Chineseness as a Moving Target

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Changing Infrastructures of the Chinese Diaspora in the Netherlands

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Preface

This book is about identity. More specifically, it is about contemporary identity making processes in the Chinese diaspora in the Netherlands. The identity process in Chinese diasporas all over the world has become very perspicuous due to changing migration patterns as a result of the large scale social-economic transformation in the People's Republic of China. This research is carried out within the framework of the European HERA-funded project *Investigating discourses of inheritance and identities in four European settings* (IDII4MES), and out of a deep curiosity about the identity formation of Chinese immigrants in the Netherlands, who have a long history of transnational migration. Yet, little is known about them in the present world under conditions of globalization and superdiversity.

As an old proverb says, it takes a village to raise a child. Many people deserve my thankfulness for helping me complete the doctoral work presented here. First, I want to express my immense gratitude to Professor Sjaak Kroon and Professor Jan Blommaert for their guidance, careful readings, important comments and suggestions throughout the years of my PhD work. I met Sjaak in the very beginning of my academic life at Tilburg University, and he opened the door of the world of sociolinguistics to me in the first place. Starting in 2006 I did a Dutch-language Master in 'Intercultural Communication' at Tilburg University after having lived in the Netherlands for only two years. To follow a study in Dutch in the field of the Humanities after such a relatively short residence in this new country and without any command of its language not long ago, was considered a mission impossible by many. But I was young and ambitious to undertake something – not because it would be easy. As a first generation Chinese migrant in the Netherlands, my deep interest in languages, societies and identities has driven me to work on this topic. Two years later, I was authorized as a certified translator Dutch, Chinese and English. Today, not only have I finished the Dutch Master study, but I am also finishing my PhD work. Without Sjaak's academic guidance, trust and confidence in me, I would not have been able to reach this phase. Despite his heavy responsibility of leading the department of Culture Studies from one reorganization to another in the last couple of years, he has invested a good deal of time in my research. I also owe a deep gratitude to Professor Jan Blommaert. It was a true privilege to have him as my supervisor. His invaluable input, kindness and spirit have been a constant source of inspiration. Without Jan and Sjaak, this book would have not reached its present form. Their supervision went beyond the duties of professional guidance: not only did they care about my academic achievements, but also about my physical and emotional well-being in life. Their work, kindness and generosity have inspired me as an academic and as a human being. During my visits to the Netherlands while I was living in Shanghai, they and their families offered me nice stays in their homes. These are also wonderful memories on my PhD journey. The

same thankfulness goes to Professor Ad Backus, who also offered me the comfort of his home, even while he was traveling himself; thank you for your kindness and friendship. I am incredibly indebted to Dr. Kasper Juffermans, who has provided useful input, guidance and help in the first two years of my PhD. We co-authored internal research reports, book chapters and journal articles. I want to thank Kasper for his insightful comments, suggestions and the good deal of time he spent on my study.

The School of Humanities and the Babylon Center have provided me with an extremely stimulating academic environment to work in. I am also grateful for having been part of the HERA project. It was a great experience working with distinguished scholars and colleagues from the UK and other parts of Europe on the IDII4EMS project. I would like to express my thanks to Professor Adrian Blackledge, the project leader, and Professor Angela Creese, for inspiring me with their ideas during the summer school and many project meetings at the University of Birmingham. The same goes for Professor Marilyn Martin-Jones, Professor Normann Jørgensen who has sadly passed away in 2015, Professor Jarmo Lainio, Dr. Anu Muhonen, and other members of the project. I am grateful to have had opportunities to present the results of this research at numerous international conferences across different continents.

During the years at Tilburg University, I was surrounded by very friendly colleagues who were always ready to discuss my research and help with other issues in life. In the various stages of the research project and writing period, Jef Van der Aa, Piia Varis, Kutlay Yagmur, Paul Mutsaers, Jeanne Kurvers, Danielle Boon, Pelin Onar, Tom van Nuenen, Gu Yan, Ted Nie, among many others whom I found myself impossible to list in this limited space, have given me enjoyable discussions and have supported me in many different ways. The new head of the department, Professor Odile Heynders, I have enjoyed the nice talks with you in the corridor. Carine Zebedee, our departmental secretary, thank you for providing careful editorial work.

I am very thankful to the Chinese community. Special thanks go to Wu Yanwei and Deng Baogeng for their trust and corporation. I also want to thank my friends Jannet Coppoolse, Wencui Zhou, Zhang Qing, Minqin Wang, Grace Zeng, Xie Yun, Lin Jing and Paul Proverb, who have helped and supported me in different ways in life. Thank you for your friendship in good and bad times. And of course my family in Mainland China, in Taiwan and the Netherlands deserve my deep thankfulness for their love, encouragement and hospitality. Special thanks go to my husband Toby for his support, patience and love throughout the years, and to our daughter Sofia who is now two months old, a witness to the book.

At the end, thanks to you, reader. If the book is judged to be good, it is in no small measure due to my supervisors and those who guided and helped me throughout the whole PhD period. On the other hand, if it is judged to be bad, I alone naturally take the blame of it.

Eindhoven, May 2016
Jinling Li

Introduction

1.1   What the research is about

Identity labels such as Chinese have an intuitive ring of clarity and transparency. In the present world, such labels continue to act as powerful emblems around which people gather and mobilize. Such processes of what we could call 'traditional' identification, however now coexists and compete with increasingly complex and often seemingly contradictory realities of identification that redefine the stability and transparency of the older labels. Investigating the troublesome transition from one model of identification towards several others is the thematic domain in which this study is situated.

The Chinese have a long history of transnational migration. This study is about their identities, heritage and languages. More specifically, it is about the contemporary identity making of Chinese diasporas in the Netherlands. The identity process of Chinese diasporas has become very perspicuous because of changing migration patterns as a result of the large scale social-economic transformation in the People's Republic of China in the last three decades. The current flow of Chinese migration to the Netherlands is multi-layered and highly diverse in terms of the place of the migrants' origin, individual motivations and personal or family trajectories. The demographic changes in the constitution of Chinese diasporas and their linguistic changes have far-reaching consequences for people's language and identity repertoires, which is the theme of this study.

In this study, the term 'Chinese Dutch' is used to address people who reside in the Netherlands and who consider Chinese as their ethnicity, ancestry and/or heritage. It includes Chinese immigrants and their descendants living in the Netherlands. Since 'China' has been commonly used to refer to the People's Republic of China (PRC), the study uses these two terms interchangeably. Similarly, 'Taiwan' is used to refer to the Republic of China (ROC).

With the Economic Reforms of 1978, the PRC reconsidered its isolationism and adopted an Open Door Policy, which made it possible for Western companies to do business in China. China quickly became the world's main exporter of goods. The Economic Reforms also made it possible for Chinese students to travel abroad, in particular to study abroad. At first, the *liuxuesheng* as the Chinese overseas student population is called, was primarily attracted to the American, Canadian, British, Australian, and New Zealand universities, later also to non-Anglophone countries for example in the continental Europe. In the Netherlands for instance, the number of Chinese students has risen from a few hundred in the 1999s to more than 10,000 in 2012 (Neso, 2012). In 2015, the Dutch higher education institutions hosted 6,642 Chinese students. These two developments change China's position in the world in a dramatic way. Not only becomes China an important international business partner for

many large and middle-sized companies that are interested in importing Chinese goods, also through its overseas students, Chinese people become a significant part of the ethnoscape in the Western World (with opportunities mainly for/in higher education). In the Global South (Africa, Latin America), China's presence also increases as a result of Chinese companies hauling in major civil engineering contracts.

The aim of this study is not only documentary, i.e., to document the changing nature of Chinese diasporas, but mainly analytical. In particular, it examines how children of Chinese migration background families are socialized into learning, speaking and being Chinese, with respect to the internal diversity within Chineseness, its relation to local Dutchness and its functioning within a larger sense of Asianness, and into how this object of socialization is changing under conditions of a new influx of Chinese migration and other phenomena of globalization. The study of Chinese diasporas and their contemporary identity construction tells a lot about Chinese immigrants, Dutch and Chinese society in relation to the globalized world. A clear understanding of migrants' identity making processes and language ideologies provides a key to understanding social identities in contemporary Chinese diasporic contexts and to understanding language within a kaleidoscopic environment of super-diversity and globalization.

In this book, I shall present the sociolinguistic study that I carried out in and around a Chinese complementary school in Eindhoven in the south of the Netherlands as part of a larger HERA-funded research project that investigates discourses of inheritance and identities in and beyond educational institutions in four European multilingual contexts (HERA IDII4MES, 2010). This study takes classrooms in the complementary school as a starting-point, but triangulates the findings in the domain of education to the Chinese community at large, including the virtual spaces of online communities, Chinese restaurants and businesses, linguistic landscaping as well as the private spaces of family life. Based on sociolinguistic ethnographic off-online observations and through analysis of classroom talk, interviews, linguistic landscaping and online discourses, I reveal identity issues and language ideologies of transnational Chinese migrants.

A survey of literature on the Chinese overseas for the purpose of this study reveals the contemporary surge in the amount of literature on Chinese diasporas, produced by scholars, such as anthropologists, sociologists, geographers, historians, and literary critics from various (inter) disciplines of study (Benton & Pieke, 1998; Chang, 1968; Chiang, Chao & Hsu, 1998; Douw, Huang & Codley, 1999; Hsu & Serrie, 1998; Lai, 2003, 2004; Lever-Tracy, Ip & Tracy, 1996; Ma & Cartier, 2003; Pan, 1999; Pieke & Mallee, 1999; Sinn, 1998; Skeldon, 1994; Tan, 2013; Wang & Wang, 1998). Their work shows how the Chinese diaspora has fundamentally changed since the mid-1960s. Until now, however, limited research has been carried out on Chinese communities in the Netherlands from a sociolinguistic perspective, yet language is one of the most immediate and sensitive indexes of social change (Blommaert, 2005, 2013). The sociolinguistic study advocated here offers a language-centered perspective to understand society in the context of migration and superdiversity.

1.2   Globalization and superdiversity[1]

In this section, I shall sketch the broader context this study is situated in, deal with the key theoretical notions of this study and contextualize those notions against the linguistic backgrounds of China in Section 1.3.

The study of Chinese migration and Chinese communities is a study of super-diversity and globalization processes and effects. Mobility has become one of the key notions in the field of sociolinguistics (Blommaert, 2010, 2013; Blommaert & Rampton, 2011; Canagarajah, 2013; Pennycook, 2012). Emerging out of post-Cold War migration, the term superdiversity denotes the new dimensions of social, cultural and linguistic diversity (Arnaut, Blommaert, Rampton & Spotti, 2016; Blommaert, 2012; Vertovec, 2007, 2012, 2015). In an ever more globalized world, the movements and migrations of people become increasingly important to understand their communicative practices. People move across spaces and bridge distances between spaces in their communica-tion. These spaces are not empty but filled with norms, with conceptions of what counts as 'proper', 'normal' and legitimate language use and what does not count as such. The mobility of people therefore involves the mobility of linguistic and socio-linguistic resources. This mobility creates inequalities, overlaps and contrasts between languages as produced in different spaces. Such spaces are not equal or flat, but multilayered and hierarchically ordered, and language practices orient to one or more of such spaces as centers of communicative practice.

In a series of recent articles, Steven Vertovec (2006, 2007, 2010, 2015) discusses the changing conditions and contexts of global migration flows and suggests that we are shifting into a post-multiculturalist world. The paradigmatic term he has proposed to describe these ongoing demographic changes as a result of globalization is 'super-diversity'.

Superdiversity is premised on a world-wide shift in migration patterns from relatively predictable flows of migration from a few places to a few places after World War II to more diffuse and less predictable migration flows from many places to many places since the early 1990s. Whereas migration to the Netherlands in the 1960s-1970s was dominated by a state organized labor recruitment scheme of migrant workers (*gastarbeiders*) from Southern Europe (Italy, Spain, Portugal), Turkey and Morocco as well as along colonial ties (from Indonesia, Surinam, and the Antilles), the 1990s have witnessed migration from increasingly diverse places from literally all over the world, from persons with increasingly diverse social, ethnic and religious backgrounds, migrating for increasingly diverse motives and with increasingly diverse legal statuses. Also migration itineraries have become increasingly diverse and complex: 'more people are now moving from more places, through more places, to more places' (Vervotec, 2010:86). This changing dynamics of the world's human traffic or 'ethnoscape' (Appadurai, 1996) has caused an unparalleled *diversification of diversity* in societies hosting migrants, 'not just in terms of bringing more ethnicities and countries of origin, but also with respect to a multiplication of significant variables that affect where, how and with whom people live' (Vervotec, 2007:1042). Societies such as the Netherlands

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[1]   Some background, methodological and theoretical part of this dissertation were also presented as part of Li and Juffermans (2011, 2014, 2016).

are consequently transforming from multicultural societies with a limited number of ethnic groups ('cultures') to a superdiverse society in which cultural, religious and linguistic identities cannot be taken for granted anymore. A superdiverse society is a society in which ethnicity, culture, language and religion have 'no guarantees' (Harris & Rampton, 2009) and are increasingly fluid and difficult to determine and define in terms of groups of people (cf. Brubaker, 2002).

The concept of superdiversity intends to 'capture a level and kind of complexity surpassing anything many migrant-receiving countries have previously experienced' (Vertovec, 2010:87). As current relations between ethnicity, citizenship, residence, origin, language, profession, etc. are of an unprecedented high complexity and low predictability, it becomes increasingly evident that it is descriptively inadequate to assume fixed relations between such categories of identity or to assume the countability or representability of cultures, languages and identities (in plural) or to see migrants ('ethnic minorities') as bearers of national, ethnic or religious cultures. With respect to language, observations of superdiversification have led to abandon notions of languages as bounded entities and putative things in the physical world, in favor of an understanding of language as a political construction or historical invention (see e.g., Blackledge & Creese, 2010b; Makoni & Pennycook, 2007; Shohamy, 2006; Stroud, 2003) and towards adopting an alternative sociolinguistic vocabulary with notions such as crossing, transidiomatic practices, (trans)languaging, resources, repertoires, regimes, etc. to describe and understand the communicative practices and experiences of persons in particular places and situations (Blommaert, 2010; Creese & Blackledge, 2010; Jacquemet, 2005; Jørgensen, 2008; Jørgensen, Karrebæk, Madsen & Møler, 2016; Rampton, 2005 [1995]).

1.3   Polycentric language and identity repertoires

Polycentricity is the key notion deployed in this study, which is also used in various disciplines of the humanities and social sciences, including geography, political sciences and sociolinguistics (Aligica & Boettke, 2009; Aligica & Tarko, 2012; Blommaert, Collins & Slembrouck, 2005a; Davoudi, 2002; Fuller, 1978; Hague & Kirk, 2003; Polanyi, 1951). It refers to the multiplicity of centers of gravity (or centering forces) in social or spatial configurations. Whereas monocentric configurations are regulated according to a single reference point in space (and/or time), polycentric configurations are regulated by multiple, competing centers with unequal power. Aligica and Tarko (2012) argue that the polycentricity conceptual framework is a strong analytical structure for the study of complex social phenomena.

Sociolinguistically, whether languages (in their nominal, countable form) are seen as species of idiolects with family resemblance (Mufwene, 2008), as artefacts created by linguists (Blommaert, 2008) or as historical constructs that emerged as by-products of nation-building projects (Makoni & Pennycook, 2007), they may be recognized to have a center and a periphery. The center of a language is where speakers themselves recognize that the language is 'best', 'most correctly' or 'most normally' spoken and often corresponds to the most populated middle class areas and to where the best or the highest number of educational institutions and publishers are or were established

(think of Cambridge English, Florentine Italian, Île-de-France French, Randstad Dutch). The periphery of a language is where speakers (from the center) recognize the language as 'hardest to understand', 'most corrupted' or 'least civilized' and often corresponds to those areas with (historically) lower access to (higher) education and printed language.

To say that a language is polycentrically organized is to say that it has multiple, more or less powerful centers that compete with each other. These centers, may differ along the metapragmatic parameters that are considered. What may be the center of educated speech or of 'the standard' language, is not necessarily (often not) also the center for authentic or cool speech; and what counts as a center for such evaluative norms may change over time and be replaced by other centers (Blommaert, Collins & Slembrouck, 2005b). Polycentricity is not entirely the same as pluricentricity as used by Clyne (1992) because the latter term emphasizes plurality of varieties within a language, i.e., plurality of relatively stable self-contained linguistic systems that together make up a language. This is the case when 'the German language' is defined in terms of its German, Austrian and Swiss counterparts; or when 'the English language' is represented in terms of concentric circles consisting of a small number of native and a larger (growing) number of second and foreign language varieties. Polycentricity emphasizes the functional inequality between such varieties and the simultaneous links to the various centering powers language practices are simultaneously subject to. Whereas a pluricentric language is the sum of its varieties, a polycentric language is a dynamic, socially ordered system of resources and norms that are strongly or weakly associated with one or more centers.

