and cultural customs because they have lived away for a long time. They also cannot integrate into the culture of their current residence because they could be expelled at any time. They are not accepted by the locals and cannot integrate into the local area or learn the local accent and culture. Most children express confusion about their self-belonging. Their connection with both sides is broken, and they have not been able to build a new and unique psychic homeland with the help of their parents.

“... they lack a cultural home. They may experience a strong yearning to ‘go home’, but home is no one place.” (Hoersting and Jenkins, 2011, p. 19)

Our interviewees have varying self-identities for belonging and exhibit several different forms of cultural homelessness. Some parents almost completely neglect their children. These children were not given much exposure to the cultural background of their “hometown”, and they were only exposed to the culture of their current residence. What they face is not the cultural division between their ancestral home and their current place of residence, but the pain of cultural exclusion in their current place of residence, the possibility of involuntary “return” at any time (Ba & Song, 2002; Li, 2002; Biao & Shen, 2005), and the inability to truly belong. They may lose the tangible buildings that give them a sense of holding at any time. A second category of children believe that they should belong to the place where they were registered, but they are full of imagination about the culture of their hometown and have not really been exposed to or integrated into it. In their drawings, they depict scenes in which they imagine themselves having in-depth communication with their

“old family members”. The last and highest proportion of children were unable to answer this question. They lived between two or even more cultures and did not have their own answers.

As the result, the homes in their drawings are either unsafe or difficult to reach. Their fragile and anxious self also appears in different symbolic forms in the drawings. Besides, they display language complexity like those cross-cultural children in previous studies (Henderson, 2016). Some children used local accents when discussing their hometown and current place of residence, while more children could only speak standard, written Mandarin, showing a more serious double cultural isolation.

7.3.2 Inaccessible Psychic Homeland

In fact, cultural homelessness is a long-existing cultural complex in Chinese society. As Wen Yiduo (1994, p. 377) mentioned in analyzing Chinese ideology, homelessness and the culture of homelessness is a part of the soul of the Chinese people. To locals, migrants are unwelcome and subject to discrimination; to old family members, migrants have moved too far and cannot contribute much to the family’s production relations. The low social status, economic income and pressure exerted by all parties on the migrations trigger this complex.

The causes of cultural homelessness among migrant children are as complex as their expression in drawings. Many intertwined reasons have jointly created this psychological

status: Persistent emotional (or even physical) neglect by parents; difficulty in obtaining care from other elders; lack of sibling companionship or close peer relationships (school and after-school activities) that could serve as substitutes; and absence of social support. In their lives, there was not only a lack of maternal containment and care within the family and at the broader social level, but also a lack of paternal guidance and protection. All these prevented them from becoming the offspring protected within the family and within the house as represented in the Chinese character 家.

Thus, China's migrant children have yet to receive enough support to enable them to overcome their cultural conflicts and life dilemmas. Their parents either did not realize that this matter may have a significant impact on their children, or underestimated the children's pain, or were unable to provide help. Care from other family members or social support was also unstable. Therefore, when migrant children tried to piece the pieces of their lives together independently, they always failed because of a lack of adequate psychological resources and support.

They use a lot of written language in our conversations, implying that they rarely acquire colloquial expressions from daily life, have frequent nightmares and draw heavily negative drawings. There are a lot of negative elements and symbols in their fantasies, but very few positive ones. The unconscious image of the home also possesses few positive functions, and even these should be seen as a compensatory psychic homeland that was impossible to reach. Among the interviewees in this research, not a single child successfully managed cultural

integration and bridged cultural contradictions. In such difficult situations and with insufficient support, migrant children may find it difficult to carve out their own unique paths.

As mentioned above, migrant children in China are experiencing development dilemmas from different perspectives. These findings not only lay the foundation for further research but also promote society's understanding of this group, help create a more containing social atmosphere, and provide potential guidance for practice.

First, the methodological innovation in this research can bring new ideas to researchers who use the HTP technique for analysis in the future. Psychoanalytic theory, especially Jungian theory, can expand the depth and breadth of the analyst's understanding of pictures and sometimes fill in vague background information. Secondly, the embodiment and expression of home and cultural homelessness not only enriches the connotation of the house image, but also helps to further carry out cross-cultural comparison.

In addition, our findings can promote an in-depth picture of the psychological state of migrant children and provide possible recommendations for educational practice and policy formulation. For school teachers and those who work with migrant children, these valuable findings can enhance their understanding of the multiple dilemmas in these children's lives, thus helping them provide more targeted education and support in their work and practice.

Finally, school and family, two crucial spaces for school-age children, recurred in our

interviewees' dreams and drawings, accompanied by negative emotions and images. Guiding and promoting the integration of migrant populations into cities, reducing high pressure within families, and solving the problem of migrant children's enrollment could be the direction for relevant departments and organisations to continue their efforts.

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Appendix

Appendix 1 Ethical Approval



25/11/2021

Miss Rui Shi

Psychosocial and Psychoanalytic Studies

University of Essex

Dear Rui,

Ethics Committee Decision

Application: ETH2021-1567

I am writing to advise you that your research proposal entitled "Cultural Homelessness: Research on Mental Health of Migrant Children in China" has been reviewed by the Ethics Sub Committee 3.

The Committee is content to give a favourable ethical opinion of the research. I am pleased, therefore, to tell you that your application has been granted ethical approval by the Committee.

Please do not hesitate to contact me if you require any further information or have any queries.

Yours sincerely,

Marita Vyrgioti

Appendix 2 Recruitment Information

Dear parents, hello!

My name is Rui Shi. I am a PhD student from University of Essex, UK, and I am conducting research for my PhD thesis. The theme of this project is the mental health of migrant children. I wonder if you and your child would be willing to take part in my research. This would involve one interview with you (parents), and two interviews with your child. The interviews with parents will last 20 minutes. The researcher will ask some questions about the basic information of the family and the relevant situation of your child. Your child will have two individual interviews with the researcher for 45minutes each. In the first interview, your child will be asked to make a series of drawings and discuss the drawing with researcher. In the second interview, the child will be asked to discuss a dream that they have with the interviewer.

All the interviews will be conducted anonymously, and the results will only be used for academic research. If you are willing to participate in this research, please contact Mr. X/Ms. Y at the XX school (organization). He/She will help you get in touch with the researcher. The researcher will discuss with you the details of the interviews.

Your participation in this research is completely voluntary, and you will be asked to sign a consent form. If you want to withdrawal from the research, you are free to do so anytime without giving a reason.

Requirements: The parents are mobile workers, and the children live with their parents in the city. The age of the children is between 6-15.

Task: We will conduct one interview with you and two interviews with your child.

Duration: The interview with you will take 20 minutes, and the two interviews with your child are expected to last 45 minutes each.

Remuneration:

After completing the interviews, we will give the child a small gift.

Contact Details:

Name

Phone number:

Email address:

(To be provided by the school)

Looking forward to your participation!

Rui Shi

University of Essex

Appendix 3 Participant Information Sheet

Cultural Homelessness: Migrant Children in China

My name is Rui Shi and I am a PhD student in the Department of Psychosocial and Psychoanalytic Studies at the University of Essex. I would like to invite you to take part in a research study. Before you decide whether or not to take part, it is important for you to understand why the research is being done and what it will involve. Please take time to read the following information carefully. If there is anything that is not clear, or if you would like more information, please ask.

What is the purpose of the study?

This research is my doctoral research project and will last for three months. The purpose of this research is to pay attention to the mental health of migrant children.

Why have I been invited to participate?

You and the parents of 40 other migrant children will be invited to participate in the research. You and your child are invited to participate in this study because you are a mobile worker, and your child is aged 6-15 and followed you to the city from your hometown.

Do I have to take part?

It's up to you to decide whether or not you and your child wish to take part in this research study. During the interviews, you and your child are free to withdraw at any time, without giving a reason. Withdrawal will have no impact on your marks, assessments or future studies. Please note, after the data collection is completed, the researcher will complete the anonymization of the data within one month so withdrawal of data would only be possible up to the point of anonymization.

What will happen to me if I take part?/What information will be collected?

The researcher will first conduct a 20-minute one-on-one interview with you and ask you to sign an informed consent form for your child to take part in the research. This initial interview aims to get a picture of your child in your home setting. The questions will be about your child, the circumstances of the migration and the family's situation. What's more, I want to answer any questions you have.

Subsequently, the researcher will conduct two one-on-one interviews with your child. Before the first interview, the researcher will inform your child of the general content of the two interviews and obtain his/her oral consent. In the first interview, the child will be asked to draw a picture. In the second interview, the child will tell the researcher a dream.

The researcher will obtain your child's oral consent by asking them the following questions:

"I will conduct two interviews with you. In the first interview, you will draw a picture and

discuss the content of the drawing. In the second interview, you will discuss one of your dreams with me. Do you understand what you are going to do? Do you participate voluntarily? Are you forced to participate? ”

What are the possible benefits of taking part?/What are the possible disadvantages and risks of taking part?

Your participation with others may further our understanding of migrant children's perception of themselves, interpersonal relationships and living environment.

If your child becomes psychologically disturbed by the interviews, the interviews would be stopped, and the researcher will provide you with information about suitable counselling services.

Will my information be kept confidential?/Who is the data controller?