Although basically all languages are polycentrically organized, Chinese presents an extreme case of polycentricity. The Chinese language groups a higher number of people, a vaster geographical area and a larger continuum of variation beyond mutual intelligibility than any other language in the world, while at the same time upholding a meaningful sense of unity among its speakers, through a common writing system. For this reason, the Ethnoloque (Lewis, 2009) recognizes Chinese in its list of languages of China not as *a* language, but as a macrolanguage, i.e., 'multiple, closely related individual languages that are deemed in some usage contexts to be a single language'. As a macrolanguage, Chinese has thirteen 'member languages', listed alphabetically as Gan, Hakka, Huizhou, Jinyu, Mandarin, Min Bei, Min Dong, Min Nan, Min Zhong, Pu-Xian, Wu, Xiang, and Yue. These include Mandarin as the language/dialect of the north (also the most widely spoken language/dialect) and Wu, Yue, Xiang, Hakka, Gan, and Min as languages/dialects of the south and coastal southeast. Shanghainese and Wenzhounese, for instance, are varieties of Wu. Yue is often used interchangeably with Cantonese, the language/dialect spoken in Hong Kong and the Guangdong province. Min – the *fangyan* or dialect of Fujian, Taiwan, and Hainan – is the entity with the largest internal variation and is sometimes split up in two or more varieties using the cardinal directions east and west and/or north and south.

The official discourse in China, however, is that there is only *one Chinese language* that comprises variation in the form of many *fangyan* on the level of informal, spoken language (Wang, 2012; Zhou & Sun, 2004). The Chinese language is unified by a homogeneous writing system that enables communication across a wide geographical area and among speakers of widely varying and mutually largely unintelligible

vernaculars. This unification has a long and complex history, dating back to the third century BC when Qinshihuang, the first Chinese emperor passed a series of major economic, political and cultural reforms, including the unification of the Chinese writing system (DeFrancis, 1984). Further, since 1913, considerable means have been invested by the Guoming and PRC governments in creating a standard or common spoken language.

Concurrently, the term 'Chinese' is used to refer to Classical Chinese, the language of the Mandarins, the modern standard spoken variety, the written language, or as an umbrella term for a whole cluster of Chinese language varieties (Coblin, 2000; Ramsey, 1987). DeFrancis (1984) explained the situation of Chinese and its internal diversity, translating it to the European context with the hypothetical situation of the greater part of the European continent, from Italy to the Iberian peninsula and France with their many language varieties (Italian, French, Catalan, Corsican, etc.) being united in single state and having only Old Latin as a common language of literacy and of education, despite the differences and unintelligibility that exists between the language varieties spoken in such places as Rome, Paris, Geneva, Barcelona, and Milan.

Identity is not something people have, but is constructed in social practice. We don't have identities, but we *identify* with particular identity positions and *disidentify* with others. Identity here is seen as a repertoire of identities, which suggests that people perform highly complex and ambiguous identities. They do so *on shifting ground*: the main foci of orientation – the normative 'centers' of their identity work – are shifting and changing from moment to moment, from space to space. Moreover, in our everyday routines we don't just have or inhabit identities but (re)produce, (re)construct or (re)invent them. There is a large body of sociolinguistic, sociological and anthropo-logical theory that has made this point (see e.g., Brubaker, 2002; Kulick, 2003; Møller & Jørgensen, 2009; Street, 1993, for differently disciplined but accessible introductions into such a science of identification). In the diasporic context, negotiation of identities often occurs in encounters where identity is ascribed by others. Such encounters are deeply influenced by the social, political, cultural and historical contexts in which they occur (Pavlenko & Blackledge, 2004).

Social arenas for identity work are by definition polycentric, in the sense that at any moment, actors in communicative events are facing more than one 'center' from which norms can be derived. Such 'centers' can be institutions of a formal as well as of an informal kind. Formal ones could include, for instance, the school, church, the state; informal ones can include peer groups, role models, popular culture icons and so forth. In any act of communication, participants can orient towards any of those centers for templates of 'good' versus 'bad' forms of communication. Thus, in a classroom, both the teacher and the classmates can be seen as 'centers', and what counts as a 'good' answer in relation to the teacher can be simultaneously understood as a 'bad' one by the classmates.

The 'norms' emanating from such centers have varying degrees of solidity – the norms of a formal institution typically being more solid than those of, e.g., a peer group. And norms need to be understood here as orders of indexicality: social and cultural values attached to specific resources in an ordered, non-random way, so that they begin to structure communication in relation to specific emblematic templates for social action (Agha, 2007; Blommaert, 2005). The choice of resources – or the use of

resources by absence of choice – thus provokes non-random, culturally and socially scripted interpretations. In this case, identity work is seen as proceeding by means of intricate semiotic work in which even the smallest features of language or other semiotic resources – 'accent' – can acquire crucial value as an indexical identity diacritic (Agha, 2007; Rampton, 2006).

Polycentric environments offer several such orders of indexicality, but they are rarely equivalent: the social and cultural 'order' is stratified and operates at different scale levels – different ranges of cultural and social recognizability and scopes of use. Again, the scale of formal institutions such as the school would typically be higher than that of an informal peer group, even if some subcultural groups – think of groups oriented towards hip-hop, or communities of online gamers – operate at extremely high, global scale levels.

In the Chinese diasporic context, people organize complex identity work at multiple levels and in multiple domains in relation to a number of simultaneously occurring but context-specific 'centers' – Dutch, PRC, regional, age, gender, etc. identities. These different centers provoke differing orientations towards normative complexes – 'being adequate' as a Chinese-Dutch is a different thing in class from in the online forum environment, and in each of these spaces, different norms prevail and different openings for legitimate identity work exist. Examples can be found in the regimented complementary classroom data of Chapter 4, in which the Chinese-Dutch youth explicitly negotiated their identity and articulated their Dutchness.

The dynamics of identity in the era of globalization and superdiversity have shifted from fairly stable identities with limited scope for acting out and developing alternative identities to more complex repertoires of identity, people can actively perform by making use of all the channels. People in the diasporic context perform complex identity work in the various social contexts they navigate. They orient to and negotiate complex, multi-layered identities and assert as well as denounce parts of their Chineseness and Dutchness in their everyday routines and practices, depending on the contexts in which and the audiences for which they stage their acts of identity.

1.4   The case of the Chinese diaspora in Eindhoven

The fieldwork sites for this study had been chosen in Eindhoven, the largest city in the Dutch province of North Brabant, home to one of the biggest and most dynamic Chinese and other Asian populations in the Netherlands, with a total city and neighboring population of 440,000 in 2013 and together with its metropolitan regions, nearly 750,000 inhabitants (CBS, 2013). Eindhoven was once a small village, but it has grown to one of the biggest cities in the Netherlands, much of its growth is due to Philips and DAF Trucks. According to the Organization for Economic Co-Operation and Development (OECD), Eindhoven is the most inventive city in the world based on one of the most commonly used metrics for mapping the geography of innovation, and was named the world's most intelligent community by Intelligent Community Forum in 2011 (OECD, 2013).

Unlike the traditional Chinese communities in Rotterdam, Amsterdam, and The Hague that have concentrated *Chinatowns*, Eindhoven has an 'unconcentrated China-

town' due to the historical development of the city.[2] Eindhoven was a small village in an economically backward and mostly agricultural area. Cheap land, cheap labor and the existence of pre-industrial domestic industry made Eindhoven an attractive area for developing industries. Eindhoven has been a migrant city attracting internal and transnational migrants. During the 19th century, Eindhoven grew into an industrial town with factories for textile weaving, cigar manufacturing, match making, and hat making. Most of these industries disappeared again after World War II.

The major driver for growth of Eindhoven in the 21st century has been the presence of the High Tech Campus. It attracted and spun off many high-tech companies. In 2005, a full third of the total amount of money spent on research in the Netherlands was spent in or around Eindhoven. A quarter of the jobs in the region are in technology and ICT, with companies such as FEI Company (once Philips Electron Optics), NXP Semiconductors (formerly Philips Semiconductors), ASML, Toolex, Simac, CIBER, Neways, Atos Origin, and the aforementioned Philips and DAF. The city therefore presents an interesting case in studying demographic changes as a result of more recent forms of globalization in the composition of the Chinese community. According to the Dutch Central Bureau of Statistics, the Chinese population counts 3,021 in 2012 and the number of Chinese rise to 3,422 in 2015 (CBS, 2015). Traditional and new Chinese immigrants are engaged with cultural transmission. As a consequence, changes in concepts of Chineseness are likely to be more visible in Eindhoven than in the older Dutch Chinatowns. The Eindhoven Chinese community is younger than the Chinese communities in Rotterdam, Amsterdam and The Hague and has a slightly different social-demographic make-up in the sense that many Eindhoven Chinese are students and knowledge migrants that are attracted to Eindhoven by the High Tech Campus, the Eindhoven University of Technology, and the various multinational high-tech companies.

1.5   Outline of the book

This book falls into seven main chapters. The current chapter has introduced the theme and approach of the study and has sketched its broader context and central theoretical notions. Chapter 2 sets out to describe the HERA project, which is the starting point of the current study, and the historic, demographic changes of Chinese migration worldwide and in particular Chinese diasporas in the Netherlands. Chapter 3 devotes to spell out the methodology this research deployed: what kind of online and offline data have been collected, and how these data have been analyzed and interpreted. The sociolinguistic ethnographic approach employed in the study adopts a range of methods including observation, interview, and collection of documents and discourses as well as linguistic landscaping. The blurring of the off-online dimension of data collection generates different and unexpected voices and insights, facilitating the collection of richer data. The chapter concludes by going into researcher reflexivity. Chapters 4, 5, and 6 devote to describe and analyze the empirical data collected in and around Eindhoven Chinese complementary school. The empirical Chapter 4 examines

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2   See *www.amazing-holland.nl/assets/eindhoven-english.pdf*.

the polycentric nature of linguistic and cultural aspects of Chineseness in the normative space of a Chinese complementary school. The changing hierarchy of language varieties in the Chinese language and the complex identity work performed by Chinese-Dutch youth in the complementary classroom are discussed, which demonstrates an ongoing shift along with demographic, economic and political changes, in what counts as Chinese. Chapter 5 focuses on the linguistic and cultural aspect of Chineseness in the broader Chinese community. The language, culture and identity process in the school in Chapter 4 is strongly scaffolded by similar processes outside of the school. Thus, Chapter 5 engages with data that document the big transition within families and Chinese businesses. Chapter 6 draws on data on two online discussion forums. Focusing on young people's identities, the chapter disentangles the complexities of being, speaking and learning Chinese in the Netherlands and explores the internal diversity within Chineseness and its functioning within, or repositioning as, a larger Asian identity as well as its relation to Dutch/European-ness. The concluding chapter reviews the research and draws theoretical as well as empirical conclusions.

The changing nature of Chinese diasporas

2.1   Introduction

In the previous chapter, I have briefly mentioned a number of issues that demand more explanation and detail. Therefore this chapter will engage with the background of the research, the demography of Chinese in the Netherlands, and in Eindhoven in particular, providing the demographic contextual detail which is necessary for an adequate understanding of what follows. Let me first introduce the origin of the study.

The study started within the framework of a two-year European project, *Investigating discourses of inheritance and identities in four multilingual European settings* (IDII4MES) commenced in May 2010, funded by HERA (Humanities in the European Research Area). HERA is a partnership between 21 Humanities Research Councils across Europe and the European Science Foundation and funds joint research programs dealing with all-encompassing social, cultural, political, and ethical developments. The project IDII4MES was coordinated by Adrian Blackledge at the University of Birmingham and involved besides Tilburg University also partners at the Universities of Copenhagen and Stockholm.[3]

In Blackledge and Creese's (2009) study of heritage and identities in multilingual settings in the United Kingdom (UK), they found that certain sets of linguistic resources were believed to function as threads of association with historic context. However, there is hardly ever a simple relationship between a group of people and 'heritage' resources. Rather than being a static entity, 'heritage' is a set of practices involved in the construction and regulation of values, to negotiate new ways of being and to perform identities. Multilingual school settings act as sites at which 'heritage' values may be transmitted, accepted, contested, subverted, appropriated, and other-wise negotiated.

UNESCO defines 'intangible cultural heritage' as practice 'transmitted from generation to generation, constantly recreated by communities and groups, which provides them with a sense of identity and continuity' (UNESCO, 2003:2). 'Heritage' here describes resources, including heritage languages, which often have a special value to minority groups. Concerned with the production of social and cultural values, heritage can help bind individuals to national collectives, and may be used to construct and negotiate identities (Smith, 2007). However, those who seek to preserve and pass on heritage resources, including heritage languages, may find that the next generation contests their validity, or appropriates them for other purposes.

In the transnational case studies within the HERA project, researchers conducted ethnographic investigations on the following four different multilingual national

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[3]   See *www.heranet.info/idi4mes/index*.

contexts: (1) a Panjabi community language school in Birmingham, UK, carried out by Adrian Blackledge, Angela Creese, and Jaspreet Kaur Takhi; (2) a bilingual Swedish-Spanish school and two bilingual Swedish-Finnish schools in Stockholm, Sweden carried out by Jarmo Lainio, Carla Jonsson, and Anu Muhonen; (3) two subject teaching classes in a mainstream school in Copenhagen, Denmark conducted by Jens Normann Jørgensen, Liva Hyttel-Sørensen, and Lamies Nassir; (4) a Chinese community language school in Eindhoven, the Netherlands carried out by Jan Blommaert, Sjaak Kroon, Kasper Juffermans, and Jinling Li.

The researchers across four universities investigated how cultural heritage and identity are discursively constructed in and beyond educational settings, and how multilingual young people negotiate inheritance and belonging. The aims of the research project were: (1) to investigate the range of language and literacy practices of young people in superdiverse cities in the UK, Denmark, Sweden, and the Netherlands; (2) to explore the cultural and social significance of their language and literacy practices; (3) to investigate how these practices are used to negotiate inheritance and identities. The study developed innovative multi-site, ethnographic team method-ologies and aimed to contribute to policy and practice in and beyond Europe (HERA IDII4MES, 2013).

The research developed a detailed picture of the discursive construction of heritages and identities. Its findings included that (1) young people are not restricted to using defined and named 'languages', but rather deploy repertoires which include features of diverse linguistic varieties: they 'translanguage' or 'poly-language'; (2) large structures of culture, heritage, and history are identifiable in the smallest instances of language and literacy practices; (3) people in superdiverse societies use language to perform identities which are mobile, localized, and globalized; (4) cultural dynamics is intimately bound up with the negotiation and performance of heritage and identities (HERA IDII4MES, 2013).

The four case studies are not subject to strict comparative analysis, but enable the researchers to achieve investigative breadth and scope. In the Dutch project, we focused on the various ways in which changing Chinese communities in the Netherlands engage with problems of cultural transmission, in which some sub-communities re-engage with a lost heritage, while other subgroups attempt to keep the chain of transmission unbroken in spite of residence abroad. Such problems emerge in a context of societal superdiversity, in which traditional and new immigrant groups engage with the dominant sociocultural environment of the host society. Language and literacy are key ingredients to such processes. In such contexts, community schools are critical loci for the transmission of heritage. That is where the fieldwork of the current study begins.

2.2   Changing Chinese diasporas worldwide

It is often said that where the sun rises, there are Chinese. Chinese are everywhere. Who are they? Why do they emigrate? Where are they going? In this section, I shall answer these questions regarding worldwide Chinese migration. Then I will focus on the demographic development of Chinese diasporas in the Netherlands in particular.

By 1990, the number of Chinese living outside the PRC and ROC had been estimated approximately 37 million (Fan, 2003; Poston, Mao & Yu, 1994). Among them, the majority, 32.3 million, lived in Asia. In non-Asia countries, the United States (US) has the largest number of Chinese immigrants, making the country the home to the biggest Chinese community outside of Asia. More recent studies show the number of Chinese overseas increasing to over 50 million. In the book on the Chinese diaspora edited by Ma and Cartier (2003), scholars working in various parts of the world trace the Chinese diaspora everywhere it had become a significant force, from Southeast Asia to Oceania, North America, Latin America, and Europe. The authors describe the sharp difference between sojourning Chinese prior to the 1960s and the transnational Chinese of the current era. Early Chinese emigration coincides with the turbulent final days of the Qing dynasty (1644-1911), the first Sino-Japanese war (1884-1885), and the 1911 Revolution, which made an end to imperial China and turned it into a Republic. This was a time of extreme civil unrest and disorder and to a large part explains why so many Chinese with access to the sea were ready to leave their country behind in search for a better life overseas. It predates however, by several generations, the split of China into two systems as an outcome of the Chinese civil war (1927-1948): the People's Republic of China ruled by the Chinese Communist Party in Beijing and the Republic of China ruled by the Chinese Nationalist Party (Kuomintang) in Taipei on the Island of Taiwan.

In the US, California has the largest number of Chinese diasporas, and the San Francisco Bay Area, along with the Los Angeles and New York metropolitan areas, have one of the highest urban concentrations of Chinese in the country. Li Wei (1998, 1999) conducted research in the San Gabriel Valley in Los Angeles. On the basis of historical records, census data, and interviews, she showed how the Chinese community within this region in particular, has evolved from densely populated downtown Chinatowns to more geographically spread out regions in an ethnic suburb. Li Wei argues that the Chinese ethnic suburbs originated from the new immigrants' desire for suburban living and have taken on a new 'global economy outpost' function, by serving residential and services needs of new immigrants whose economic and social networks are more international in scope than those of the older immigrants. According to Li Wei (1999:18), 'the San Gabriel Valley ethnoburb had become by 1990 a more important Chinese residential area than Chinatown.' She explains how the ethnoburb offers more opportunities when compared to a Chinatown, as there are additional economic benefits through business opportunities when catering towards the regional cultural identity. She further shows differences between an ethnoburb and Chinatown in that the composition of the populations varies in terms of age, socioeconomic level, and time since their immigration. Within a Chinatown, the population is mainly 'immigrants of Chinese descendants from mainland China and Southeast Asia, with a much older age structure and longer duration of residence... [and] the socio-economic status of its residents is lower' (Li Wei, 1999:21). In contrast, although culturally an ethnoburb may appear to cater towards a specific ethnic group, these regional areas tend to include a more ethnically diverse population which is composed of a greater variety of age groups with a higher socioeconomic status. In addition, a higher level of education is more common within an ethnoburb when compared to a Chinatown, thus

allowing for a greater degree of use and understanding of English within these areas (Li Wei, 1999:25).

Recent research (Chang Sen-dou, 2003; Fan, 2003; Kwong & Miscevic, 2005; Li Wei, 1998; Saxenian, 1999; Tan, 2013) reports that the perceptions of Chinese immigrants have been changed in 150 years of Chinese American history; from coolie, stereotype of Chinese laborers to the portray of a hardworking and educated minority. Nowadays, conventional peasants and urban unskilled immigrants are still joining relatives in cosmopolitan cities, many more are successful businessmen with money to invest, adventurers who relish new ways to enrich themselves and many PRC students joining the emigration group.

Huang (2010:18) described the old and new Chinese immigrants in London Chinatown that engage with the growing numbers of PRC tourists, members of the rapidly expanding urban middle classes that accompany China's rise as an economic superpower. She shows that the restaurants in London Chinatown are complemented by businesses specifically catering to the needs of the new, less entrenched groups of immigrants. In Europe, Chinese tourists have become a visible force. In January 2012, Chinese visitors to Europe spent $7.2 billion on luxury goods, according to the World Luxury Association, and in 2011 the Chinese tourist purchased 62 per cent of luxury goods sold on the continent, especially in France and Italy, part of the Schengen area. It is a frequently occurring picture, Chinese visitors queuing up in front of luxury stores for purchasing multiple products in Europe, especially in Paris. Chinese tourists seemed to be more interested in luxury purchases than sightseeing. Consequently, we encounter the official language of China, Putonghua, in multilingual broadcasts in various shopping malls in Europe, such as the Bijenkorf shopping mall in Amsterdam. This new flow of Chinese and the changing position of PRC in the world system is reflected through language, the most immediate and sensitive index of social change (Blommaert, 2014).

Diasporic life is inherently contradictory and diverse due to the immigrants' experience with place, including home place, which is not always positive (Ma, 2003). Whereas Tuan (1974, in Ma, 2003) used the term 'topophilia' to refer to people's attachment to and love of a place, Relph coined the term 'topophobia' to encapsulate people's unfriendly attitudes and negative feelings towards the places of fear, disgust, disapproval, and disappointment. These are useful concepts for diaspora discourses. Contemporary transnational migrants often experience the syndrome of spatial uncertainty (Ma, 2003). These uncertainties are not always constant as places are changing, contingent upon the socioeconomic, political, and historical circumstances converging locally at a particular time. This indicates that topophilia and topophobia wax and wane in a migrant homeland as well as host land in response to the shifting global, national and local forces of social formation. A migrant might be physically at one place, his mind may be somewhere else. The feeling of belonging to and longing for a place do not always coincide, which can greatly torture migrants as they struggle with the questions and issues of national and local cultural identities. They are rarely a complete person as their body and soul may be split, belonging simultaneously to different spaces. In the globalized era, more efficient means of transportation and new communication technologies have engendered new migration phenomena and increased greater spatial mobility, including new settlement patterns and increased

levels of spatial interaction between homeland and host land, which characterize contemporary transnational migration. Researching discursive processes of identity work and Chinese language in diasporas helps us look at 'the world as one large, interactive system, composed of many complex subsystems' (Appadurai, 1996:41).

Whereas earlier Chinese migrants left their homeland due to economic poverty and social instability, in contemporary China, in contrast, many Chinese migrants who have settled in North or West Europe, North America, Australia, and New Zealand, are not really economic migrants because profit is not the reason for their emigration. Instead, they are voluntary political risk minimizers running away from the topophobia of their place of origin: speedy rising of house prices against increasing moral decay ranging from business practices such as the high-profile milk scandal, the scandal of using gutter oil as cooking oil, selling rat meat as sheep meat to restaurants, to governmental and many other social areas. It is a common experience of Chinese overseas to bring milk powder to their friends and relatives in the homeland either by being asked by their counterparts on the mainland or doing it voluntarily due to the lack of faith in Chinese national milk products and food products in general. Emigration has become a hot topic. It is reported that nowadays among the middle-class Chinese, they greet each other with 'Have you emigrated already', instead of the commonly well-known greeting 'Have you eaten already?'. Figure 2.1 from a popular website offering emigration services is a vivid picture which illustrates this phenomenon.
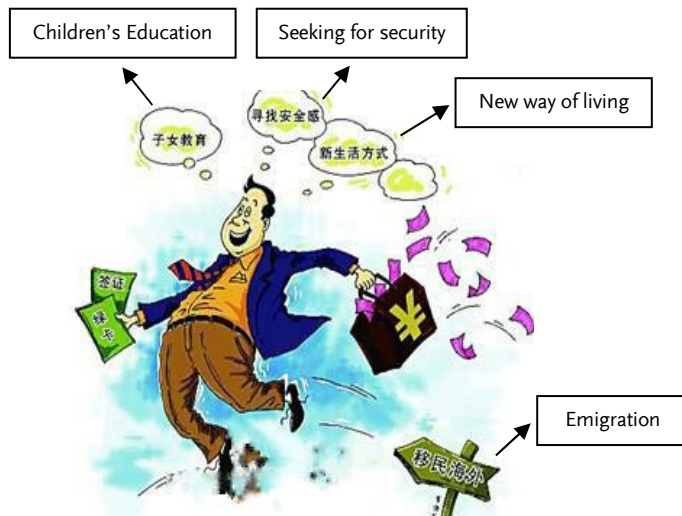
Figure 2.1: New migration wave (source: *www.oznewsroom.com/2010/07/blog-post_6552.html*, last viewed on 20 March 2014)

In 2011, a widely circulated article, 'Why have Chinese lost their sense of morality?' in which the author tried to find an explanation for the question posted, was published and widely read.[4] It reasoned that China has been adopting the concept of a market

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[4]   See *www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2011/oct/22/china-nation-cold-hearts*, last viewed on 20 March 2014.

economy whereas the value system was almost destroyed during the ten years of the Cultural Revolution from 1966 to 1976. Nowadays communism, the ideology that dominates Chinese people's lives like a religion, has also more or less collapsed. As a result, there is a spiritual and moral vacuum that cannot be filled by the mere opportunity of money-making. China has been undergoing large scale social-economic transformation in the last three decades. Economically, China has shifted from a centrally planned to a market based economy and experienced rapid economic and social development. GDP growth averaging reached approximately 9 per cent a year. China has become the second largest economy and is increasingly playing an important and influential role in the global economy. The rapid economic growth has produced rising living standards of many Chinese citizens. It created many opportunities, reduced poverty, rapid increases in skyscrapers, highways, intercity metro lines, and other symbols of a modern society. But meanwhile, it has also brought on many challenges, including high social inequality, rapid urbanization, challenges to environmental sustainability, and external imbalances which cause the largest scale rural-urban migration ever in China's history (Dong, 2009), but also the first time largest scale emigration wave after the Mao era.

Consequently, the sociolinguistic landscape of China changed, Shenzhen for example altered from a Cantonese village into the first city in Guangdong province where Mandarin became a lingua franca due to the unprecedented influx of migrants. Shenzhen as a whole has undergone a language shift towards Mandarin. The Shenzhen expatriates' opinions about their emigration also changed. Li Minghuan (1999) documents that some interviewees in her study on Chinese immigrants in the Netherlands report regrets emigrating. According to Li Minghuan (1999:47) 'the perception is that if they were still living in Shenzhen, they would have had many more opportunities than that they can find as an outsider in the Netherlands.' Overall, the early Chinese diaspora leaving their homeland from the 1850s to 1950s was mainly a result of China's economic weakness and the demand for labor. Social instability, severe poverty, large numbers of unemployment, hunger, civil war, and the bankruptcy of rural economy originally compelled Chinese peasants to leave their homeland with hopes for economic betterment. The current characteristics of the Chinese immigrants have been shaped by the social, political, economic, cultural, and environmental conditions in the country of origin, by the improved transportation, by the new communication technology, and by the changing immigration policies in western countries. Contemporary diasporic actors may be less fixed in space and elusive in place attachment. New Chinese diasporas are more complex and dynamic than their old counterparts, often in a state of becoming and evolving in response to the changing conditions for emigration and immigration at the places of origin and destination while impacting both at the same time. Having looked at demographic developments of the changing Chinese migration worldwide, Section 2.3 will zoom in on the Chinese Community in the Netherlands and in Eindhoven in particular, where this study is situated.

2.3   Chinese diasporas in the Netherlands and in Eindhoven

2.3.1   Background of Chinese diasporas in the Netherlands

The Chinese are one of the oldest established immigrant communities in the Netherlands, and they form one of the largest and earliest overseas Chinese populations in continental Europe. In July 2011 the Chinese community celebrated its centennial: 100 years of Chinese in the Netherlands, on the occasion of which a series of books were commissioned and published that provide historical and demographic overviews of the Chinese presence in the Netherlands since 1911 (e.g., Gijsberts, Huijnk & Vogels, 2011; Wolf, 2011). Relevant activities had also been organized to celebrate the historical migration of Chinese in the Netherlands: a Lion Dance with a crew of 100 Chinese lions performed at the Dam Square in Amsterdam and moved in procession to the Nieuwmarkt Square, Chinatown on 9th July 2011 (see Figure 2.2). It was the largest Chinese community celebratory event held in Europe so far, according to the Foundation 100 years Chinese in the Netherlands.

Figure 2.2: Lion dance on Dam Square, 9 July 2011

Figures of the number of Chinese residing in the Netherlands range from 77,000 in 2011 and rise to 84,310 in 2015 (i.e., the number provided by the Central Bureau of Statistics (CBS, 2015), defining Chineseness technically – and countably – in terms of persons' or their parents' nationality and country of birth) to 150,000 (i.e., the more inclusive estimate by the Chinese embassy in the Netherlands).

Until now, various studies on Chinese communities have documented the history of Chinese migration in the Netherlands (Chen, 1991; Benton & Vermeulen, 1987; Li Minghuan, 1999; Li & Juffermans, 2011, 2012, 2016; Pieke, 1988, 1992; Pieke & Benton, 1998; Van Heek, 1936; Wolf, 2011; Wubben, 1986; Zeven, 1987). The first large number of Chinese immigrants arrived in the Netherlands more than one century ago. These early settlers were stokers and sailors from southern China, mainly from the provinces of Guangdong and Zhejiang, working on ships brought over to the Netherlands by Dutch shipping companies (Chen, 1991; Pieke & Benton, 1998; Wubben, 1986). During the recession of the 1920s and 1930s they lost their jobs. In addition, there were increasing numbers of ships changed from using coal to oil and as a consequence

there was no longer a big demand for Chinese stokers in Dutch shipping companies (Li Minghuan, 1999:32; Van Heek, 1936:20-21). So they started to make a living on shore by selling cheap goods in the streets. They found accommodation in lodgings near the ports of Amsterdam and Rotterdam. These lodgings became the seeds of the Chinatowns in both cities. These early Chinese settlers became peanut sellers, cooks or waiters in the first Chinese restaurants that were opened. Life was harsh for most Chinese pioneers in the Netherlands at the time. Some earlier documents (Li Minghuan, 1999; Benton & Vermeulen, 1987) reported that these Chinese arrivers not only had to face discrimination from the receiving society, but that relations between the in-groups were sometimes also strained because of competition among themselves. In the period of economic depression in the 1930s, the situation grew worse. To survive, the Chinese peddlers had to make and sell what were called peanut-cakes from door to door, as I was informed by some elderly Dutch people. Li Minghuan (1999:33) interviewed various earlier Chinese immigrants in the Dutch harbor cities and reported the experiences of the early Chinese peddlers:

> We said we were salesmen. But in fact we were nothing like salesmen, we were just like beggars. Some Dutch threw coins to us but didn't pick up any peanut-cakes. I knew they treated us just like beggars. I remember very clearly that at that time, very often when I took a seat in the train, the Dutchman who sat beside me would stand up and leave immediately. We were regarded as dirty people. We were looked down upon. (Li Minghuan, 1999:33)

At the end of the economic recession in the 1930s, the number of Chinese immigrants in the Netherlands had decreased. Some of them had returned home by their own means with their shattered dreams, and hundreds of 'economically useless' Chinese got deported by the Rotterdam Police (Li Minghuan, 1999:33; Wubben, 1986:174; Zeven, 1987:62). The Chinatown in Rotterdam's Katendrecht, which was recognized as the largest Chinatown in Europe in the 1920s, completely disappeared in the beginning of the 1940s.

The end of World War II brought an economic rebirth to the Netherlands. With this rejuvenation, the Chinese in the Netherlands successfully found a new way to make a living: developing the catering business. It was documented (Chen, 1991:29; Li Minghuan, 1999:34) that the number of Chinese restaurants increased dramatically from 23 Chinese restaurants in the whole of the Netherlands in 1947 to over two thousand by the end of the 1970s. Business was excellent. Chinese immigrants and their children had started to spread all over the county to open new restaurants. It seemed that the business had been scattered all over the Netherlands just over night. As a result, there were shortages of cooks and workers for the entrepreneurs. It is a well-known phenomenon among early Chinese immigrants that settled immigrants brought their relatives from their hometown whenever they needed them. During the golden age of Chinese restaurants, the People's Republic of China was undergoing political and cultural turbulences, i.e., the Great Leap Forward and the Cultural Revolution, and emigration was seriously restricted. So it was very difficult for the Chinese settled in the Netherlands to bring over workers directly from their hometowns in mainland China. Therefore the Chinese restaurateurs had to switch to areas outside

mainland China in order to augment their manpower. Therefore the Hong Kong people became the largest Chinese immigrant group (see Figure 2.3). Chinese immigration in this period could be characterized by thousands of Chinese, in pursuit of work in Chinese restaurants, migrating or emigrating from outside mainland China into the Netherlands.
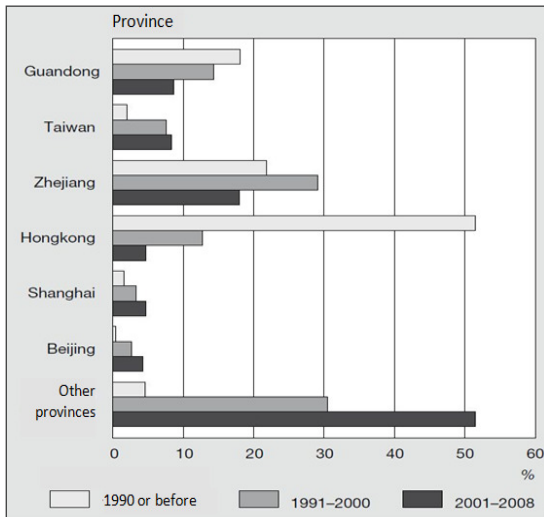
Figure 2.3: Chinese immigrants by place of origin (source: the Dutch Central Bureau of Statistics (CBS), last access in April 2014)

Lin (2003) reports that like the diasporic Chinese in general, the majority of the Hong Kong citizens originated from southern China, particularly Guangdong and Fujian Provinces. Geographically, this region known as Lingnan or south of the Nanling Mountains, separates the Pearl River Delta from the Yangzi Delta region. The Lingnan people maintained their own spoken languages and a way of life significantly different from the population in the north. The marginal cultural and ethnic identity, combined with the peripheral location of the region, has given rise to a great sensitivity to social and political change in the heartland of the nation and a tradition of sojourning or 'refugee mentality' (Lin, 2003:148). This special ethno-linguistic identity of the southern Chinese explains why the diaspora Chinese including in Hong Kong have often demonstrated a strong emotional attachment and identity more to their native place or their ancestral home in southern China than to a vague and apathetic national entity like 'China' (Lin, 2003). Figure 2.3 describes the changing origin of Chinese settlers in the Netherlands. Until 1990, Hong Kong people were the largest group within the Chinese community (CBS, 2010:6). Some Zhejiang restaurateurs commented that, because the only workers they could recruit were Hong Kong people, they themselves had to learn Cantonese to be able to communicate with their employees. Linguistically, until the 1990s, therefore, Cantonese was the dominant language of the Dutch Chinese diaspora. Li Minghuan (1999) documented that in the same period, the Chinese immigrants who re-emigrated from Southeast Asia, like Singapore and Malaysia,

formed another labor source for the Chinese catering business in the Netherlands. In the same period, another re-emigrated group included Peranakan Chinese from Indonesia and political refugees from Indochina. Between 1975 and 1982, the Dutch government accepted about 6,500 Vietnamese as political refugees. Among them, about one-fourth was ethnic Chinese (Li Minghuan, 1999).