With your and your child's permission, the researcher will record the interview with you and video the interview with your child. Please don't worry, the researcher will delete your and your child's name information and ensure data security. All electronic files will be stored in encrypted files and mobile hard drives, and all paper documents will also be stored in a locked cabinet. Only me have access to the original data.

What will happen to the results of the research study?

The interviews will be transcribed and analyzed. The fully anonymised data will be used for my PhD thesis and relevant research publications.

What is the legal basis for using the data?/Who has reviewed the study?

The processing of data will comply with General Data Protection Regulation (GDPR). The researcher will obtain your written consent and your child's oral consent. This research has obtained ethics approval from the University of Essex, the number of the ethics approval is: ETH2021-1567 .

Concerns and Complaints

If you have any concerns about any aspect of the study or you have a complaint, in the first instance please contact the principal investigator of the project, Rui Shi, using the contact details below. If you are still concerned, you think your complaint has not been addressed to your satisfaction or you feel that you cannot approach the principal investigator, please contact the supervisor in the department responsible for this project, Dr David Henderson (e-mail david.henderson@essex.ac.uk). If you are still not satisfied, please contact the University's Research Governance and Planning Manager, Sarah Manning-Press (e-mail sarahm@essex.ac.uk). Please include the ERAMS reference which can be found at the foot of this page.

Contact details

Thank you again for agreeing to take part in this research. Please retain this Information Sheet for future reference. If you are interested in taking part in this research with your child please contact XXXX at SSSS School. They will facilitate contact with the researcher, Rui Shi. If you have any questions about any aspect of the research, please do not hesitate to contact me or my supervisor.

Rui Shi, PhD student in Psychosocial and Psychoanalytic Studies, University of Essex

Tel: +86 15735159008

Email: rs20983@essex.ac.uk

WeChat: sherryshee12

David Henderson, Lecturer in Psychosocial and Psychoanalytic Studies, University of Essex,

Wivenhoe Park, Colchester, Essex CO4 3SQ, United Kingdom

Email: david.henderson@essex.ac.uk

Appendix 4 Consent Form for Parents of participating children

Title of the Project: Cultural Homelessness: Migrant Children in China

Researcher: Rui Shi

Please initial box

1. I confirm that I have read and understand the Information Sheet dated xx for the above study. I have had an opportunity to consider the information, ask questions and have had these questions answered satisfactorily by the researcher.

2. I understand that participation of my child is voluntary and that I am free to withdraw from the project at any time without giving any reason and without penalty. I understand that any data collected up to the point of my and my child's withdrawal will be destroyed.

3. If my child becomes psychologically disturbed during one of the interviews, the researcher will stop the interview and provide me with information about suitable counselling services. The researcher has made arrangements with services in my city which include free psychological consultations for both parents

and children.

4. I understand that the identifiable data provided will be securely stored and accessible only to the researcher directly involved in the project, and that confidentiality will be maintained.

☐

5. I understand that fully anonymised data will be used for the researcher's PhD thesis and relevant research publications.

☐

6. I understand that the data collected about me and my child will be used to support other research in the future, and may be shared anonymously with other researchers.

☐

7. I agree that the researcher will audio record the interviews with me.

☐

8. I agree my child's interview to be video recorded.

☐

9. I agree that clips of my child's interview videos may be shared anonymously at research conferences or similar research venues in the future.

☐

10. I agree to take part in the above study and give my consent for me and my child to contribute to the research.

☐

Participant Names (Parents)	Date	Participant's Signature
_____	_____	_____

Researcher Name	Date	Researcher's Signature
_____	_____	_____

Appendix 5 Oral Consent

I obtained children's oral consent by asking them the following questions:

“I will conduct two interviews with you. In the first interview, you will draw a picture and discuss the content of the drawing. In the second interview, you will discuss one of your dreams with me. Do you understand what you are going to do? Do you participate voluntarily? Are you forced to participate? ”