However, this has been changed since the 1990s as a result of the political and economic changes in China. In the period of 1991-2000, the number of people coming from mainland China, especially from Zhejiang province, has increased dramatically to over 50 per cent (CBS, 2011:4). After 2000, more and more Chinese students came to the Netherlands to study as the data from CBS show (see Figure 2.4). From this period onwards, Chinese immigrants originated from all over China. As of 2012, China has become the world's largest source of overseas students, accounting for 14 per cent of the global total, according to the *Blue Book of Global Talent* (CCG, 2013). It documented that from 1978 to the end of 2011, China sent 2.25 million students abroad, 90 per cent of them coming after 2000. The years from 2000 to 2010 have seen an annual growth rate of 28.2 per cent. The number of Chinese students studying abroad passed 1 million at the end of 2006, and then grew more rapidly. The year 2011 set a record for itself with about 340,000 Chinese studying abroad (CCG, 2013).

This increase of diversity in the Chinese diasporic population meant a dramatic change of the status of Cantonese from main language of the diaspora, to only one of the dialects. The Chinese variety of the north, Mandarin or Putonghua steadily gained importance, both in China itself (see Dong, 2009, 2010) as well as in the diaspora (Li & Juffermans, 2011). The current flow of Chinese migration to the Netherlands is multi-layered and highly diverse in terms of the place of their origin, individual motivations and personal or family trajectories. And the demographic and linguistic changes in the constitution of the Chinese diaspora have far-reaching consequences for people's language and identity repertoires.
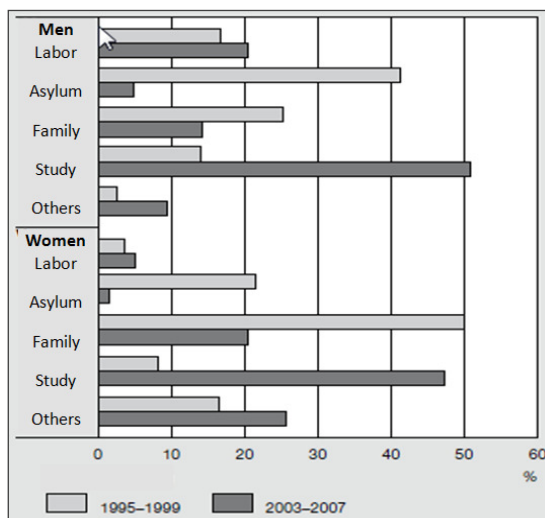
Figure 2.4: *Motivation of migration (source: the Dutch Central Bureau of Statistics (CBS), last access in April 2014)*

Ma (2003) characterized the dynamics of the overseas Chinese population as 'a fluid and flexible global network', and emphasized that overseas Chinese history should be placed in a larger historical context beyond national boundaries. Chan (2006) furthermore stressed that new Chinese migrants (*xin yimin*) are highly educated professionals, extremely mobile, and less dependent on 'offline clan associations' (voluntary migrant associations) for their integration into the host society or the maintenance of their cultural heritage, than on virtual communities. Such virtual communities offer a more diversified repertoire of identity options, at both higher and lower scale levels. Since there are multiple Chinese polities within Greater China (mainland China, Taiwan, Hong Kong, Macau, Singapore – with varying statuses and relations to the center), Chinese identities or identifications with Chineseness are inevitably multiple and 'rooted in local contexts of power-in-meaning and meaning-in-power that cannot be encompassed by universal definitions of "Chineseness"' (Chun, 1996:126). Therefore, according to Chun (1996:135-136):

> It might be possible for one to identify as Cantonese, Chinese, or Asian, depending on whether the frame of reference is meant to accent feelings of intimacy among a small circle of kinsmen, to distinguish oneself in terms of presumed cultural origins, or to mark one's solidarity in contrast with non-Asians. In no case is facticity a relevant issue. Identification with the first may be relevant in consideration of personal lifestyle; the second, in consideration of intellectual orientations; and the third, in consideration of political interest. Finally, there will, no doubt, be cases in which one wishes simply to be taken for what one 'really' is (i.e., simply as a person, in which the ethnic factor is deemed irrelevant), as well as cases in which an explicit claim of identity is not deemed necessary (in which case, ethnicity is simply seen as matter-of-fact).

2.3.2   The Chinese diasporic community in Eindhoven

Having dealt with the demographic context of the Chinese diaspora in the Netherlands in general, we are now ready to turn our gaze to the Chinese diaspora in Eindhoven. This section will illustrate the impact of community changes with a description of the life trajectory of one key figure of the Chinese community of Eindhoven, Mr. Wu. His life is not representative for the diasporic (Dutch) Chinese, but indicative for the transformations of the (Dutch) Chinese diaspora.

Mr. Wu is a central figure in the Chinese community in Eindhoven, who is actively involved in the organization of the Chinese school Eindhoven. He became the head sponsor of the school and eventually, in 1994, was elected chairman of the school board. He has seen the school relocated five times and develop from one class, one parent-teacher and twenty students in 1978 to its present size of over 300 students divided over 22 classes and a voluntary workforce of 25 teachers. Apart from his commitment to the school, Mr. Wu is an active member of the Chinese community also through his participation in the Chapter of Chinese Businesses of the national Dutch branch organization of the catering industry (*Sector Chinese Ondernemers, Koninklijke Horeca Nederland*). In summer 2010, in the interview with him in his newly opened Tea Room, his credentials are described as follows. He is involved in the Eindhoven Chinese School from the very beginning. Since 1984, Mr. Wu is Vice-

Chairman of the Board of the chapter of Chinese businesses of *Koninklijke Horeca Nederland*. Mr. Wu is known for his cuisine. Since 1986 he is responsible for the rural Chinese Cooking Courses, he is also a juror within the sector. Since 1993 he is member of the Association of Oriental Cuisine, where he was team leader of the Chinese cuisine and culinary development. From 1996 to 2000 he volunteered for the Foundation Fook Wah WUI briefings. He is an advisor or chair of various Chinese associations in the vicinity of Eindhoven. Because he was an important leader of the Chinese community in the Netherlands and has done much for the integration of Chinese in the Dutch society in 2004, he received a Royal Honor. He was appointed Member of the Order of Orange-Nassau.

In the 1990s, Mr. Wu begins to travel to Hong Kong and Taiwan to recruit cooks for Chinese restaurants in the Netherlands, to import Chinese decoration, and textbooks for the school. Later he begins to travel to mainland China more often. After handing over his business to his daughter and son-in-law, he travels to China as much as four times a year, spending several weeks or months in places such as Zheijiang, Anhui, Fujian, and Beijing. In Beijing he holds an appointment as a teacher trainer in a cooking training school. He travels to Fujian and Anhui to import Chinese tea.

In 2011, Mr. Wu opened the Qingfeng Tea Room, a Chinese community center, which functions as a meeting place for the Eindhoven Chinese, and can also be used to host meetings (e.g., the school staff meetings), community activities and cultural programs such as Chinese cookery classes he teaches, an introduction to Chinese traditional tea ceremony he also teaches, computer classes for elderly Chinese people, demonstrations by local companies, etc.

Sociolinguistically speaking, his life knows several phases: his youth in Guangdong and Hong Kong where he spoke Cantonese and was mainly surrounded by other Cantonese speakers, the early years in the Netherlands where he worked long days for his uncle, then the time he became his own boss and began to learn Dutch through private tuition and in interaction with his customers. In his commitment to the Chinese community, the center of 'Chinese' language and culture shifts from Hong Kong and Taiwan to mainland China. During his chairmanship of the Chinese school, the school gradually changed the language of instruction from Cantonese to Putonghua. His travels shift from Hong Kong and Taiwan to mainland China. The foods on the menu of his restaurant also shift from *Chinees-Indisch* (Chinese-Indonesian) to more 'authentic' mainland Chinese dishes. All of these indicate a shift both linguistically and culturally towards the PRC. Linguistically, Chinese, as a polycentric language, is undergoing considerable transformation with a clear direction towards the standard variety of the PRC, i.e., Putonghua. In the Dutch Chinese diaspora, the language repertoire of Mr. Wu is restructured from Cantonese only to multilingual, Dutch, Cantonese, and Putonghua. Putonghua is becoming the common language of the Chinese diaspora. This shift is most visible perhaps in educational institutions, such as Wu's Chinese school, but is also evident in other sectors of the Chinese community. This has to do with what Dong (2010) has called 'the enregisterment of Putonghua in practice', or what I may term as the Putonghuaization of Chinese. We witness here the process of Putonghuaization as an emerging self-initiated, bottom-up phenomenon as a result of the changing economic, geopolitical status of the PRC.

2.4   Chinese schools in the Netherlands and in Eindhoven

Chinese schools in diasporic contexts are also termed as complementary schools, supplementary schools, heritage schools and community schools in the work of various scholars from various national contexts. These schools usually operate on a part-time basis by community organizations to meet specific cultural and/or language needs of ethnic communities (Thorpe, 2011). Whereas the term 'supplementary school' has a negative connotation of inferiority vis-à-vis mainstream schools and is avoided in the UK because of the incomplete notion (Thorpe, 2011), 'complementary school' has a positive connotation of completion as it 'evokes a non-hierarchical relationship to mainstream schooling (Blackledge & Creese, 2008; Mau, Becky & Louise, 2009:17). 'Heritage school' is mostly used in the US following the long history of Chinese migration and the concomitant Chinese schools (Liu, 2010). In general, these schools are usually community run and self-financed. The school charges a small fee to parents as they are not funded by local or national government. In recent years, due to the geopolitical and economic repositioning of the PRC in the world system, new types of Chinese language training courses have emerged, organized mostly by new Putonghua speaking immigrants from the PRC to meet the increasing demands from learners who were mostly non-community members for their business or future career plans.

In all major cities in the Netherlands there is at least one Chinese school focusing on teaching Chinese language and culture. The *Stichting Chinees Onderwijs Nederland* (Foundation Chinese Education the Netherlands) lists more than forty schools.[5] The traditional population of those schools were children of Cantonese background. However, the political, economic, and linguistic changes in China in the last three decades have transformed the composition of the Chinese population and the linguistic situation in the Chinese communities in the Netherlands. Together with the geopolitical repositioning of China, Chinese schools in the Netherlands attract people from all kinds of ethnic, linguistic, and cultural backgrounds. The Chinese school now is a site of immense diversity.

The research reported here took place mainly in and around one Chinese school in Eindhoven. For triangulation purposes I also visited two other Chinese schools, one in the city of Utrecht in the middle of the Netherlands and one in the city of Tilburg near Eindhoven. The Chinese school in Eindhoven is one of two oldest Chinese schools in the Netherlands. It was established in 1978 by the Chinese Protestant Church of Eindhoven and provided Cantonese lessons to children of Cantonese origin in a café-restaurant. There were only about a handful of students at that time. At the time of this research in 2010, the school had around 280 students and the number of students has increased to more than 310 in 2012.

Like many other Chinese community schools, the Chinese school in Eindhoven rents its location from a Dutch mainstream secondary school for four hours per week on Saturdays when students and teachers are free from their daily education and/or work, and when the school premises are available to be rented. Classes in the Chinese school in Eindhoven run from 9.15 to 11.45 a.m. and include a twenty minute break,

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[5]   See *www.chineesonderwijs.nl*, last access in March 2013.

during which there are regular staff meetings for the teachers. The school has classes starting from kindergarten to grade 12. The lower grades typically have up to twenty pupils whereas the higher grades usually have less than eight pupils. There is also one Taiwanese Mandarin class for children whose parents are Taiwanese expatriate staff, temporarily residing in the Netherlands. The Taiwanese children go to the international English school from Monday to Friday. In addition, in the school there are four levels of adult language classes offered to non-Chinese speakers who wish to learn Chinese. There is also a Dutch class for people of Chinese origin that is attended, among others, by Chinese teachers that are not yet proficient in Dutch.

Students in the school are mainly from the area of Eindhoven, but some students also travel considerable distances to attend the school, including from towns across the border in Belgium. Altogether there were 25 teachers, including teachers for calligraphy, music, and Kong Fu. Many of the teachers are long-term residents in the local area. Both teachers and students come from a wide range of social and linguistic backgrounds. Some of the teachers are well-paid professionals working at the High Tech Campus or for one of the hospitals in the city. Others are housewives or househusbands or work in the catering business, managing or working for a Chinese restaurant. Yet others are researchers or doctoral students who recently arrived in the Netherlands from mainland China. Recruitment of teachers is mainly from the community through personal introductions, and the school website. Student recruitment, likewise, is through word of mouth, the website, and advertisements in local Chinese supermarkets and restaurants.

With the changing composition of the Chinese immigrant community in the Netherlands in the last decade, lessons have gradually shifted from Cantonese to Mandarin. Since 2006, there are only Mandarin classes left; the school no longer employs textbooks prepared in Hong Kong but by Ji Nan University in Guangzhou, PRC for grade 1 to 12. The textbooks, provided by the Chinese embassy in the Netherlands, were originally targeted for children of overseas Chinese in North America. Therefore, the language of instruction in the textbooks is English. In the fieldwork sites, some teachers speak English in addition to, or sometimes instead of Dutch, and flexibly switch between Chinese, Dutch and/or English in the classroom (cf. Creese & Blackledge, 2010, for similar findings in UK complementary classrooms).

2.5   Summary

This chapter has set out to address two issues: first, the background of the study, the demographic context of Chinese worldwide and in the Netherlands, as well as in Eindhoven in particular, second, the sociolinguistic transformation of the Chinese community in Eindhoven. The earlier Chinese diaspora in the 19th and early 20th century had a less complex structure than it has nowadays. Their homeland was limited to the southeast provinces of Guangdong and Zhejiang. Hong Kong served as the key point for transshipment and contact for migrants and foreign companies that organized their out-migration. They formed offline associations and other networks based on place of origin and blood ties. Their descendants and the newer Chinese migrants on the contrary are often students and highly educated professionals. The current flow of

Chinese migration to the Netherlands is multi-layered and highly diverse in terms of the place of their origin, individual motivations and personal or family trajectories. The demographic and linguistic changes in the constitution of Chinese diaspora have far-reaching consequences for people's language and identity repertoires, which is the theme of this study. Having looked at the background information of the study, we shall continue with Chapter 3 on methodology in which I elaborate the instruments I deployed, how I got access to the fieldwork site and what kind of data I collected. The sociolinguistic-ethnographic approach employed when gathering, analyzing and interpreting the data of this study is presented.

Methodology: Sociolinguistic-ethnography

3.1 Introduction

This study adopted a sociolinguistic-ethnographic perspective (Blackledge & Creese, 2010; Heath & Street, 2008; Heller, 2011; Rampton, 2007), working from empirical evidence towards theory, using discourse analysis as its primary resource (Blommaert, 2005). The sociolinguistics used here is a holistic, ethnographic sociolinguistics that offers a language-centered perspective to understand society, i.e., in this study, to illustrate and shed light on the polycentric nature of a Chinese diasporic community in the multi-ethnic Dutch society as a result of globalization and global mobility. Language is seen here as socially and culturally embedded, and socially and culturally consequential in use (Blommaert, 2009). There is, however, a minor twist to my usage of linguistic ethnography, in that I tend to highlight the sociolinguistic aspects and issues slightly more than in mainstream linguistic ethnographic research.

Sealey (2007:651) comments that 'knowledge and understanding of some aspects of language practices are available most efficiently – perhaps exclusively – by ethnographic work among those who experience them'. Sociolinguistic study deploys ethnography to address linguistic practices in people's social life and achieve an understanding of the actual practices that construct social reality (Hymes, 1974). The history of ethnography is closely linked to anthropology in the sense that it comprises ontology, epistemologies, and methodologies situated within the tradition of anthropology. The important trace of the anthropological background to ethnography is the ontology. The 'language' addressed by sociolinguistic ethnography is defined *anthropologically*, which means that language is studied as a way of understanding society, therefore 'language is context, it is the architecture of social behavior itself, and thus part of social structure and social relations' (Blommaert, 2006:4). The important consequence of this anthropological background is addressed by Blommaert (2006:4) as follows:

> One important consequence has to do with the ontology, the definition of language itself. Language is typically seen as socially loaded an assessed tool for humans, the finality of which is to enable humans to perform as social beings. Language in this tradition is defined as a resource to be used, deployed and exploited by human beings in social life and hence socially consequential for humans.