Appendix 6 Children's Drawings

Shenzhen

SZ1, Boy

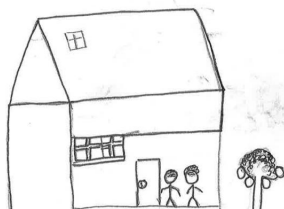


House-Tree-Person Drawing

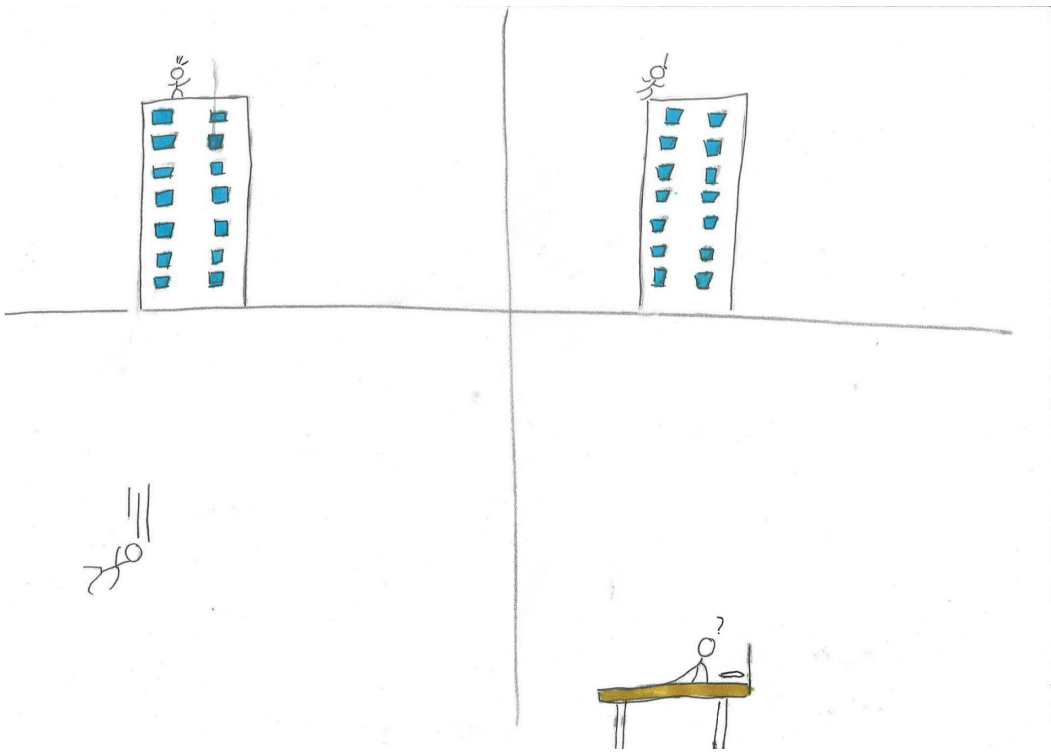


Dream Drawing

SZ2, Boy



House-Tree-Person Drawing



Dream Drawing

SZ3, Boy



House-Tree-Person Drawing

SZ4, Girl



House-Tree-Person Drawing

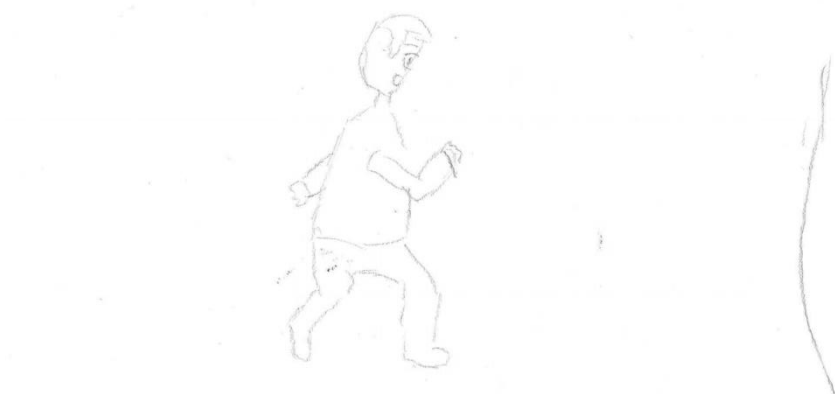


Dream Drawing

SZ5, Boy



House-Tree-Person Drawing

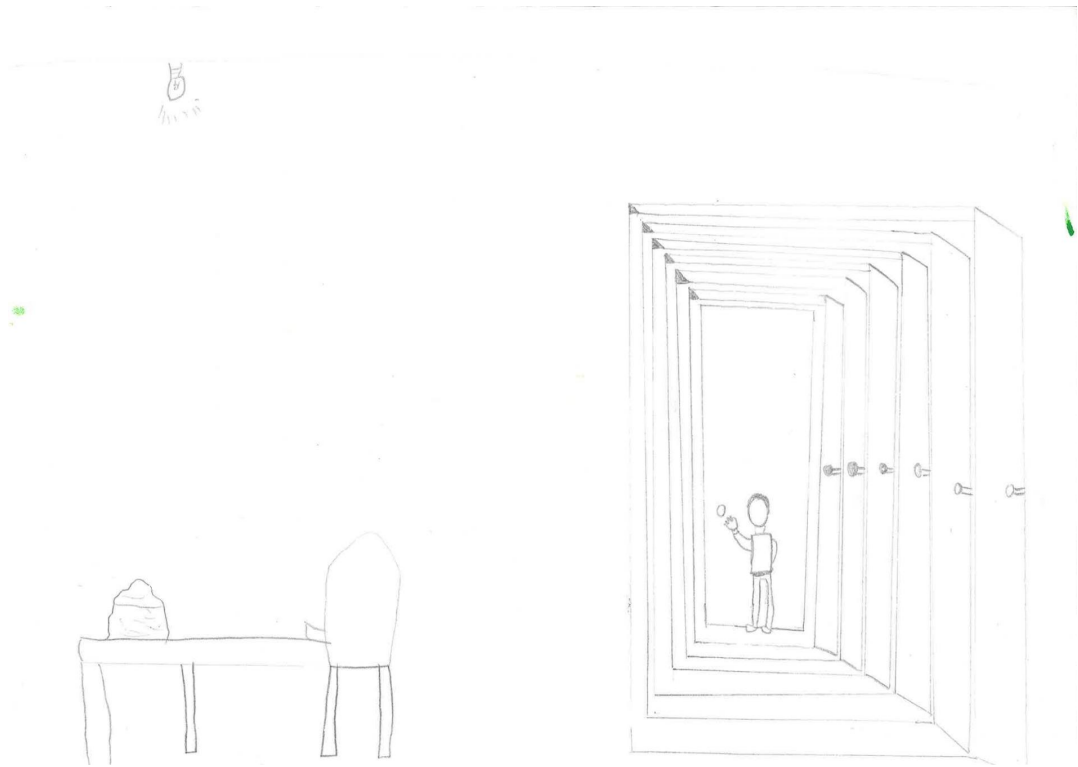


Dream Drawing

SZ6, Boy

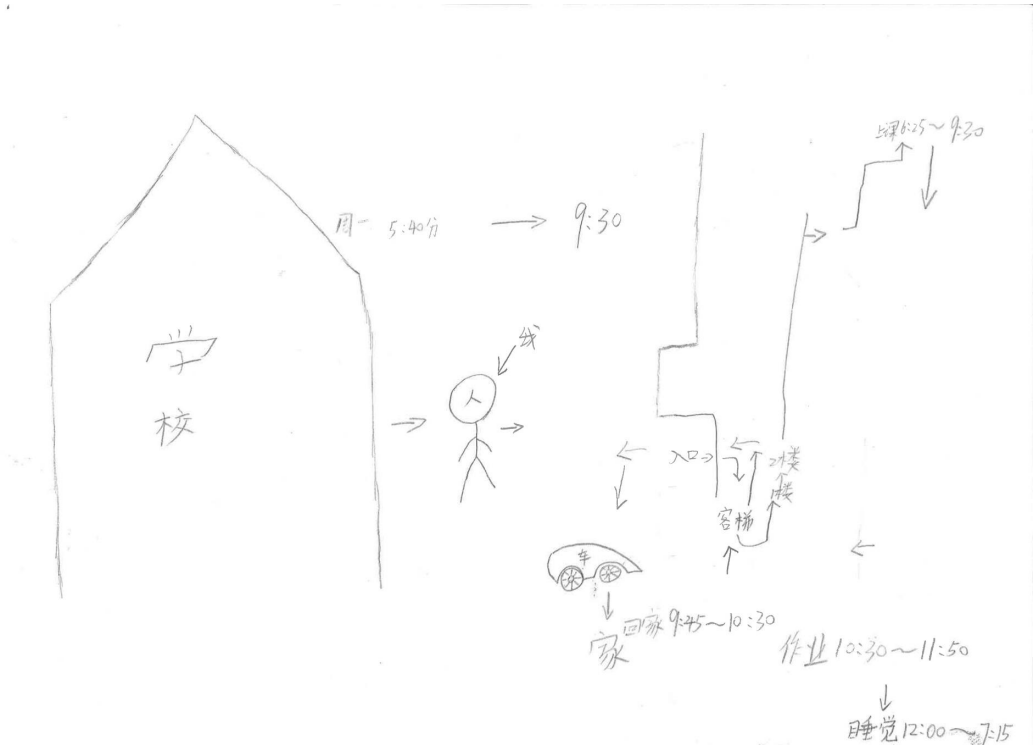


House-Tree-Person Drawing



Dream Drawing

SZ7, Boy