This view of language lifts single language acts to a level of processual epistemology, in which these wider dimensions are part of ethnographic interpretation. Thus, I do not see ethnography as merely a *method*, but I see it as a *theoretical program*, i.e., a way of approaching knowledge and understanding society. I opt for 'thick description', in

which phenomena from one level of social structure need to be understood in relation to phenomena from other levels of social structure, for granular and in-depth analysis over representativeness.

Consequently, this study employed multi-site ethnography, to be more concrete 360° multi-site ethnography. The unique multi-faceted approach of 360° ethnography allows us to capture the changing conditions of Chinese diasporas from every angle, e.g., top-down, bottom-up, macro social changes reflected in micro individual discourses, and to connect the present to the past (Burawoy, 1998, 2000, 2003). Hence, 360° ethnography includes observations in various social spaces, interviews, linguistic landscaping. The fieldwork of this study started from the immediate institutional context of the Chinese language and culture classroom in Eindhoven, but it also sees the school as deeply situated in a wider context, and as a non-autonomous socio-linguistic space, anchored in the wider Chinese community of Eindhoven. Thus the fieldwork moves from observing things happening in the classroom to observing things happening outside of the classrooms and outside of the school, involving, e.g., observations in both on- and offline Chinese communities (Qingfeng Tea Room, Chinese restaurants and other organized community celebrations and activities as well as in online social network sites (e.g., the Asian and proud forum on Hyves and other cyber communities such as JONC, Gogodutch, Facebook) and linguistic landscaping in public spaces.

In turn, this procedure reflects the nature of processual epistemology that social realities display layered and scalar features (Blommaert, 2010). What happens in the school is clearly influenced by what happens outside of school. This ethnographic perspective thus includes on the one hand the 'traditional' objects of ethnography (sound recordings, observation of situated events, interviews), but it adds to this three other dimensions: attention to visuality in the field of language; attention to internet ethnography; and attention to macro-sociolinguistic aspects influencing and con-straining micro-events (hence the importance of mapping the resources of the neighborhood and the community).

3.2   Some conceptual tools

Analyzing ethnographic data occurs within a systematic framework and set of theoretical tools. Blommaert (2007:682; cf. also Hymes, 1996) comments that 'one rather uncontroversial feature of ethnography is that it addresses complexity ... it tries to describe and analyze the complexity of social events comprehensively'. Migration and globalization processes result in increasingly complex sociolinguistic patterns, especially in multicultural societies subject to superdiversity. The research reported here is strongly influenced by the work on language and superdiversity performed in the context of INCOLAS, the International Consortium on Language and Superdiversity,[6] which is focused on how superdiversity spawns new and complex sociolinguistic environments and demands new analytical tools (e.g., Arnaut et al., 2016; Blommaert &

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[6]   See *http://incolas.eu*.

Rampton, 2011). The guiding assumptions underlying this work can be sketched as follows:

1 In the context of superdiversity, we need to look at the actual 'bits' of language and other semiotic means gathered in complex repertoires, and we need to see them as flexibly deployed in relation to imagined 'standards' and to specific communicative targets. We thus focus on the actual resources people deploy in communication, and we prefer 'languaging' over 'language' (Creese & Blackledge, 2010; Jørgensen, 2008; Jørgensen et al., 2016; Juffermans, 2015).

2 We consider these resources to be tied to communities in new and unpredictable ways. 'Speech community' is a troubled notion when it is read as a sedentary community of people maximally sharing the linguistic, cultural and social conventions associated with a 'language' (Rampton, 1998). Instead, we see mobility as a key feature of contemporary sociolinguistic economies, with resources being made for mobility and 'exported' and 'imported' by mobile groups of users; contemporary communication technologies obviously play a massive role in these processes (Blommaert, 2010; Otsuji & Pennycook, 2010; Pennycook, 2010).

3 The mobility of semiotic resources leads to several analytical implications. In general, we see people operate in a polycentric sociocultural environment, in which they need to orient to a variety of orders of indexicality prevailing at different intersecting scales in communication (Blommaert, 2005, 2010).

By means of this analytic vocabulary, we are able to see the tremendous complexity of communication in superdiverse contexts, and of the identity work and effects such communication involves. The high level of unpredictability implied in this framework compels us to a momentous methodological choice: we can only investigate these complex processes ethnographically.

3.3   Data history and the researcher

Ethnography by definition implicates the body of the ethnographer, and the ethnographer's position in the ethnographic study is to act as a tool of data collection. Thus, doing ethnographic fieldwork is intricately tied to the biography of the ethnographer as well as of the people she worked with, the ethnographees (Ten Have, 2004). As a Chinese-Dutch myself and a member of the teaching staff at the Chinese school in Eindhoven, I was not detached from the researched people and communities prior to the study. It is therefore crucial to document and be reflective on my own journey prior to and in the process of using ethnographic methods.

Before entering the field as a researcher, I was a teacher of the Eindhoven Chinese School giving the course Practical Chinese to Dutch adults. The access to the main research site, i.e., the Eindhoven Chinese School was therefore not problematic. After four years of deep hanging out in the school as a language teacher, I was regarded as a member of the teaching staff and a member of the Chinese community. I observed weekly routines in the school, attended numerous teachers' meetings and participated

in various teacher training programs and community festivals organized by diverse Chinese associations in the Netherlands. At these events I met teachers and community members from many other Chinese schools in the Netherlands. In the same period I followed a master's program in Intercultural Communication at Tilburg University and took the course 'Ethnography'. From that moment on I started to observe the school in a more organized way. To be more specific, through the trainings, I became a *participant* in the community while also maintaining the stance of an *observer*, someone who can describe the experience with a measure of 'detachment'. The preparation for the current study in this 'pre-fieldwork phase' includes: (1) studying the demographic development of the Chinese diaspora in the Netherlands in general, and in the research sites in particular; (2) familiarization with the institutional context of the fieldwork sites: history, organization, staff, policy, and pedagogy; (3) reading a good deal of theoretically and methodologically informative works related to particular phenomena in the field of study. Understanding the macro as well as micro contexts in the current study was achieved during the four year's long term engagement with the school and various conversations held with teachers, students, administrators, and parents on the background history of Chinese schools, Chinese language teaching and learning in the Netherlands, their migration experiences, cultural encounters and identity issues.

The choice for the employed ethnographic methodology is motivated in Section 3.2. It means that the researcher has to subscribe to the general epistemological and methodological principles of ethnographic studies: interpretive research in a situated, real environment, based on observations, communicative interactions between the researcher and the researched, hence, fundamentally subjective in nature. The subjective is the basis of any form of 'objectivity' (Bourdieu, 1990), aimed at describing complexity, and yielding hypotheses that can be replicated in similar, but not identical circumstances.

When I re-entered the school with an added institutional role as a researcher, I was concerned that this new role as a researcher might influence the normal routines I observed in the last years. Therefore, I was aware of maintaining equal status between the researcher, myself, and the researched, the participants and chose to keep a low profile and be more a passive observer to collect and present a typical, routine and ritualized discourse from the research site. The fieldwork in this phase from April to July 2010 included: classroom observations in various classes ranging from grade 1 (students aged from 5 to 7) to grade 12 (the highest level of the school, students aged from 16 to 23) to have a general picture of different classes, including the linguistic and sociolinguistic background of both the teachers and students, the teaching materials, and an inventory of the languages used, aiming at selecting the main classes to conduct detailed observations. In the lower grades of the school, the class focuses exclusively on young children's literacy acquisitions through, e.g., endless repetitions of Chinese characters and pronunciation trainings, using Pinyin, i.e., the Putonghua pronunciation system. In the higher grades, besides Chinese literacy acquisition, the teacher and students also engaged in vivid discussions on various topics occurring in textbooks, ranging from views on the implication of national folk stories related to their own identity issues to aspects of contemporary Chinese and Dutch societies. In this phase, I conceived everything I observed in the school as potential data; I was eager to

make photographs, wrote field notes, made audio recordings and sometimes video recordings. Moreover, homework essays of students and their online textbooks were collected.

Linguistically, since the Chinese school Eindhoven has shifted from Cantonese to Mandarin teaching, I saw either the old Cantonese teachers retraining themselves to teach Mandarin classes, or new Mandarin speaking teachers replacing Cantonese teachers. As a result, the medium of communication among the teachers had changed to Mandarin. That was also the language I communicated in with other teachers. When I hung out with or interviewed the students, Dutch was mostly used. There were also moments we register-switched among Mandarin, Dutch, and English depending on individual participants and topics. For the Chinese-Dutch students either in or outside classrooms, Dutch was the language they used most of the time.

Overall, the school seemed very much used to my presence during the data collection period. I sensed from the school that my new role as a researcher had no clear-cut boundaries from my previous role as language teacher in the site. The school expected me to teach on Saturdays after the data collection period since only a limited number of Dutch-Chinese bilingual experienced teachers were available. I perceived this as an advantage because it overshadowed the labels usually attached to a researcher. The day when the first official observations started, the school members (school master, teachers, parents, and administrators) greeted me as usual. Some of the teachers generously welcomed me to observe their classes when I informed them about the research, while there were also some others who showed uncertainty and proclaimed that they were not interested in any research activities.

In the summer of 2010, since the school was closed for the summer vacation, I used the time to look at the wider community, i.e., the neighborhood (Chinese restaurants, Qingfeng Tea Room, Chinese church). Interviews were conducted with parents, teachers and administrators, and also members from outside of school. The data in Chapter 5 were drawn from the fieldwork in this period. The interviews with the participants focused on (1) their perceptions of the Chinese school; (2) their migration trajectories; (3) their linguistic and sociolinguistic background; (4) their experiences of living in the Netherlands; and (5) their identities. Some interviews were conducted in their work place, others at their homes or at restaurants according to their preferences. In total, seven community members were interviewed, about fifty minutes each.

The second official fieldwork period in school started together with the beginning of the new school year in September 2010 until December 2010. Having decided the focus groups to observe in the first fieldwork phase, the fieldwork in the second phase focused on three tasks. First of all, I conducted detailed observations on language and literacy practices in the classrooms and during break hours with special attention to multilingual language use. Secondly, I conducted individual interviews with students. The interview questions for the students were grouped around five topics: their family migration trajectories; their home languages; the duration and their motivations for Chinese learning; their identities; and the frequency of visiting China. Students from two combined 11-12th grades and a 10th grade, in total seventeen students were interviewed, about forty minutes each. Thirdly, besides observations in the school, I was often present on occasions where community members interacted socially, for instance in a restaurant, at home, in an association's weekly meeting, or during festivals. I have

imbibed valuable information from such unofficial interviews. My cultural and linguistic background were perceived by the community members as part of the we-group and my linguistic background, trilingual in the community language, Dutch and English was often called upon to offer certain help, e.g., to act as an interpreter, to contribute for the establishment of a new Chinese school, to act as an advisor for the school curricula. I have attempted to complete these friendly requests as a volunteer, and as a consequence, spent a lot of time and energy. But at the same time, I had gained my participants' personal trust. In my experience, being a member and an insider of the community helped me to make insightful observations, and being trained as a researcher enabled me to collect, approach and analyze the data in a more 'detached' way.

The third fieldwork period was from January 2011 to August 2011. The scope of the observations was extended to the wider Chinese community, i.e., linguistic land-scaping, internet ethnography and collecting online and offline community documents and newspapers. During the fieldwork in the school, I observed that I as an ethnographer, and the participants as ethnographees attended various social spaces next to the normative Chinese language classroom, such as online social forums and organized community activities, which provided meaningful ways for maintaining channels of communication and high rates of participation. The 'netnographic' observation was made in three different online communities. First, the Asian and Proud community on Hyves; the Dutch version of Facebook. It was established in the same year as Facebook in 2004, but stayed local and was extremely popular among Dutch youngsters. The forum in this online community I focused on was *Welk Chinees dialect spreken jullie?* (Which Chinese dialect do you speak?). The forum can thus be read as an archive of discourses of Chinese-Dutch identities voiced within an informal peer group setting that is not organized by researchers. The voices contained in this forum are complementary to the voices I had been recording in the school, thus giving us additional insight into Chinese complementary education in the Netherlands from the perspective of both those who have (almost) completed and those who have quit their complementary education. The data thus provided rich ethnographic detail of the constraints and regrets or missed opportunities teenagers have experienced with respect to learning Chinese. As the community's members aged and Hyves lost terrain to Facebook, the community was mostly abandoned some time before the social network site was closed down in 2013. The detailed description and analysis of the online communities will be presented in Chapter 6.

The second online community I focused on is the social network site, *jonc.nl*, the online platform of JONC (*Jongeren Organisatie Nederlandse Chinezen*), an organization for Dutch Chinese young people in the age range of 18 to 35. It targets Chinese who are raised in the Netherlands in order to make them more aware of their Chinese heritage: 'The accent is not on integration anymore [...] these young people are ever more alienated from their Chinese ancestors, but they are still conscious of their Chinese roots [...] JONC tries to cherish this heritage in a context of Western openness.'[7] For this study, I focused on two short discussion threads of the *jonc.nl* platform. They were part of the section *Vakantie* (holidays) under the heading *Lifestyle* which discusses

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[7]   See *www.jonc.nl*, Over ons, last viewed on 28 December, 2015.

travelling to China and speaking Chinese as a single topic. The discussions on these threads were observed among hundreds of topics because these most explicitly focused on language matters, from a more political and a more personal perspective respectively.

My colleague in the IDII4MES project, Kasper Juffermans, had joined the classroom observations occasionally in the previous two fieldwork phases (see Creese & Blackledge, 2014, for reflexive researcher vignettes of him and other researchers in the project), while in the online forum where Dutch is the medium of communication, he also played an active role in the observations. We worked as a team complementing each other's strengths and weaknesses and combining in our ethnography an insider's view with an outsider's perspective – both in terms of membership of the school community and the wider Eindhoven Chinese community and with respect to our multilingual repertoires (Creese & Blackledge, 2012). We discussed and analyzed pieces of data together, and drafted and revised internal research reporting as well as research papers for publication collaboratively, helping each other, in turn, to render the strange familiar and the familiar strange (Erickson, 1977).

The Chinese website *www.gogodutch.com* targeting the recent Chinese diaspora was also approached. Established in 2001 by new Chinese immigrants from the PRC, this website soon became the largest website for Chinese students and professionals residing in the Netherlands, reflecting the changing composition of the Chinese diasporas in recent years. In short, the blurring of the off- and online dimension of data collection generated different and unexpected voices and insights, facilitating the collection of richer data (Baker, 2013).

Having documented and reflected on my own journey of doing ethnographic work in the Eindhoven Chinese School as well as the wider on- and offline Chinese diasporic communities, I will now describe the access to the other fieldwork sites and Chinese teaching activities which happened prior to the project, but generated useful data. As a former language teacher in the Eindhoven Chinese School (2006-2010), I participated in two-week training programs for overseas Chinese teachers organized and sponsored by the Ministry of Overseas Chinese Affairs in different cities in China in July 2006 and 2007. For two weeks overseas teachers from all over the world were given the opportunity to take advanced Chinese language courses. I attended a Putonghua course in Shanghai Normal University in 2006 and a Multimedia course in Daliang Normal University in 2007. With various classes of forty participants going on at the same time, there were over a hundred overseas Chinese teachers with whom a social program was shared. This was an opportunity to get to know the worldwide network of Chinese heritage schools and to get acquainted with language teachers working within them. Thus, contacts were established with Chinese teachers from diverse parts of the world, including Mrs. Deng, the grade 8 teacher from the Utrecht Chinese School whom I later observed in her class.

Every year around Chinese New Year, a number of Chinese organizations organize parties in Amsterdam to celebrate Chinese New Year with all the heritage Chinese school teachers. This was another occasion to get to know the Dutch national network of Chinese complementary schools and to get acquainted with fellow Chinese language teachers. Thus, contacts were established with Chinese teachers from diverse parts of the country. At one of these occasions, I met Mrs. Liu, the head teacher of the Chinese

school in Utrecht,[8] whom I later met again in a preparatory meeting for the 2007 Overseas Chinese Teachers Training in Utrecht.

In 2008, I started writing a personal blog (in Chinese) about my experiences as a teacher of Chinese and about my migration experiences of living in the Netherlands. Through this blog, contacts with various Chinese women in the Netherlands and world-wide were created. One of the contacts or friendships that emerged out of my blogging activity were with Mrs. Xie who migrated to the Netherlands in 2007. Originally from Beijing, she had become a teacher at the Utrecht Chinese School. She is an avid follower of my blog and frequently writes back about her own teaching and migration experiences. The other contact that I have established from the blogging activity was with Jessie, a former Cantonese language teacher at Eindhoven Chinese School from 1999 to 2003. In Section 4.2, an interview conducted with her to acquire a more detailed picture of the background of teachers in relation with the changing socio-linguistic landscape of the Chinese community is presented.

In the early 2000s, Chinese was being introduced as an optional language subject for students in selected secondary schools across the Netherlands. Around the same time higher education colleges (HBOs) around the Netherlands also began to offer courses in Chinese for special purposes (e.g., business) in their curricula. There soon appeared to be a shortage of Dutch-speaking qualified teachers for Chinese. In response to this, in 2006 the Chinese Participation Association (*Inspraakorgaan Chinezen*, IOC) began to co-ordinate a training program to prepare Chinese language teachers teaching in the complementary school system for jobs in the mainstream secondary and tertiary education system. I participated in this program the second time it ran. Here, I met Mrs. Lin who was a teacher at one of the Chinese schools in Rotterdam. On the basis of my contact with Lin and the experiment I conducted in her school for my MA thesis, I felt that it would not be very difficult to gain access to the Rotterdam school again. The school, however, appeared to have a very strict school director who was unfavorably disposed towards welcoming researchers in her school. To avoid Lin from getting into trouble with her school director, I decided to leave the Rotterdam school out of our research. The Chinese school in Utrecht was approached instead. The response of Liu, the head teacher whom I had met four years ago at the New Year's party in Amsterdam, by contrast, was very friendly and welcoming.

I have similarly been welcomed in the Chinese school in Tilburg. The chairman of the Tilburg school also acts as an instructor of the Tai Chi lessons that are organized all year around on Sundays in the Eindhoven City Park (as well as in the Chinese school of Tilburg). I had participated in a few Tai Chi lessons in the park in the autumn of 2010. Official contacts with the Tilburg Chinese School have thus been established at various fronts and like in Eindhoven and in Utrecht I was also welcome to do fieldwork in the Tilburg school. The Chinese school in Tilburg is a relative young, small scale weekend school. Located in the Tilburg city center, the Tilburg Chinese School rents the classrooms from a local secondary school for Saturdays. The building is shared by a

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[8]   Chinese schools in the Netherlands typically have a head teacher, who is responsible for the overall class and teacher arrangements, a director who is responsible for the administration (students and teacher's admissions) and is superior in the organisation to the head teacher, and a chairperson (chairman) who is the sponsor and the highest in the hierarchy. In case of a conflict, the chairman finds a new director rather than the director finding a new chairman.

Japanese weekend school on Saturdays as well. Founded in the spring of 2006 by the local Chinese community and a number of Chinese students from mainland China, who were studying at Tilburg University, the school now has around ninety students grouped from grade 1 to grade 6. I observed the two highest grades in November 2010. The age of the students ranged from 8 to 11. The population of the students was significantly younger than that of the Eindhoven and Utrecht schools where in the higher grade, the age of the students ranged from 16-23.

In short, my ethnographic engagement with the Chinese community encompasses in its most literal sense longitudinal and participant observation in the last nine years. It has enabled me to witness and capture the changing features of the community, to participate in processes of change and transformation, and to maintain an extensive network of contacts and resources of people. So the boundary between the assigned period for doing fieldwork and after fieldwork stage was not clear-cut in the sense that the observing and learning process started earlier and continued when I revisited the sites for social activities and consumptions (Chinese restaurants and grocery stores).

3.4   Research instruments

The instruments used for data collection include on the one hand the 'traditional' objects of ethnography such as audio recordings, participant and non-participant observation of situated events, interviews and document collection, but it adds to this three other dimensions: (1) attention to visuality in the field of language, e.g., linguistic landscaping in public spaces; (2) attention to internet discourse, i.e., doing online ethnography on language use and identity repertoires; (3) attention to macro-sociolinguistic aspects influencing and constraining micro-events (hence the importance of mapping the resources of the community).

These instruments are used here from an ethnographic perspective, i.e., the understandings of ethnography laid out in Section 3.1 of this chapter are the starting point of deploying these instruments. The fieldwork of this research generated a complex set of widely diverse data as described in Section 3.3, including classroom observations, observations of other school events, e.g., annual staff meetings, begin and end of school year ceremonies, linguistic landscaping at the fieldwork sites, interviews with teachers, administrators, students, members of the school board, parents, and other community members, as well as online discourse collection.

The classroom data used in this study are taken from a period of observations carried out on a weekly basis in 2010 in two combined grade 11 and twelve classrooms. The observations followed the school year and spanned the period from April 2010 to August 2011, recorded by fieldnotes, photographs, and sometimes audio and video recordings. The fieldwork generated (apart from a huge volume of fieldnotes) upwards of hundred hours of audio-recorded and twenty hours of video-recorded material, hundreds of photographs, and a collection of school, community and relevant online documents. Language and literacy interaction was observed in classrooms, at break-times and in other school and community contexts. Interviews were conducted in Chinese, Dutch, and English respectively according to participants' preferences. Interview questions were grouped around five topics: family migration trajectories,

home language, durations and motivations for Chinese language learning, the frequency of visiting China, and identity. From three classes, in total seventeen students were interviewed, about forty minutes each. In the summer of 2010, three teachers and the school master were also interviewed.

The Chinese school is a space which not only provides Chinese courses but is also an important space for Chinese people from various ages, young and old, students and parents to socialize as a Chinese-heritage group. I often observed parents sharing experiences and exchange information on child-rearing, community activities, and handling technology such as computers and mobile phones. For the students, the Chinese school is a space where they can meet other Chinese-heritage youth, and build an identity that is different from the mainstream school identity. Furthermore, at the community level, the space that the Chinese school borrows from the local secondary school for once a week on Saturday morning is also becoming an importance place for the members of various other Chinese associations to socialize, meeting each other and practicing cultural activities.

Regarding the online data, I see the Internet as part of everyday life, rather than separate and solely virtual. In this view, the research begins in one place or space, in this case, the Chinese language classroom, as I engaged with participants and the activities of their daily lives, and moves to another context, the online forum. Online and offline spaces and communities have therefore become the connective network of meaningful data. Analysis of language interactions are conducted within an inter-actional sociolinguistic framework, and triangulated with the analysis of interview data.

3.5   Summary

To recap, this chapter has set out to report the methodological backgrounds and address conceptual tools in relation to sociolinguistic ethnography. It argued that ethnography has to be seen as a full intellectual program stemming from anthropology. Language is seen as a socially and culturally embedded resource to be used by Man in social life. The ethnographic nature of the study produces an archive of research that documents the researcher's own journey of knowledge construction. The multilingual repertoire of the researcher is not just a methodological resource for achieving this but it is an identity marker which the researcher is aware of harnessing as Arvind Bhatt comments 'I use my "insider" persona to build trust and my "outside" persona to keep my distance' (see Creese & Blackledge, 2014, for reflexive researcher vignettes in the HERA project). Having familiarized with the methodological contexts, we shall look at the analytical Chapters 4, 5 and 6, which present and analyze fieldwork data collected in online and offline contexts.

The big in the small: The polycentric classroom

4.1   Introduction

This chapter focuses on empirical data collected in the normative space of the Chinese complementary school in Eindhoven to help us understand the polycentric nature of Chineseness, both linguistically (Section 4.2) and culturally (Section 4.3). The central concepts of this study, mobility and polycentricity are introduced in the first chapter of this book. Each analytical chapter will also add new theoretical notions which reflect its object. The current chapter will address the notion of metapragmatics employed in Section 4.3 to examine the subtle ways of speaking about Chinese and explore the implicit and more explicit meanings that are carried with it in metapragmatic discourses (see also Section 5.2).

Metapragmatics as coined by Silverstein (1993) describes how the effects and conditions of language use themselves become objects of discourse. Metapragmatics has to do with meta-language, i.e., language about language. More precisely, it refers to the pragmatics, i.e., the meanings in use or the processes of social signification in praxis, that are applied in relation to varieties of language or ways of speaking, including accents, dialects/languages, etc.

Metapragmatics is thus concerned with the meanings or indexicalities that are attached to the use of a particular language variety. Such meanings may vary in pairs such as (in-)appropriate, (un-)civilized, (un-)educated, (in-)authentic, (non-)standard, (ab-)normal, (im-)polite, (in-)correct, (im-)proper, right/wrong, good/bad, backward/modern, old/young, rude/elegant, beautiful/ugly, etc. Metapragmatic meanings are mappings of social categories on the basis of the language use of a particular individual or group. Often language use generates multiple and competing and partially overlapping meanings along several parameters. Someone's language may for instance be considered educated but inauthentic, or standard but too polite or old-fashioned for a particular context. Such meanings are applied to individuals' idiosyncratic ways of speaking, as in statements such as 'my English is a bit rusty' or 'she has a fake accent when she speaks dialect'; but often also to the types of language associated with whole groups of speakers as in (cliché) statements such as 'French is a romantic language', 'Japanese sounds aggressive' or 'dialect speakers are dumb'.

4.2   The metapragmatics of sociolinguistic transformation[9]

The first extract that we discuss here is based on an observation in May 2010 in Mr. Zhou's combined grade 11/12 class. Nine students aged 16 to 19 had officially registered in Mr. Zhou's class. The actual number of students attending his class, however, fluctuated considerably. At the moment of my observation there were only four students, all female. According to Mr. Zhou, the low attendance was due to the fact that it was exams week in the mainstream schools.

Mr. Zhou's class is ethnolinguistically very heterogeneous. Two of the students present, Esther and Hil Wah, were of Hong Kong Cantonese background, one, Wendy, of Wenzhounese background, and Tongtong had a mixed Guangdong and Hong Kong background. According to Mr. Zhou, there were also students from Fujianese and Malaysian Chinese backgrounds. Seven of the nine students attended mainstream Dutch medium school, the two Malaysian students attended an English-medium international school from Monday to Friday. Six of the students in Mr. Zhou's class were born in the Netherlands, and the remaining three in mainland China and Malaysia.

Mr. Zhou, an earlier migrant from Guangdong province, is a speaker of Cantonese. When Mr. Zhou and I arrived in the classroom, he greeted the students and chatted with them in Cantonese. When the lesson started, Mr. Zhou switched from Cantonese to Mandarin as the language of instruction. During the lesson, Mr. Zhou and the students were practicing synonyms in the *Hanyu Shuiping Kaoshi* (HSK – Chinese proficiency test) for level 5. The HSK test is the Chinese equivalent of the TOEFL and IELTS tests for English. It is a Chinese language proficiency test designed and developed by the HSK of Beijing Language and Culture University to assess the Chinese proficiency of non-native speaking foreigners and overseas Chinese. HSK has in total six levels ranging from elementary level 1 to advanced level 6. What is interesting here is that the term for Chinese in the name of the test is Hanyu – the language of the Han, is the language of the majority nationality (Hanzu) in China. In practice Hanyu means Putonghua.

The classroom was organized in rows. All four students sat in the middle row. Wendy and Hil Wah were in the middle of the first row in the classroom with Esther and Tongtong sitting in the row behind them. There was a whiteboard in front of the classroom and the teacher sat between the whiteboard and the students. The researcher took position in the back of the classroom, making notes and video recordings at selected moments while audio recording the entire lesson. The lesson started with vocabulary training of what is known in the HSK exercise book as *tong yi ci* (synonyms). Data example 4.1 is taken from the beginning of the lesson.

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[9]   An earlier version of this section has been published as Li and Juffermans (2014).

Data example 4.1: Tongtong correcting Mr. Zhou's accent (classroom observation, May 2010)

1	Mr. Zhou	你们造句也行把荷兰文的意思说出来也行, "本质".
		You can make sentences or say the meaning in Dutch: 'property' [běn zhí]. [with rising tone]
2	Tongtong	本质 [běn zhí]? 某某东西的本质 [běn zhí] eigenschap van ( )?
		Property? Something's property? Property of ( )?
3	Mr. Zhou	Eigenschap.
		Property.
4	Tongtong	不是本质 [běn zhì] 吗?
		Should it not be běn zhì? [with falling tone]
5	Mr. Zhou	[looks at the book again] 本质啊, 应该读第四声啊, 对不起.
		Běn zhì ah, should be pronounced with the fourth tone *ah*, sorry.
6	Mr. Zhou	下一个, "比较" [bǐ jiǎo].
		The next one, 'comparing'.
7	Tongtong	比较 [bǐ jiǎo]? 比较 [bǐ jiào] 嘛?
		Bǐ jiǎo? Should it not be bǐ jiào?
8	Class	[all four students correcting his pronunciation]
9	Mr. Zhou	[nods in agreement, repeats the corrected pronunciation] 比较啊,也读错了.
		bǐ jiào *ah*. I made again a mistake.
10	Class	[students look at each other and laugh]

Let us first take a look at what is happening here. The class took place one month before the HSK exam. Mr. Zhou's assignment was to let the students practice synonyms. To achieve this, Mr. Zhou asked the students to make sentences with difficult words in Chinese or translate these words into Dutch. The students did not, however, just do the assignment by making sentences in Chinese or translating the words in Dutch but immediately turned the exercise into pronunciation training for the teacher. In line 4, Tongtong corrected Mr. Zhou's pronunciation of *bǐjiǎo*. In line 5, Mr. Zhou agreed with Tongtong that he had made a mistake. In line 7, Tongtong corrected Mr. Zhou's pronunciation again and in line 8, all four students corrected Mr. Zhou's pronunciation. Mr. Zhou kindly agreed with the students and admitted in line 9 that he had made yet another mistake. The extract ends with the students looking at each other and laughing at the situation and/or the teacher.

This example adds further evidence to Li Wei and Wu's (2009) observations in the UK that despite the prevalent stereotypes of Chinese children being polite, passive subjects in the classroom, Chinese adolescents in fact regularly engage in ridiculing and mocking behavior at the expense of the teacher. The resources for such 'linguistic sabotage' (Jaspers, 2005) are located in the tension and conflict between the teachers

and pupils' language repertoires and preferences. Whereas in Li Wei and Wu's data, where the participants are younger than the current research group, the tension manifests itself mainly in the children's more sophisticated proficiency in English compared to the teachers, in this example the tension also arises over ownership and expertise in Chinese, the target of learning and teaching in this community. When we take a close look at the transcript, we see abundant features of non-nativeness in Mr. Zhou's speech. The classroom episode presents a serious deviation from the traditional Chinese language class where the teacher has all the 'knowledge' and is assumed to be a model language user, with respect to vocabulary, grammar, orthography and also pronunciation. However, in this classroom, we see another scenario. The language teacher's pronunciation is 'corrected' by his students. From a traditional educational point of view, one might raise doubts about Mr. Zhou's qualification as a teacher of Chinese. Is he a qualified language teacher?

In order to answer this question, from a sociolinguistic point of view, we need to look at what happens outside the classroom. Schools as institutions are non-autonomous sociolinguistic spaces and are deeply situated in a wider societal context. Chinese heritage schools are situated at the intersection of two or more different political, social, economic, linguistic, and sociological systems or regimes. Our analysis sets out from a sociolinguistic perspective that involves different scale-levels. Different scales organize different patterns of normativity (Blommaert, 2005; Collins, 2009; Collins & Slembrouck, 2006). The analysis of our classroom interaction requires a processual epistemology as elaborated in the methodological chapter that the classroom interactions at one level of social structure need to be understood in relation to phenomena from another level of social structure. Time and space are the two key concepts in understanding what is happening here.

For a long time, Cantonese was taught at Chinese schools overseas. Mr. Zhou is a first generation migrant of Cantonese background, who started his voluntary teaching career as a Chinese language teacher teaching Cantonese but had to re-educate himself to teach Mandarin. His re-education is self-taught, but also partly taken care of by his students as could be seen in Data example 4.1 above.

The point here is not about the pronunciation of *ben zhi*, but to document the emergent and problem-ridden transition from one language regime to another. This little classroom episode reveals big demographic and geopolitical changes of global Chineseness – i.e., changes in spatial configurations: (1) the language teacher becomes a language learner; (2) the school surrenders the old language regime to capture a (new) audience; (3) the traces of worldwide migration flows impact on the specific demographic, social and cultural dynamics of the Chinese presence in Eindhoven; (4) the Chinese philosophy of cultural, political and sociolinguistic 'harmony' is not strongly enforced in the diaspora, but is brought in – with force – by new immigrants from the PRC; and (5) on the whole we witness a geopolitical repositioning of China: the emergence of the PRC as a new economic world power.

This classroom episode triggered an interview with Tongtong's parents. The meeting took place at the restaurant of Tongtong's parents on a Saturday evening. The restaurant is located next to a supermarket, under a residential apartment in the north of Eindhoven. The name of the restaurant is written in Dutch (*Chinees-Indisch Restaurant*), traditional Chinese characters (富貴酒楼 'prosperous') and Cantonese

romanization (*fu kwei*). The linguistic landscape of the Chinese community in Eindhoven will be dealt with in Chapter 5. This kind of Chinese restaurant is a typical Chinese restaurant in the Netherlands: established in the 1960s-1970s and serving Chinese-Indonesian (*Chinees-Indisch*) cuisine. The restaurant was a family business. For twenty years, the restaurant has been owned by Tongtong's parents, who inherited it from Tongtong's paternal grandparents.

Data example 4.2 is taken from a one hour interview with Tongtong's mother in Tongtong's presence. The interview was an informal, although audio-recorded conversation about the family's migration history and their language use. In the extract, we can read the researcher inquire about the family's language policy.

Data example 4.2: Interview with Tontong's mother about the family's language policy (September, 2010)

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1 JLi 听彤彤她说她小时侯在家是说广东话, 看广东话电视, 后来你把广东话的电视频道删了? 只让她看普通话电视节目?