House-Tree-Person Drawing

SZ8, Boy

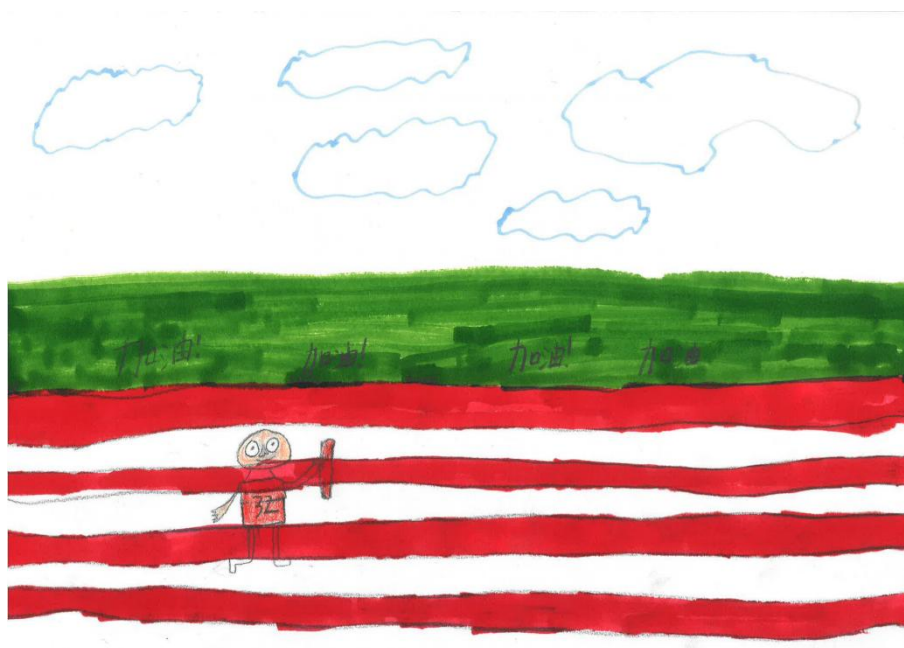


House-Tree-Person Drawing

SZ9, Boy



House-Tree-Person Drawing



Dream Drawing

Qinhuangdao

QHD1, Girl



House-Tree-Person Drawing

QHD2, Girl

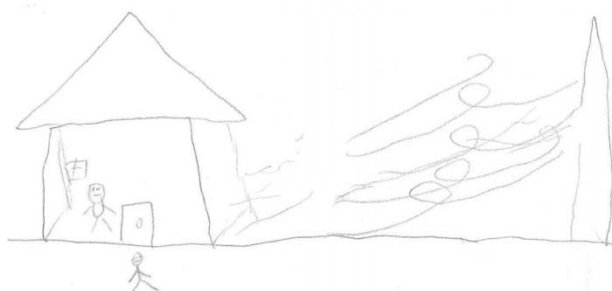


House-Tree-Person Drawing

QHD3, Boy

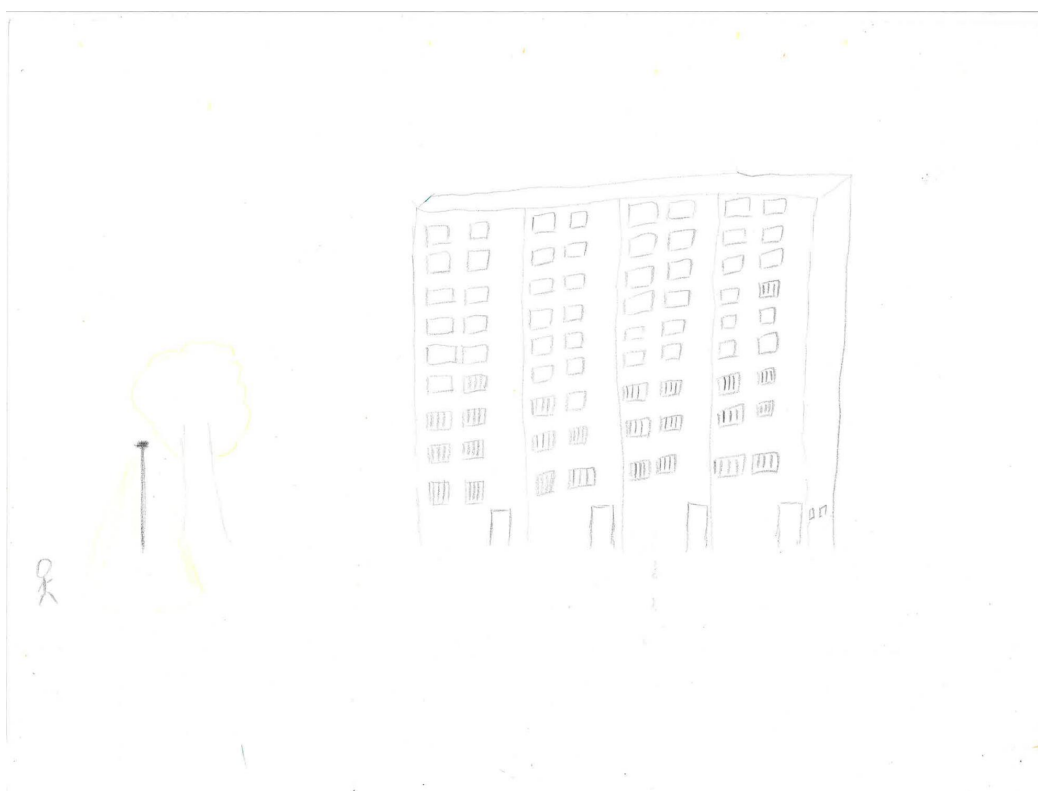


House-Tree-Person Drawing

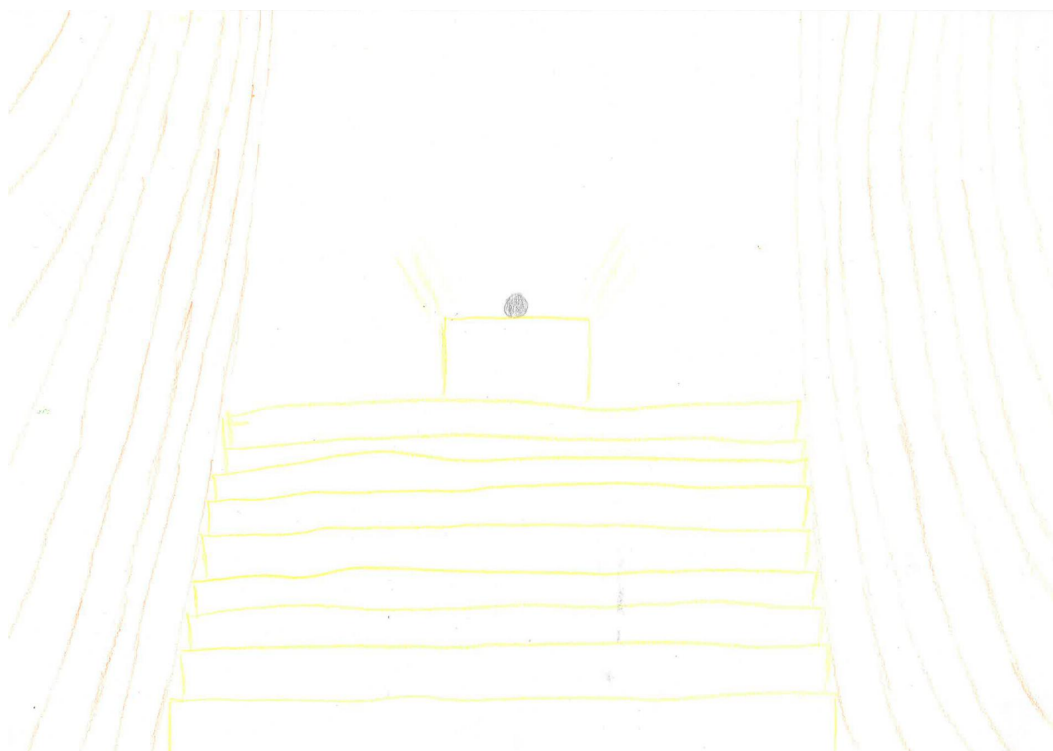


Dream Drawing

QHD4, Boy



House-Tree-Person Drawing



Dream Drawing

QHD5, Boy



House-Tree-Person Drawing

QHD6, Girl



House-Tree-Person Drawing-1



House-Tree-Person Drawing-2

QHD7, Girl



House-Tree-Person Drawing

Beijing

BJ1, Boy



House-Tree-Person Drawing

BJ2, Girl



House-Tree-Person Drawing

BJ3, Girl



House-Tree-Person Drawing



Free Drawing-1



Free Drawing-2

BJ4, Girl

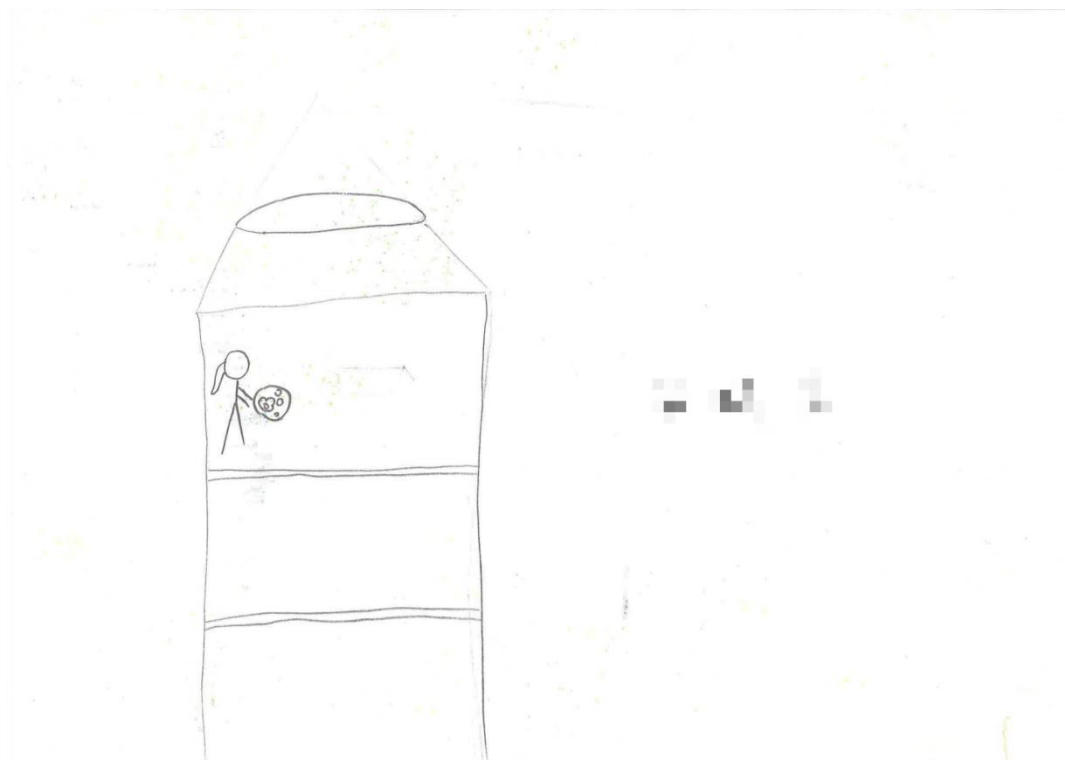


House-Tree-Person Drawing

BJ5, Girl



House-Tree-Person Drawing-1



House-Tree-Person Drawing-2



House-Tree-Person Drawing-3

BJ6, Girl



House-Tree-Person Drawing

BJ7, Girl



House-Tree-Person Drawing



Dream Drawing

BJ8, Girl



House-Tree-Person Drawing

BJ9, Girl



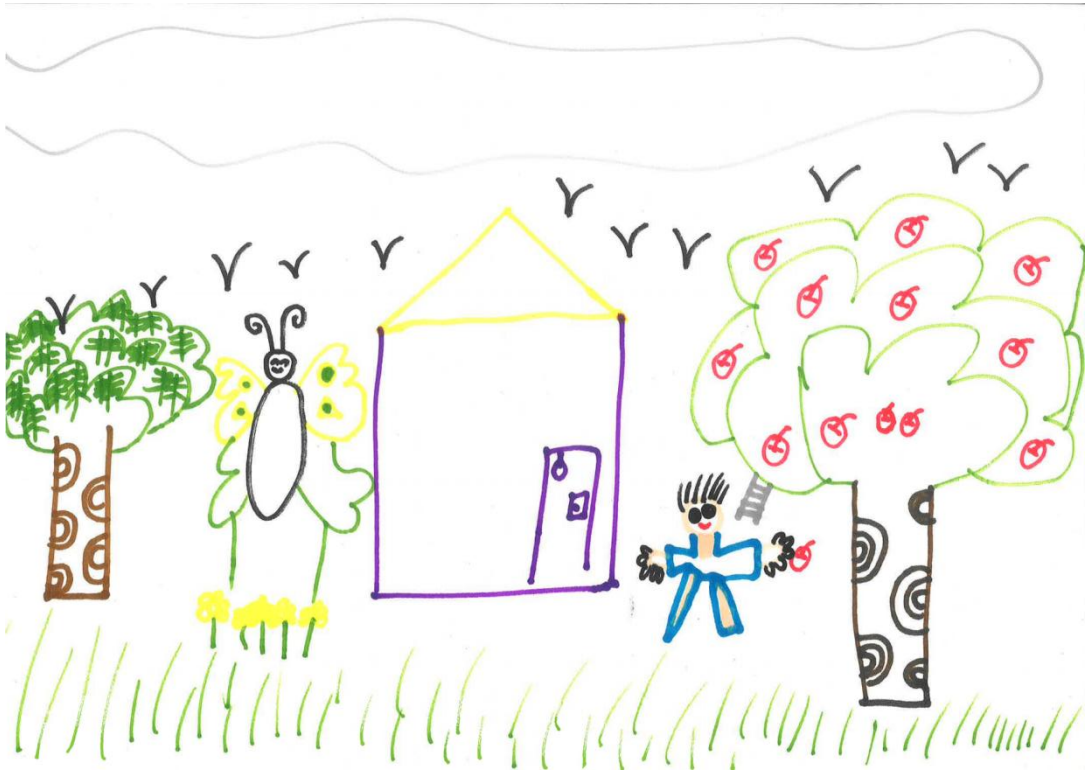