I heard from Tongtong that she watched Cantonese channels at home when she was small, but later you deleted all the Cantonese channels and let Tongtong watch only Putonghua channels?

2 TM 是, 因为我是在国内受的教育. 我们国内都是讲普通话教学的嘛. 来这里我就觉得奇怪, 为什么要广东话教学. 不过我们家都是讲广东话的, 我们是广东人嘛, 当然在家是讲方言啦.

Yes, because I was educated in China. In China, we all know about Putonghua teaching. When I came here, I felt it was very strange that Cantonese was taught at school. But at home, we speak Cantonese. We are Cantonese; of course at home we speak dialect.

3 JLi 方言? 你是指广东话?

Dialect? You mean Cantonese?

4 TM 是, 我们的方言是广东话. 后来, 后来中文学校我要求要那个普通话教学,
要开普通话班, 那时没有, 那是 14, 15 年前, 彤彤, 彤彤, 她 5 岁左右.
后来读了两年小学幼稚园的课程, 后来就有了 (普通话班), 她那时还哭.
因为都是小朋友, 都在一起玩, 就把她一个人拽出来, 到另外一个班上, 她那时不适应, 她不肯走, 哎呀, 连哄带骗的.

Yes, our dialect is Cantonese. Then, then in the Chinese school I asked for Putonghua teaching, Putonghua class, but they didn't have. That was about 14 or 15 years ago, when Tongtong was about five years old. She started two years of Cantonese kindergarten class, and then there came the Putonghua class, so I immediately sent her there. She cried, because she had made friends in the class and didn't want to go to another one. I had to sweet-talk her into Putonghua class.

5 JLi 那是第一个普通话班? 九几年的时候?

Was it the first Putonghua class? When did that happen?

6 TM 我估计她那时侯 7 岁左右, 99 年的时候.

When she was about seven years old, around 1999.

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7 JLi	你是什么时候来荷兰的
	When did you move to the Netherlands?
8 TM	我二十多年前来的荷兰, 80 年代末.
	More than twenty years ago, in the late 1980s.
9 JLi	你来荷兰前生活在广东? 在广东也是说粤语的, 但是你还是觉得普通话很重要?
	You were living in Guangdong before you came to the Netherlands? Cantonese is spoken in Guangdong. Do you think that Putonghua is very important?
10 TM	是的, 因为你要是在中国跟其它省份联系, 这是必须的桥梁来着.
	Yes, if you want to communicate with people from other provinces in China. Putonghua is the bridge to enable that.

Tongtong's behavior in the classroom (her correcting of the teacher's accent) needs to be understood against the background of the decision made by Tongtong's mother to transfer Tongtong from a Cantonese class to a Mandarin class as soon as this was possible in Eindhoven. This extract gives insight into Tongtong's 'family language policy' (see Curdt-Christiansen, 2013, for an introduction) as well as the macro political transformation at the highest scale-level. This is most clearly articulated by Tongtong's mother in line 10: Putonghua is a bridge to enable communication in a broader network of Chinese migrants. This rescaling of the community (from a local Guangdongese language community to a translocal or global Chinese community) is necessitated by the new waves of Chinese mobility from the PRC, causing a diversification of 'Chineses' and Chineseness.

This diversification of Chinese diasporas across the world is a result of political and economic changes in China over the last three decades. The language ideological effects of this geopolitical transformation can be read in Data example 4.2. For people who are educated in China such as Tongtong's mother, being educated is equal to speaking Putonghua. We read this quite literally in lines 2 and 4. Tongtong's mother found it strange that Cantonese was taught at Chinese schools in the Netherlands, because for her, Cantonese is not a language, but a dialect that articulated the macro level of language ideology and language policy in the PRC. Tongtong's mother, who has been educated in China and has worked as an editor at a television station in Guangzhou before her emigration in the late 1980s, stresses the importance of speaking Putonghua for educational and general success in life. This ideology is shared with the majority of new migrants from the PRC, especially the university educated elite, Chinese international students. The analysis of the previous two data examples brings us to Data example 4.3, taken from an interview with a former teacher of the school, who was educated in Guangdong. The interview was conducted in 2011. Jessie migrated to the Netherlands in the late 1990s to study and was a voluntary teacher at the school from 1999 to 2003.

Data example 4.3: Interview with Jessie, a former teacher of the Chinese School Eindhoven (June, 2011)

1 Jessie	我大概是 7 岁的时候因为父母工作的调动和父母一起搬到到广州的.
	I moved to Guangzhou with my parents at the age of seven because of my parents' job.
2 JLi	然后 7 岁的时候随父母工作调动到广州的. 你那时到了广州上小学? 学校上课是用普通话还是广东话?
	So you moved to Guangzhou with your parents. Did you start your primary school in Guangzhou? Did the teachers use Putonghua or Cantonese at school?
3 Jessie	我们的小学是这样子, 上课是用国语, 但同学们之间的交流都是广东话. 我刚去的时候听不懂. 那时候广东人都是看香港台, 都不看大陆台的. 但上课老师虽然普通话很蹩脚, 但还是讲普通话的, 除了像体育呀, 这样的课. 她那普通话我刚去的时候听不懂. 所以我可以说是外来移民.
	In our primary school, the teaching was in Mandarin, but the pupils communicated among each other in Cantonese. I couldn't understand when I just arrived there. Guangdong people also watched Hong Kong TV channels; they didn't watch mainland's channels. But in the class, even though the teacher's Putonghua wasn't that fluent, but they did use Putonghua, except for subjects like gymnastics. I could barely understand the teacher's Cantonese style Putonghua. So I was a migrant in Guangdong.
4 JLi	后来就要学会广东话?
	Then you had to learn Cantonese?
5 Jessie	我刚到广东的时候可害怕了, 街上全是讲广东话, 我去读小学的时候, 就是说除了学校和家里的环境可以讲讲普通话之外, 你要走在街上你不会讲广东话, 你要丢了, 家都找不到, 特别是小孩. 所以非常害怕, 要努力学, 看电视. 那时候还不好意思开口讲, 因为你一讲, 有口音嘛, 给人笑. 我读小学的时候呢我一般不敢开口讲, 很自闭的. 我读初中后, 因为没人认识我, 不知道我是外来的, 我就是以一个完全会讲广东话的人出现. 没人质疑我是外来的. 但是发现到了初中很多人都不说广东话了.
	It was very scary when I just moved to Guangdong. You could only hear Cantonese on the street. School and home were the only two places where you could speak some Putonghua. If you got lost on the street and couldn't speak Cantonese, then you were not able to find you way home for children. So it was very scary if you were just a little kid. So I had to learn Cantonese very hard, by watching TV as well. At that time, I was also very shy to speak, because once you opened your mouth, you had an accent in your Cantonese, had been laughed. I dared not to speak and had autism until I went to secondary school, because there no one knew that I was a migrant and I presented myself as a person who can speak fluent Cantonese. No one doubted that I was from somewhere else, but anyhow I discovered in the secondary school not so many people spoke Cantonese.
6 JLi	就一下子都不说了?
	Just all of a sudden people stopped speaking Cantonese?

7	Jessie	后来我中学考的比较好到了重点中学, 到了重点中学就更没人说广东话了, 交流都不讲广东话. 大家交流都是讲普通话. 这是我的心理. 一个普通话讲不好的人, 一定没受过什么好的教育, 特别是你要考过高考的话, 没有一个好的语言教育普通话, 你是考不过那些试的, 所以从语言上可以判断一个人的教育程度. 到了大学反而又换过来了, 到了大学呢, 大家因为没什么压力了, 又开始讲广东话了.
		I did well on the exams and went to a key secondary school and people didn't speak Cantonese at these schools, even among each other. I had a feeling, if people couldn't speak Putonghua well, then they didn't have much education, especially for those who had experience with university entrance exams. If your Putonghua is not very good, you won't be able to pass all the exams. So you can judge one's educational level from their language use. But once you got into the university, things changed again, because we didn't have so much pressure, so we started to speak Cantonese again.
8	JLi	好, 我们现在回到荷兰. 你以前在安多分的中文学校教过书.
		Okay, now let's go back to the Chinese in the Netherlands. You had been teaching Chinese in the Chinese school in Eindhoven?
9	Jessie	教过, 教粤语, 教过 4 年. 从 99 年开始. 教过, 教粤语, 教过 4 年. 从 99 年开始.
		Yes, I taught Cantonese for four years since 1999.
10	JLi	那时中文学校粤语班多吗?
		Were there many Cantonese classes?
11	Jessie	有好几个, 学校都是以说粤语为主.
		Quite a few. Cantonese was the dominant language in the (Chinese) schools.
12	JLi	现在中文学校都没有粤语班了, 都是普通话班.
		There is no Cantonese class anymore in the Chinese school.
13	Jessie	就是, 早就该没粤语了.
		Yes, should have done that earlier.
14	JLi	Hmmm
		Hmmm
15	Jessie	知道吗, 我那时候教得很痛苦. 书是繁体字, 教简体字.
		You know, it was very painful for me to teach at that time, because the textbooks were in traditional characters but you had to teach the children simplified character writing.
16	JLi	怎么有这种?
		How come?
17	Jessie	因为当时也可以教繁体字, 但有些班里学生家长的意见, 他们觉得简体字比繁体字有用. 当时我们的课本都是台湾提供的, 没有简体字的课本.
		Because some parents requested for simplified character teaching, they thought it was more useful. But our textbooks were provided by the Taiwanese government, so had no simplified characters.

18 JLi	所以当时中文学校的课本都是台湾提供的.
	So the teaching materials were provided by Taiwan.
19 Jessie	是, 以前我们都是 10 月 10 号台湾的国庆节, 我们都是去台湾的大使馆吃饭. 有很多这样的活动.
	Yes, We also celebrated the Taiwanese national day on the tenth of October by going to the Taiwanese embassy to have a meal there.
20 JLi	这些年的变化很大.
	Things have changed in the last decade.
21 Jessie	是, 我们以前教的都是广东, 香港移民的孩子. 现在都是大陆那边的. 我以前没有接触香港那边的教材, 其实台湾那边的教材用广东话教是教不出来的. 有些国语的音用广东话教是教不出来的. 所以教得很痛苦, 用的是台湾的教材, 教的是粤语的发音, 写得是简体字.
	Yes, my students were all Guangdong and Hong Kong origin. But now the students are from all over China. I didn't have experience with the textbooks provided by Hong Kong. What I experienced is the teaching material provided by Taiwan couldn't be used to teach Cantonese, because some pronunciations in these textbooks couldn't be pronounced in Cantonese. For instance, rhymes in the Mandarin poetry don't have the same effect in Cantonese. So it was very painful for me to teach Cantonese pronunciation while using the Taiwanese textbooks and teaching simplified character writing at that time.

In the interview, Jessie described her migration trajectories in relation with her experiences of sociolinguistic encounters in two geographic spaces: Guangzhou and Eindhoven. First in her early migrating years to Guangzhou, she underwent traumatic language change: the forced transition towards Cantonese left her intimidated and scared ('it was very scary when I just moved to Guangdong'). Community pressure marginalized her as a speaker of Putonghua and accented Cantonese. Yet, the school exam system pushed her peers towards intense efforts in Putonghua, because 'if your Putonghua is not very good, you won't be able to pass all the exams'. And then, when she started teaching in Eindhoven, she saw herself confronted with the strong polycentricity of 'Chinese': Cantonese had to be taught using Taiwanese textbooks, raising linguistic and literacy issues that she found hard to manoeuvre, all the more since the parents demanded the teaching of simplified script to their children. Her teaching experience dated to a decade ago, probably the very early stage of the process of language shift we currently see in full force.

Intuitively, many people see the teacher in a class context as the repository of the target knowledge, as a stable figure whose input would always be directed towards the focus of the class activities and the curriculum knowledge he or she is supposed to transfer. In the context of our research, however, we came to see the teachers as a highly heterogeneous, 'unstable' group of people. The teachers themselves have a complex repertoire and a complex sociolinguistic biography, involving sometimes dramatic and traumatizing language shift during certain phases of their lives. As a consequence, language teachers themselves are, in actual fact, language learners. The point of these observations is that the 'input' given by teachers during the Chinese

classes is in itself a conflict-ridden and polycentric feature: not always without contradictions and contestation, and not always unambiguous in terms of learning. The teachers themselves bring along a baggage of complex sociolinguistic biographies, matching the complexity of those of their students. Jessie's teaching experience dated to a decade ago, probably the very early stage of the process of language shift to Putonghua we currently see in full force.

To recap, the observation and interviews show fundamental aspects of language in the current globalized world. Chinese, or any language for that matter, is not a fixed object or entity that people can learn to make use of but is dynamic, changing, contested, in transformation. Languages are moving targets. Chinese as a language has a long history of export and mobility, of being exported 'to the world' by Chinese migrants from the late 19th century until today. This has resulted in divergent configurations of language diversity overseas and at home, that are converging in the current wave of globalization characterized as superdiversity (cf. Arnaut et al., 2016; Blommaert & Rampton, 2011). If we understand current globalization processes as the compression of time and space through increased flows of people, goods and images – migration, (mass) communication, imagination – facilitated through technologies, then we can understand how developments in the diaspora are reflecting in intricate ways developments in the PRC. Researching Chinese language in the diaspora helps us look at 'the world as one large, interactive system, composed of many complex subsystems' (Appadurai, 1996:41) and at processes that are of a larger scale than nations and states.

4.3   'My way of thinking is Dutch': Negotiation of inheritance and identity[10]

Having looked at the actual discursive and literacy practices performed by the students and teachers in Mr. Zhou's class, let us now turn to the other class where discourses on inheritance and identities of Chinese-Dutch are explicitly discussed by the teacher and her students. As described in Chapter 2, in the last two to three decades, the demographic composition and linguistic landscape of Chinese communities changed dramatically as a result of the political and economic changes in China. Until 1990, Hong Kong people were the largest group within the Chinese community (CBS, 2010:6). After 2000, Chinese immigrants originated from all over China. While the older generation of teachers from Hong Kong and Guangdong areas tended to have a rather relaxed and tolerant attitude during teaching sessions (and were themselves some-times struggling with Putonghua), new arrivals from the PRC displayed an outspokenly 'native' teaching style, with emphasis on rigor, discipline, and monological teaching.

Culturally speaking, since the school does not provide Cantonese lessons and the teaching materials are now provided by the PRC, in the curriculum we witness the intended creation of a collaborative memory of Chinese history and culture. A glimpse of the whole series of the curriculum shows that many folk stories and national fairy tales appeared. Prinsloo and Baynham (2008:2) argue that literacy has to be considered 'as situated practices embedded in relations of culture and power in specific contexts'.

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[10]   An earlier version of this section has been published as Li and Juffermans (2016).

This indicates that literacy practices, their teaching and learning are situated in social, cultural, political and historical contexts. In this sense, literacy education is often an ideologically laden process. This section sets out to investigate the relationship between the acquisition of Chinese language on the one hand, and repertoires of identity on the other. More specifically, we investigate how Chinese-Dutch youth perform their complex polycentric identity repertoires through discussions of an old Chinese folk story.

The classroom episode in this section is a teacher-led discussion on a curriculum text. In Mrs. Sun's class, the literacy event started routinely with (1) a review of homework done in the previous week; (2) teaching of a new word list for upcoming reading texts; (3) a reading text from a new chapter; (4) a teacher-led discussion on the new text; and (5) giving a homework assignment. The extract we are going to look at is taken from the teacher-led discussion on the new text in November 2010. There were eight students present, aged 17 to 20. Four students, Ming, Xin, Qiang, and Dan were university students. The remaining four, Tao, Mei, Hong, and Yuan attended Dutch higher secondary education (VWO).[11] Ethnolinguistically, like Mr. Zhou's class, Mrs. Sun's class is also very heterogeneous. Xin, Mei, and Qiang, are of third generation Hong Kong Cantonese background; their home language is mainly Dutch. Hong, Yuan, and Ming are of Wenzhounese and Fuzhounese background respectively. Tao, who is the central character in this classroom discussion, is of Mandarin background; his parents came to the Netherlands in the late 1980s to pursue postgraduate university education and settled in Eindhoven after they completed their studies. They work as researchers at the High Tech Campus Eindhoven.

On the first day of the new school year, Mrs. Sun made the announcement that students are to speak only Chinese in class and questions could only be asked and answered in Chinese, i.e., in Mandarin or *Putonghua* (fieldnote, 28 August, 2010). My classroom observations suggest that the students seemed to be interested in learning Chinese. They listened carefully and wrote notes translanguagingly (Creese & Blackledge, 2010) in Chinese and Dutch. They asked questions at the right moments (fieldnotes, 28 August and 16 October, 2010). They made efforts to address the teacher in Chinese on most occasions and talked with their peers before and during classes more exclusively in Dutch. The teacher encouraged the students to speak Chinese most of the time, but did not enforce this in a very repressive manner, thereby keeping a pleasant and interactive atmosphere in the classroom. The peer talk in the classroom, during the break and outside the school, was exclusively in Dutch.