House-Tree-Person Drawing

BJ10, Girl



House-Tree-Person Drawing

BJ11, Boy



House-Tree-Person Drawing-1



House-Tree-Person Drawing-2

Shanghai

SH1, Boy



House-Tree-Person Drawing

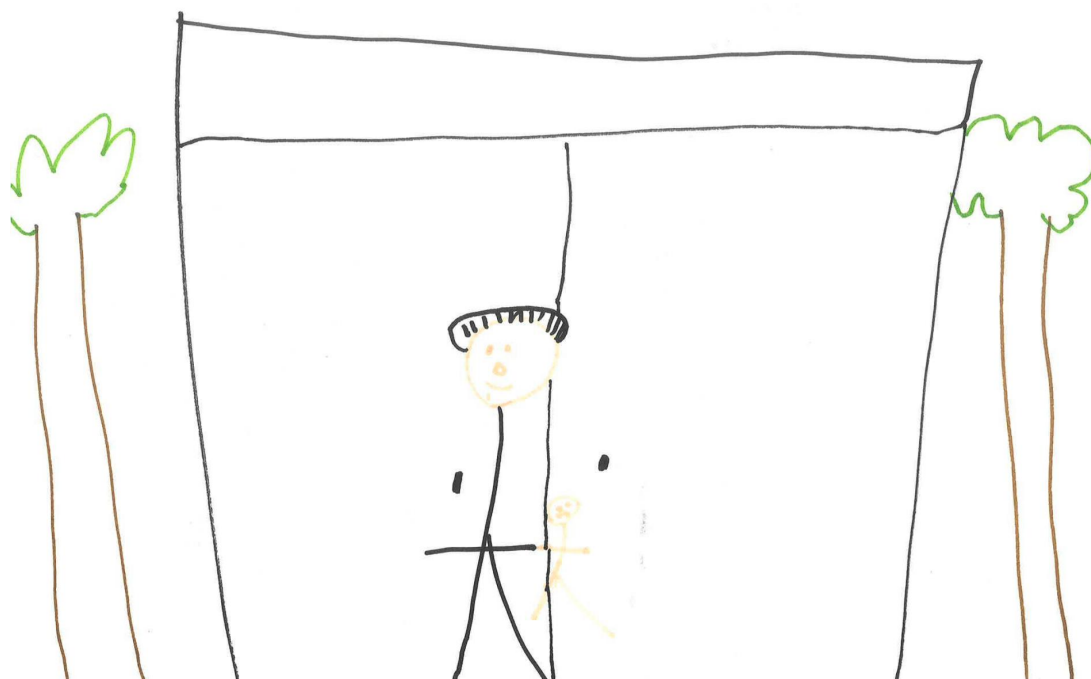


Dream Drawing

SH2, Boy



House-Tree-Person Drawing

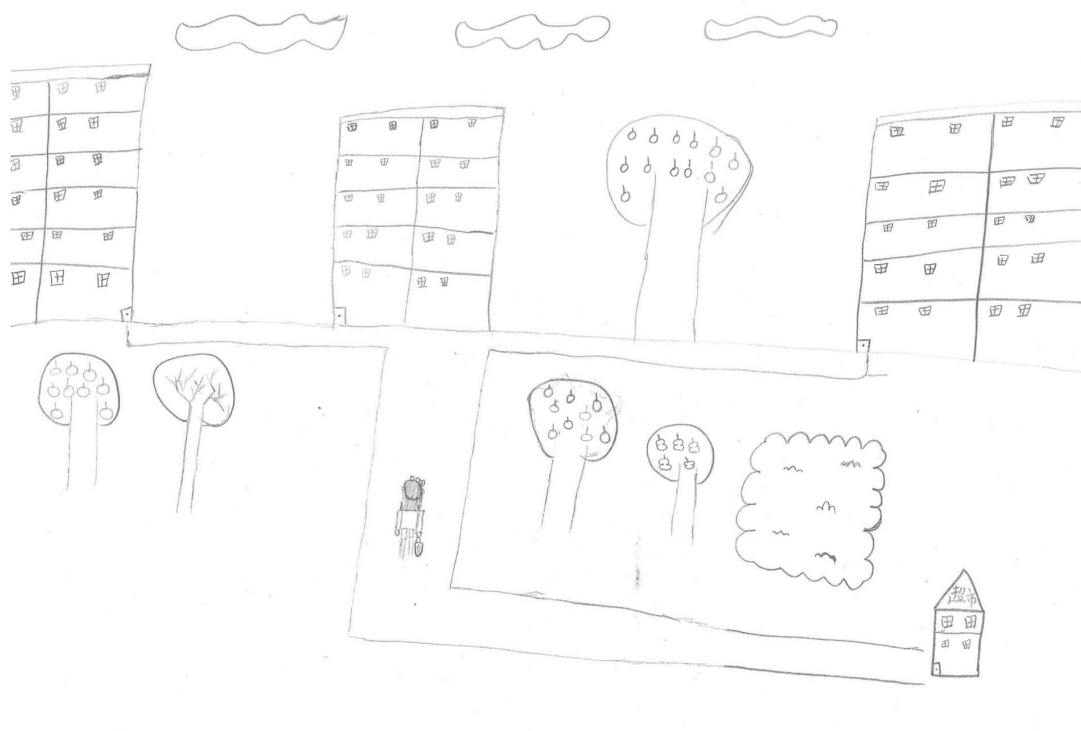


Dream Drawing-1

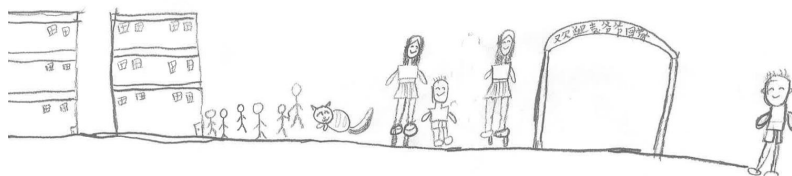


Dream Drawing-2

SH3, Girl



House-Tree-Person Drawing

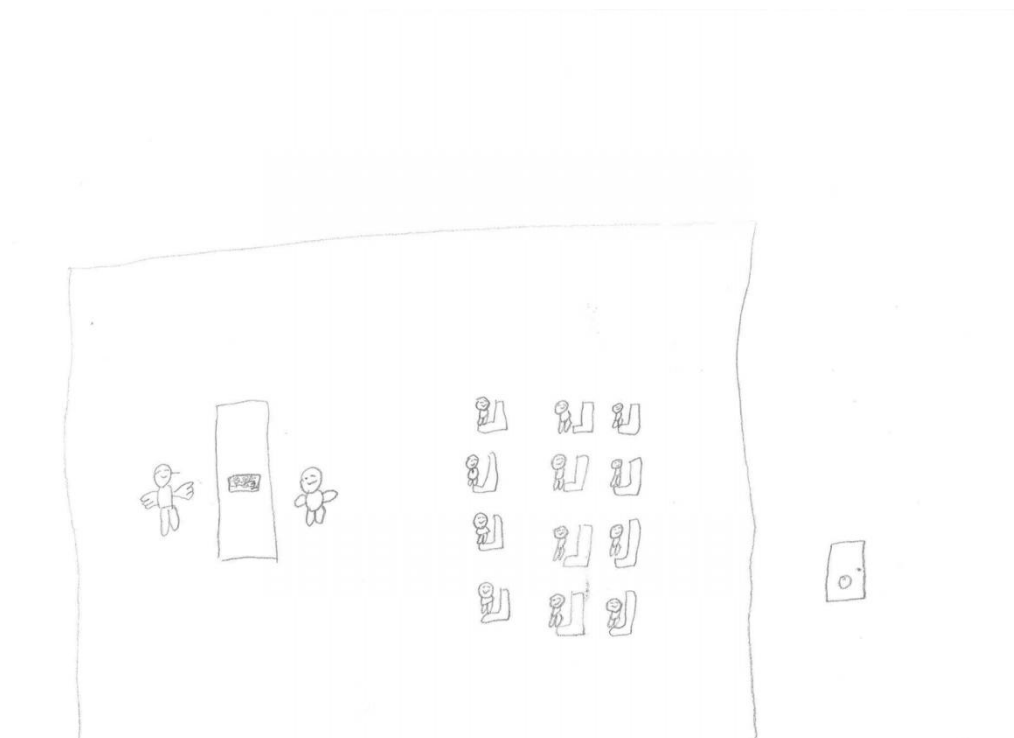


Dream Drawing

SH4, Boy



House-Tree-Person Drawing

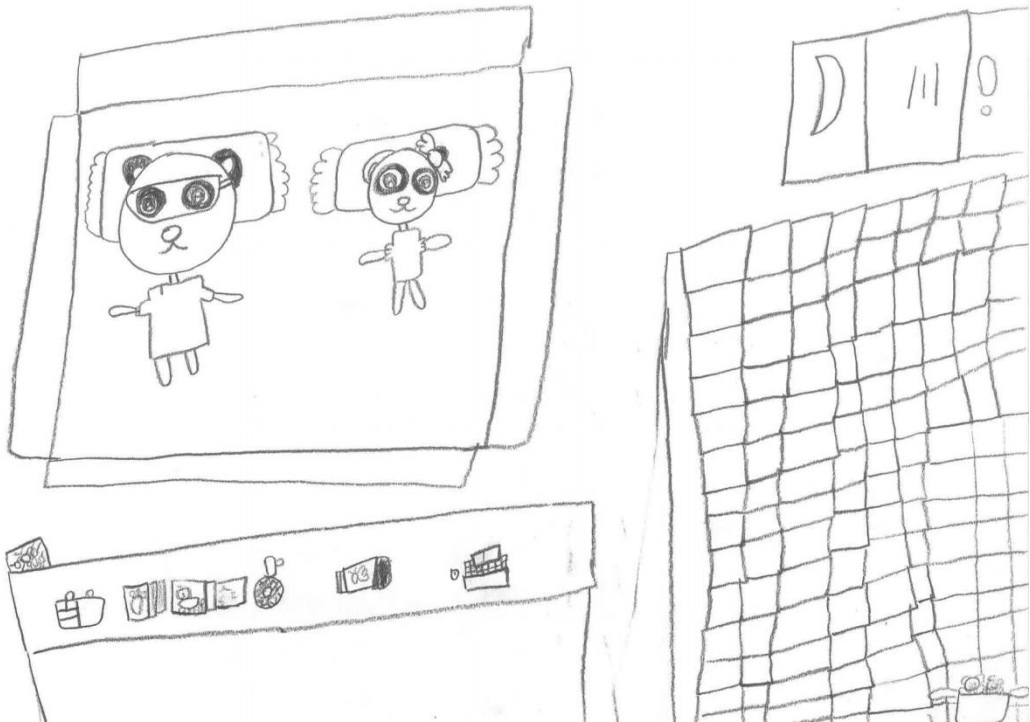


Dream Drawing

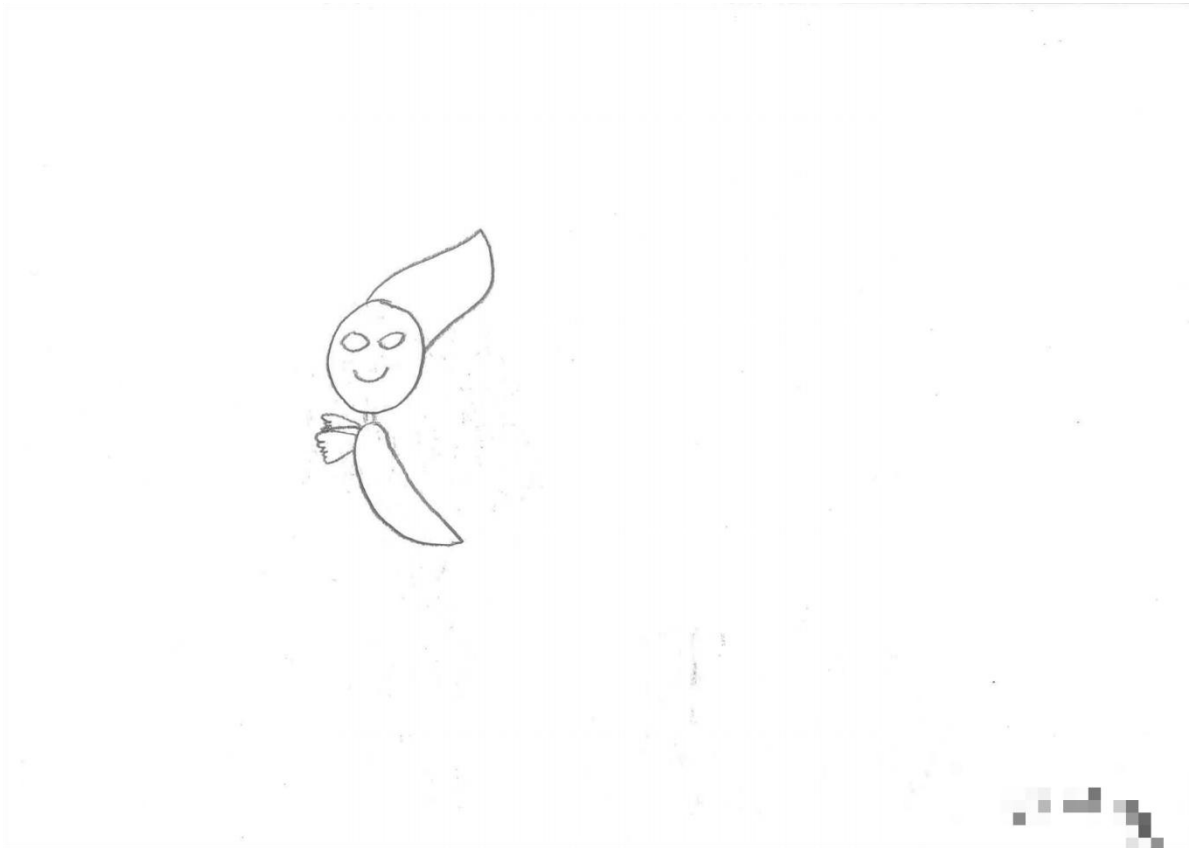
SH5, Girl



House-Tree-Person Drawing



Dream Drawing-1

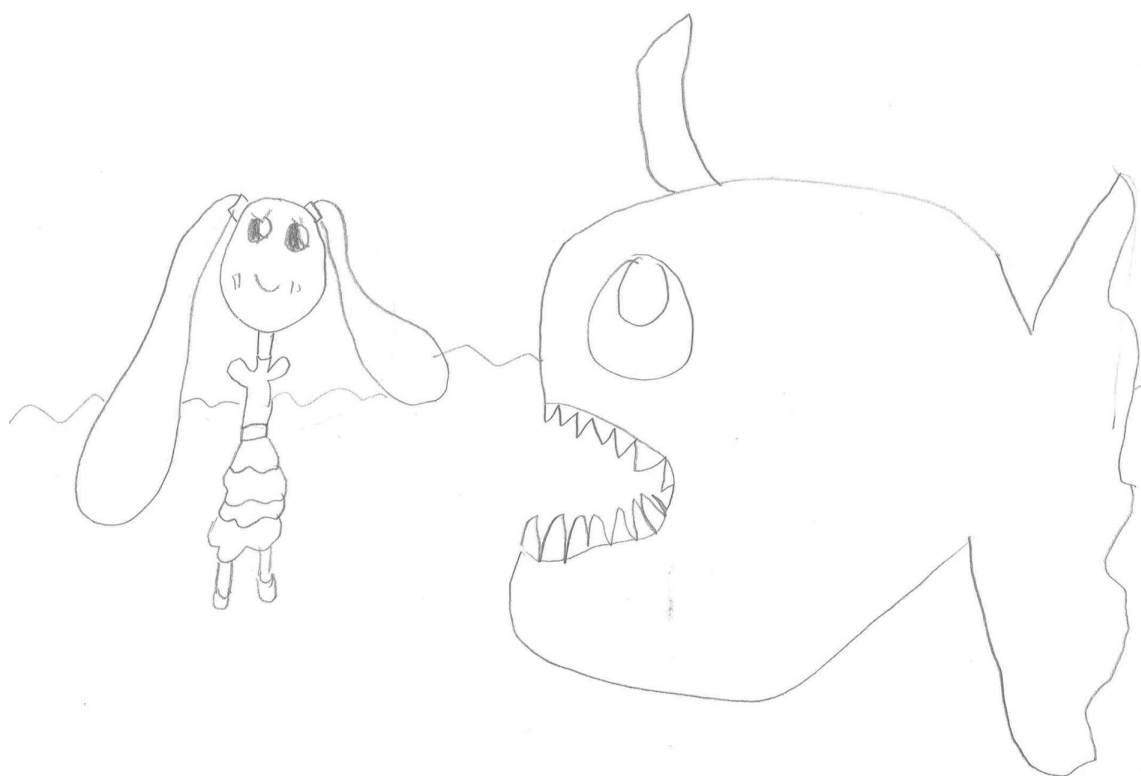


Dream Drawing-2

SH6, Girl



House-Tree-Person Drawing

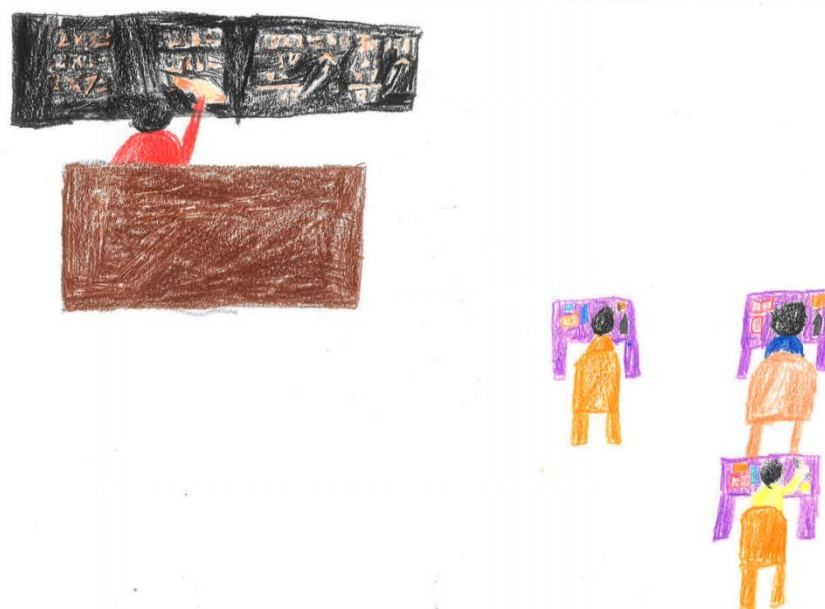


Dream Drawing

SH7, Boy



House-Tree-Person Drawing

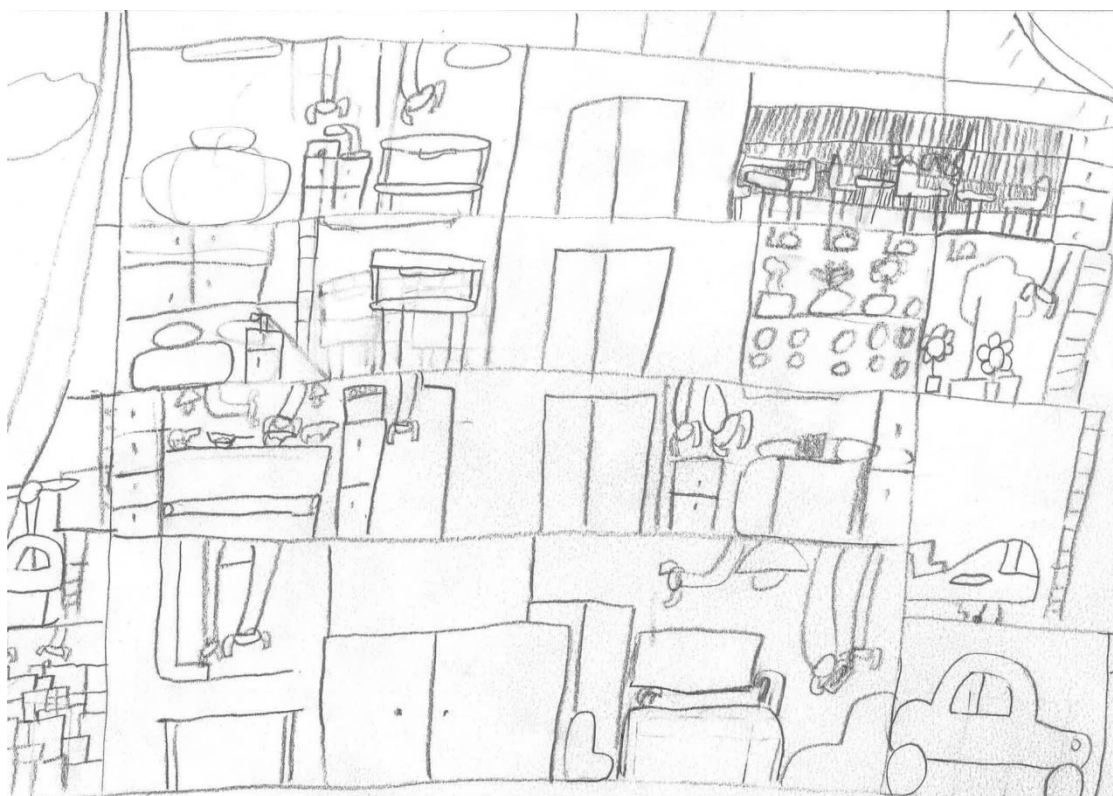


Dream Drawing

SH8, Boy

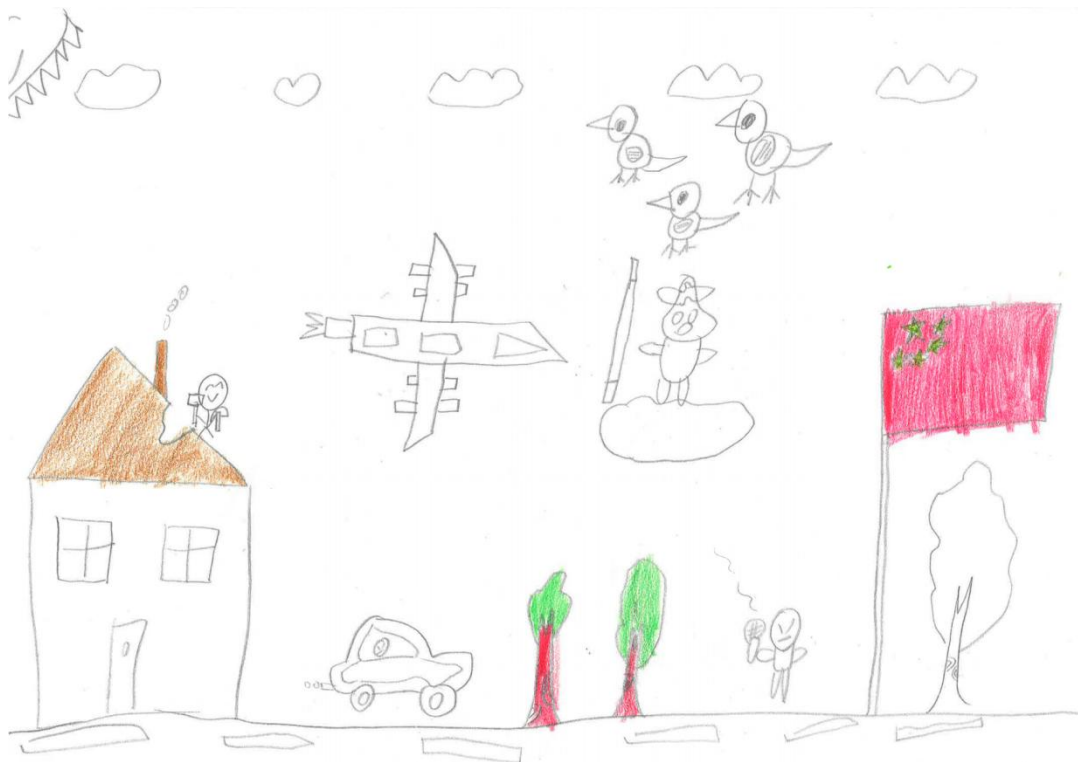


House-Tree-Person Drawing



Dream Drawing

SH9, Boy



House-Tree-Person Drawing



Dream Drawing-1



Dream Drawing-2

SH10, Boy



House-Tree-Person Drawing



Dream Drawing

SH11, Girl

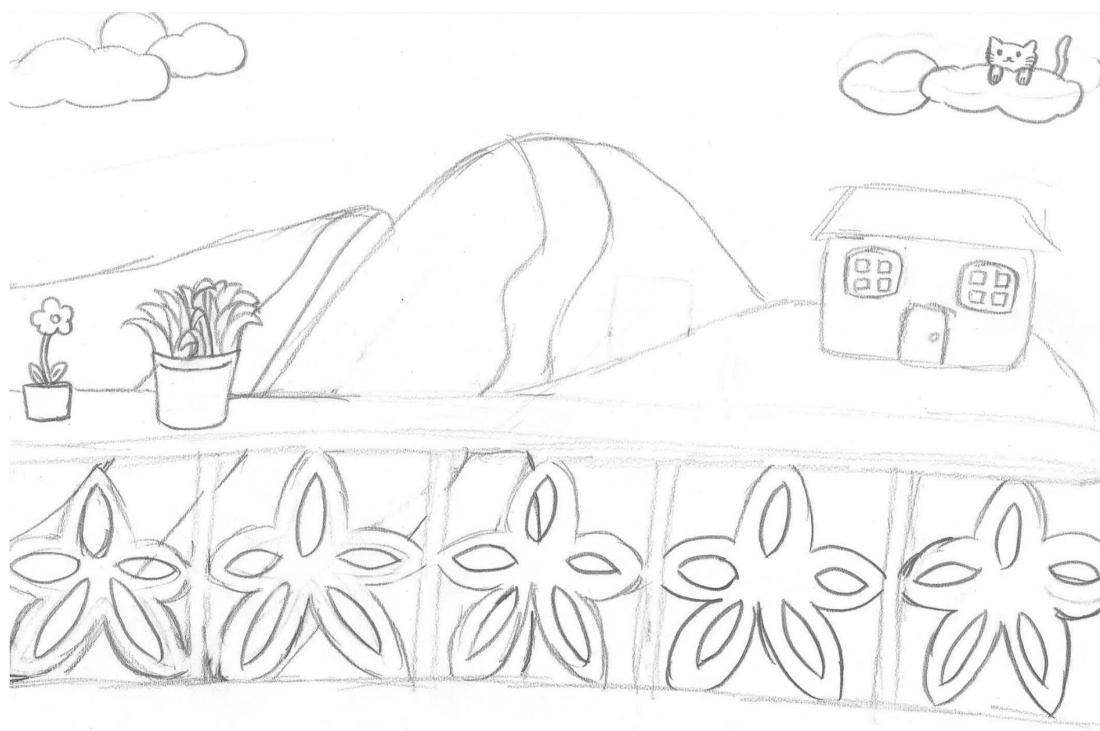


House-Tree-Person Drawing-1

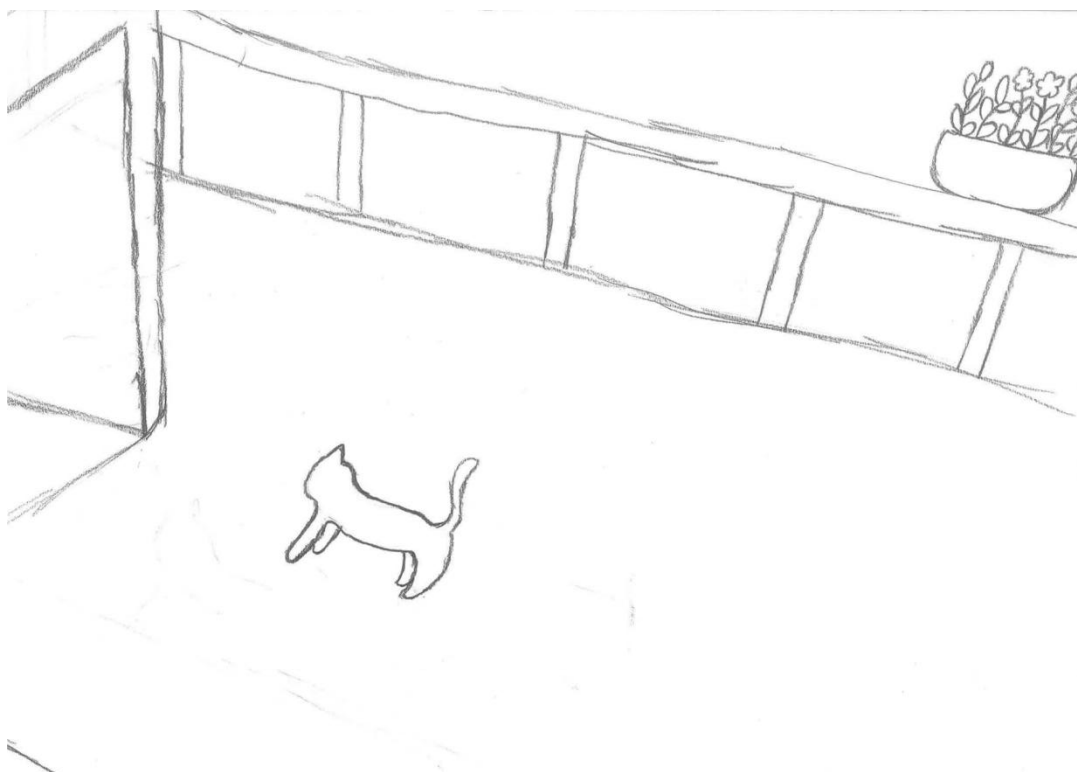


House-Tree-Person Drawing-2

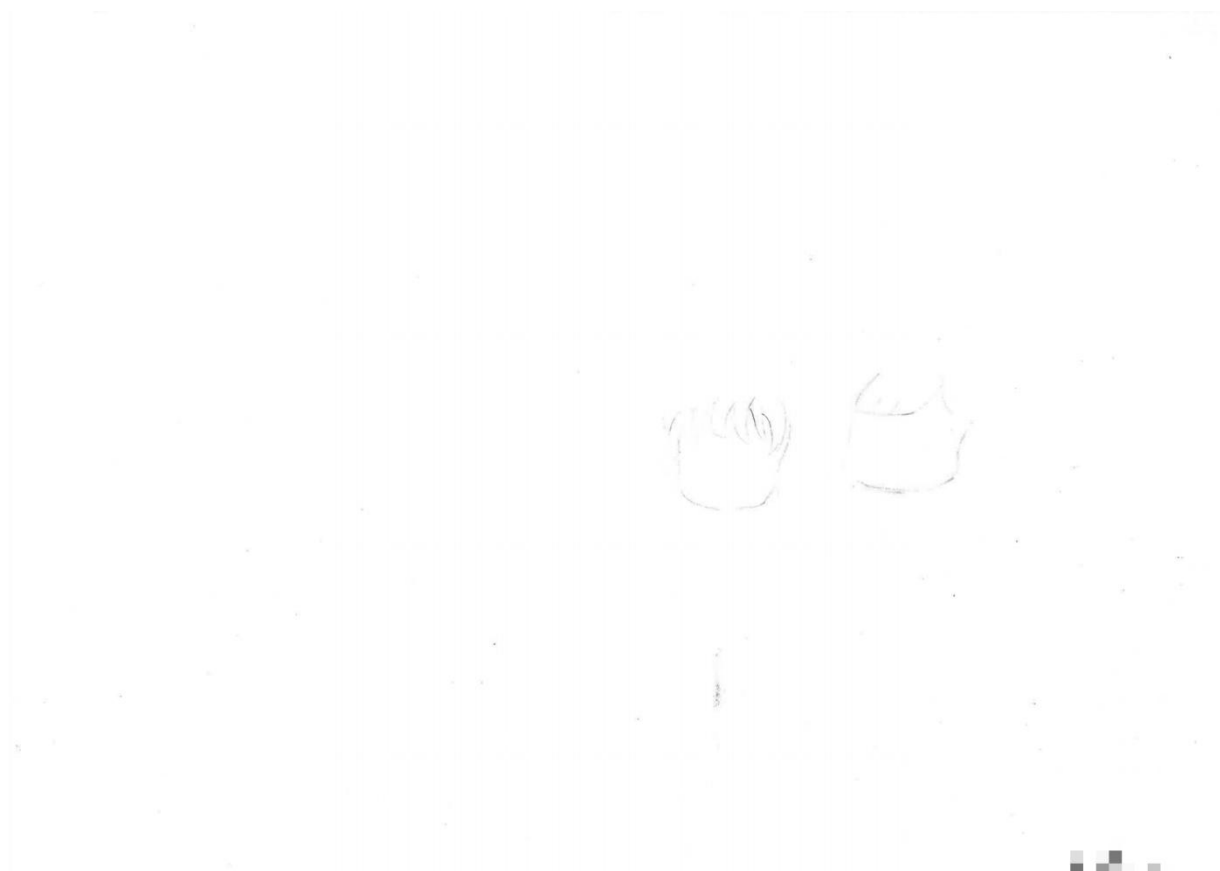
SH12, Girl



House-Tree-Person Drawing



Dream Drawing-1



Dream Drawing-2

SH13, Boy



House-Tree-Person Drawing

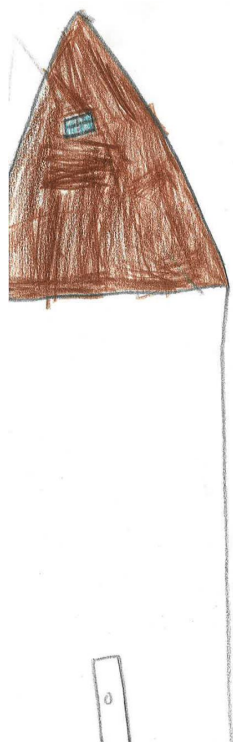


Dream Drawing-1



Dream Drawing-2

SH14, Boy



House-Tree-Person Drawing-1



House-Tree-Person Drawing-2

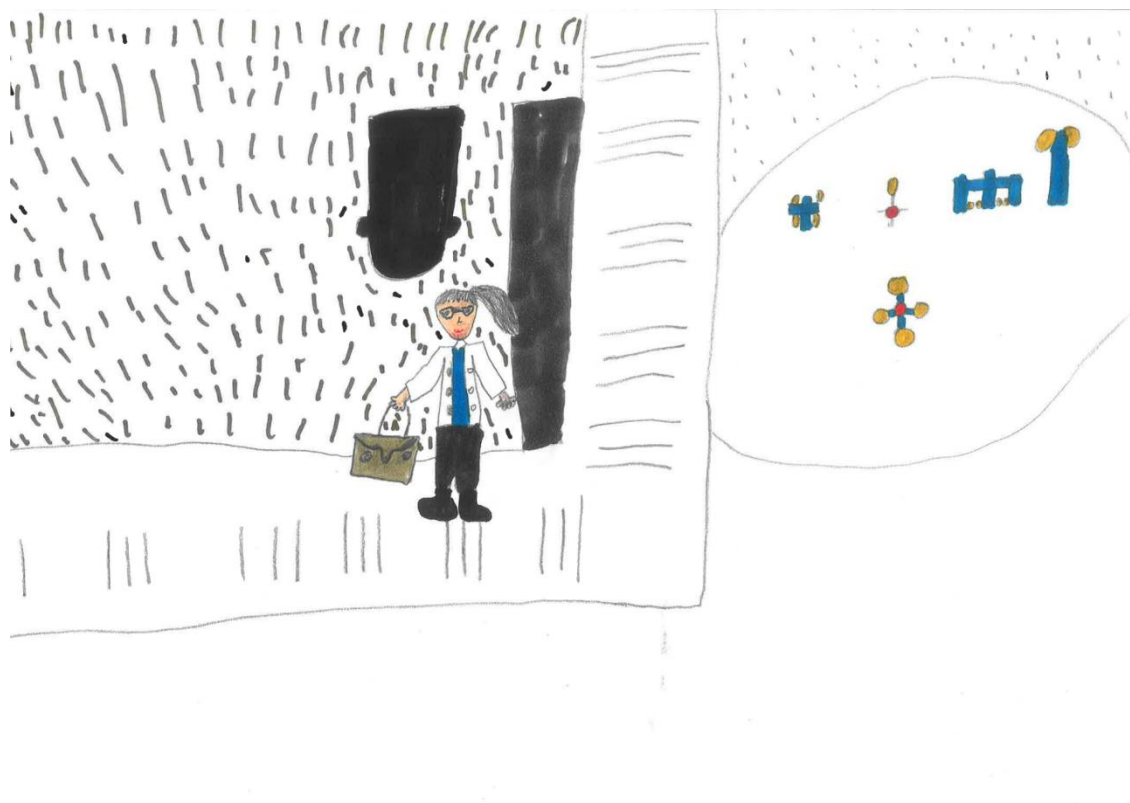


Dream Drawing

SH15, Girl



House-Tree-Person Drawing



Dream Drawing