The text that was discussed is a well-known Chinese folk story, *The song of a little brook*, which was written in 1959 during China's Great Leap Forward campaign of the Communist Party that meant to transform China into a modern communist society through the process of rapid industrialization and collectivization. Folk stories are productively used as heritage texts in complementary education throughout the world, and are applied to 'endorse traditions, values and beliefs, and to invoke features of the collective memory of community' (Creese, Wu & Blackledge, 2009:363). As such, folk story literacies often have a clear ideological and political message.

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[11] There are three levels of Dutch secondary education. The highest level is pre-university education (VWO), and there are also two lower types of general secondary education (HAVO and VMBO).

This text tells the story of a personified little brook that never runs dry but sings and runs through the landscape day and night without stopping, and playfully and cheerfully finds its way over pebbles and rocks, grasses and branches without ever taking a rest. The brook resists various challenges from a dead branch and dry grass, a crow and a rusty iron boat to take a rest or stop running, but tirelessly continues running day and night without ever stopping. It becomes bigger and stronger as other brooks join in, turns into a little stream and ultimately a big river that flows into the boundless, happy blue sea. Throughout its infinite existence, the brook is happy and smiles and melodiously sings. The story culminates in the coda 'Never stop to take a rest, never stop running!'. The growth of the little brook is meant as a metaphor for the socialist revolution and construction of China, praising hard work and achievement.

It is this story that is printed in the textbook as educational material for Chinese children in the diaspora half a century later. The text as printed in the textbook (first two pages) is reproduced below, followed by a lengthy edited transcription and analysis of the classroom episode discussing the text.

Data example 4.4: *The song of a little brook*

Data example 4.5: The teacher's reading contested (September, 2010)

Mrs. Sun[12]	这样一篇文章，大家有什么感受？涛涛，你有什么感受？
	Such a text, what do you think of it? Tao, how do you feel about this text?
Tao	我没有什么没感受.
	I don't have any feelings.
Mrs. Sun	没有感受？没有 *gevoel*？它这样一篇文章讲的是什么意思？
	No feeling? No *feeling*? Such a text, what does it tell us?
Xin	没意思.
	Nothing
Mrs. Sun	没意思啊？他用，就用东西写成人啊，拟人化，对吧？拟人，然后写小溪流呢，他非常努力. 从不休息，从不停留，直奔大海. 其实写得，其实写得，跟人的一生差不多，是吧？你自从你生下来到你死，经历地就跟他经历地差不多. 懂吗？
	Nothing? It personifies things, personification, right? It personifies the brook, the brook works very hard, never takes a rest, running straight to the sea. In fact, it is just like the life of people. From the moment you were born until you die, the experience of our life is just like the brook, understand?
Tao	不一定.
	Not necessarily.

The classroom episode started with a question raised by Mrs. Sun, asking the students how they feel about the text. However, the students showed little interest in the assignment ('I don't have any feelings', 'Nothing'). They do not cooperate with the teacher and claim to have no feelings at all about the text, and assert that it doesn't tell them anything. The teacher did not give up. In the next turn, she explained the context and the moral implication of the story – more or less in the spirit of the Great Leap Forward – stressing the value of hard work as a good way of life. Tao contested the teacher's point of view. In the following fragments, the students begin actively interpreting the story with their own understanding.

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[12] All names are pseudonyms.

Mrs. Sun	不一定? 他讲的要一生努力, 直到你闭眼睛的那一天, 就这意思. 不可以停留, 懂吗? Not necessarily? He tells us that people should always work hard until the day you die. Do not stop, understand?
Tao	我不那个[I don't[
Mrs. Sun	[不 *mee eens*? Hehe... 不同意我的意见, ok, 那你讲你的意见. Ja, 你想像荷兰人一样, 舒舒服服的? [don't *agree*? Hehe... don't agree with me, *okay*, then tell us about your opinions. Yea, what kind of life do you want? You just want to be like the Dutch, have a comfortable life?
Tao	你做你想做的事. You do what you want to do.
Mrs. Sun	[smiling] 那小溪流也是做想做的事, 想去大海. 他跟你意思不一样吗? [smiling] The brook also does what he wants to do; he wants to go to the sea. Doesn't he mean the same?
Tao	不一样. Not the same.
Qiang	但那个小溪流呢, 一个朋友都没有, 走个不停, 不能停下来去玩. But that brook, he doesn't have a single friend. He flows without stopping. He can't stop to play.
[...]	

In this fragment, Tao keeps rejecting the teacher's interpretation of the story and the dispute is lifted to an intercultural conflict, with the teacher impersonating traditional Chinese values and Tao constructing a Dutch attitude, which is characterized by the teacher as not sufficiently ambitious, only aimed at having 'a comfortable life'. The story illustrates how one should lead one's life: 'Work hard, pursue and explore'. This is questioned by Qiang, who remarks that in such a life there is no time for friendship or enjoyment.

Mrs. Sun	他只是讲他的 *meaning, he.* He only talks about his opinion, eh.
Tao	对, 对, 对, 但比如说那些小鱼, 小虾那些, 就把他给丢了, 没跟上. Yea, yea, yea, but the fishes and shrimps couldn't catch up, and then they will be forgotten.
Mrs. Sun	对呀, 是被社会淘汰了, 被环境淘汰了. 常常是这样的呀, 对吧? 所以说你不够努力你就会被淘汰. Right, they are dropped off by societies, by environment. Things are often like that, right? So if you do not work hard, then you will be eliminated.

Tao	所以我觉得不够努力就会被淘汰, 我觉得这个写得不是特别好. 因为每个人应该自己决定自己想做什么, **不是**每个人都要, 冲到, 往上冲, 每个人都要赢, 因为最后大多数人是要输的, 就个别赢, 不是每个人都想, 很多人都要赢, 就有人不幸福了. 这样输得他们就会不幸福, 是不是? 而输的又怎么, 你输了就输了.
	So I think if you do not make great efforts you will be eliminated, I think this is not very well written. Because every individual should decide what he wants, **not** everyone wants to, wants to rush to the top, to win, because most of the people will fail, only a few can come to the top, then the people who fail will be very unhappy, is it? So if you fail, let it be.
Tao	你没爬到上面你就输了嘛. 如果我们班上 8 个人, 加上你, 都争取考第一名, 考试考第一名, 当然只有一个, 这种情况下那只有一个第一名, 其他 7 个就要输了.
	If you didn't climb to the top, then you have lost. If all the eight people in our class, including you, all want to be number one in the exam, but of course there is only one. In this case, the other seven will lose.
Mrs. Sun	*Nee, nee nee,* 你这个就是狭义的想法. 我们班呢, 他当然可以考第一名, 他在他的专业里头, 你也可以考第一. 他在他的 *economie* 里头, 你也可以考第一, 在你的法语里, 不同的啊. 各有各的发展方向, 各有各的定义, 不同的啊.
	No, no, no, your thinking is very narrow. In our class, one can, of course, be number one in his field. And you can also be number one. He can be number one in economics, and you can be number one in your French. Each has its own directions of development; its own definition. It's different.
[...]	
Tao	有的人努力也输啊!
	For some people, even if they try hard, they will also lose!
Hong	*Je hoeft niet altijd te winnen.*
	You don't need to always win.
Tao	*Dit artikel signaleert dat, als je niet tot de top komt, dan ben je verloren. Als je, ondertussen, afgehaakt, dan wordt het negatief beschouwd, zeg maar...*
	This article draws attention to the fact that if you do not reach the top, then you are lost. If you, on your way, step out, then that is considered a negative thing, so to say...
Mrs. Sun	他只是说, 你要不断努力, 刻苦才会有进步.
	He just implies that you should make great efforts, work hard, and then you will make progress.
Tao	中国人要勤劳, 太过分了.
	Chinese ought to work hard. That's too much.
Mrs. Sun	我觉得荷兰太让人不努力了.
	I think that the Netherlands absolutely makes people lazy, make people making no efforts.

Tao	荷兰人比中国人 <u>efficiënt</u>. 中国人是没办法.
	Dutch people are more *efficient* than Chinese. Chinese have no choice.
Mrs. Sun	中国人在全世界都很努力.
	Chinese all over the world work hard.

The dispute becomes more serious. Tao is now no longer just sabotaging, but actively interpreting the story. He begins to build an argument that there is more in life than just hard work and that such a life can be a lonely life. Hong reprimands Tao for being too headstrong; Mrs. Sun, however, defends Tao ('He only talks about his opinion, eh'). Tao brings in the fish and the shrimps who are unscrupulously left behind as the brook becomes a river and a sea. Mrs. Sun responds that life is like that, 'if you do not work hard, you will be eliminated'. Tao continues his case: in a class of eight, only one can be the best, which would leave seven losers if life is only about winning and being the best. For Mrs. Sun, everybody can be a winner in something, if only you work hard. The discussion also explicitly turns to national categories again as they argue about Chinese and Dutch values: for Mrs. Sun, 'the Netherlands makes people lazy', whereas for Tao 'Dutch people are more efficient than Chinese'. Mrs. Sun and Tao take up opposite ideological positions on their shared 'bicultural identity' (see e.g., De Korne, Byram & Flemming, 2007) of Dutch-Chineseness.

Mrs. Sun	我们只是学一文章, 一思想, 一生当中有目标, 一辈子总是要努力, 不断努力, 不断进步. 一直要坚持做, 不能停下来. 过去我们没钱, 我们在中国的时候没钱, 我们]
	We are only learning a text, a thought, but we should have a goal, work hard in our life, make efforts, make progress, keep doing this, nonstop. In the past, we didn't have money, we didn't have money when we were in China, we]
Tao	[我说中国现在, 中国现在就是这样子的. 了钱想更多的钱.
	[I'm talking about the contemporary China; the contemporary China is just like this. If you have money, then you want to make more money.
Mrs. Sun	呃, 中国要是不努力, 不想挣钱, 现在就跟非洲一样.
	Eh, if people in China hadn't worked hard, hadn't want to make money, then China would have been like Africa now.
Tao	不是不想挣钱的意思, 就是你没个够.
	I don't mean that they don't want to make money, but I mean they can't get enough of it.
Mrs. Sun	我觉得特有够. 你不是就是中国人中挺够, 觉得够生活就够了.
	I think there is very enough. Aren't you one of the Chinese who feels he has enough, enough to make a living?
Tao	我的想法是荷兰人的想法.
	My way of thinking is Dutch.

Mrs. Sun	呃，因为中国很穷，当人的物质一定丰富的时候，人的欲望就会少了. 但是中国人要勤劳.
	Eh, China was poor, but when people have enough material things, then they have less desire. But anyway, Chinese people ought to work hard.
Tao	太过分了.
	That's too much.
Mrs. Sun	我觉得荷兰的那个，太不让人努力了.
	I feel that the Netherlands makes people make too little effort.
Tao	荷兰做的也不错. 比如说那个 <u>research development</u>.
	The Netherlands does well. For instance the <u>research development</u>.
Mrs. Sun	这是有 *talent* 的人才去做，没 *talent* 的人就浪费掉了.
	This is only for the talented people. Those who have no talent will be a waste.
Tao	荷兰的 <u>efficiency</u> 要比中国的 <u>efficiency</u> 好.
	The Dutch efficiency is better than the Chinese efficiency.
Tao	中国人也不是勤奋，是没办法.
	Chinese are not really hard-working, but have no choice.
Mrs. Sun	没办法 [smiling].
	No choice [smiling].
Tao	中国广东那些人，那些在工厂打工的人，如果不给他们干，就没办法，没钱吃饭，那不是没办法.
	In China, those people in Guangdong , the workers who work in the factories. If they don't work, they won't have money for living. So they have no choices.
Mrs. Sun	中国人在全世界都很努力
	Chinese all over the world work hard.
[students chat with each other in Dutch]	
Mrs. Sun	讲中文! [bell rings]
	Speak Chinese! [bell rings]

The whole discussion around *The song of a little brook* culminates in Tao's claim that his 'way of thinking is Dutch'. Contestations and negotiations on the interpretation of the story ran through the entire discussion, which points at the different cultural frameworks the teacher and students respectively applied in making sense of this old Chinese folk story. And the different perspectives held by the teacher and the students, whether intended or not, create a fruitful platform for language learning.

In Blackledge and Creese's (2009) study of heritage and identities in multilingual settings in the UK, they found that certain sets of linguistic resources were believed to function as threads of association with historic context. However, there is rarely a simple relationship between a group of people and 'heritage' resources. Rather than

being a static entity, 'heritage' is a set of practices involved in the construction and regulation of values, to negotiate new ways of being and to perform identities. Multilingual school settings act as sites in which 'heritage' values may be transmitted, accepted, contested, subverted, appropriated, and otherwise negotiated. These are sites for the negotiation of identities (Pavlenko & Blackledge, 2004), for the performance of sets of linguistic resources which are called into play by social actors under very particular social and historical conditions.

While the teacher seemed to believe that teaching 'language' and 'culture' through folk stories was a means of reproducing 'Chinese' identity in the young people's minds, the imposition of such Chineseness was explicitly challenged and renegotiated in the classroom. The students assertively considered themselves Dutch citizens fully participating and entrenched in Dutch culture and society, and rejected the deeper metaphorical meaning and moral lesson embedded in the story. In the discussion with the teacher, however, they showed a thorough and confident understanding of China and Chinese culture in its historical context. The teaching of 'heritage identity' through national fairy tales and folk stories here is contested and subverted. Being Chinese-Dutch is not a wholesale package of identity that one subscribes to all inclusively. It is rather a repertoire of identity options of which some parts are compulsory and little negotiable and yet others are chosen and replaceable. There are degrees of Chineseness, Dutchness and other-nesses with which one can identify. Some of these identity options require long-term planning, investment and serious commitment, such as becoming literate in Chinese and learning the standard or school variety (Putonghua).

Rather than assuming that young people's identities would necessarily be 'dual' or 'hyphenated', I consider that people articulate a whole repertoire of inhabited and ascribed identities and that they do so by means of a complex display and deployment of cultural resources. The learning of Chinese language and literacy in the complementary classroom generates a particular set of resources, allowing the organization of different micro-identities. Thus, while the teacher sees the classroom as a site to introduce and reproduce the traditional Chinese values to her students, these students contest the teacher's imposition and upscale traditional Chineseness into a new diasporic Chineseness that is enriched, 'complemented' by their Dutch- or Europeanness. Tao and his classmates are not merely displaced Chinese subjects, but also Dutch kids who are born in families with transcultural migration backgrounds, receiving their mainstream education in and through Dutch. As a result, they embrace some Chinese cultural and linguistic resources, and reject others.

What we observe in this classroom interaction is an example of implicit intercultural discourse. Mrs. Sun tries hard, though in vain, to instill a sense of cultural Chineseness in her students. She does so by trying to convey a historically situated interpretation of an old folk story to her students without paying attention to competing discourses on Chinese identity, as articulated by Tao. Although Mrs. Sun and her class share a Chinese background, the way in which they interpret their Chineseness varies considerably. As such, they adhere to traditional, collectivist Chinese values and work ethos on the one hand, and contemporary Western values of self-determination, individual career development and leisure on the other. These different perspectives, whether intended or not, as we have seen, create a fruitful platform for language learning.

Students learned not only much-valued skills of reading comprehension, discussion and arguing, but also learned to make sense of their transnational heritage. Contestation about the contents of teaching functions as a way of displaying multi-layered identities and as a very productive pedagogy in the complementary language classroom.

4.4   Summary

What I have intended to illustrate in this chapter is the changing hierarchy of language varieties in the Chinese language on the one hand, and the complex identity work performed by Chinese-Dutch youth on the other in the complementary classroom. To recap, drawing on Silverstein's notion of metapragmatics, we have examined the educational context of the Chinese complementary school, through which this chapter has demonstrated an ongoing shift along with demographic, economic and political changes, in what counts as Chinese: a shift from Hong Kong and Taipei to Beijing as the most powerful reference of Chinese in the world. These ongoing language shifts in the Chinese diaspora reflect a series of language political changes in China and have to do with what Dong (2010) has called 'the enregisterment of Putonghua in practice', the processes in which Chinese is becoming an exclusive, monoglot, homogeneous entity that erases the diversity existing underneath it, the process that makes Chinese synonymous with Putonghua in an increasing number of contexts. Consequently, speakers in the diaspora such as Mr. Zhou, Tongtong and her mother, and Jessie have adjusted or are adjusting or catching up with this changing situation. Chinese language learning and teaching take place on shifting ground: the main foci of orientation – the normative 'centers' of language learning and teaching – are shifting and changing rapidly and intensely.

Chinese heritage schools are situated at the intersection of two or more different political, social, economic, linguistic and sociological systems or regimes. The object of learning and teaching in this heterogeneous, polycentric community and the identities that emerge in the process are moving targets – unstable and changing sociolinguistic configurations. A better understanding of these is key to understanding the complex and shifting social identities as they are shaped by and shaping educational settings. In Mrs. Sun's classroom, participants seek voice in opposition with the teacher's and the textbook's voice that (re)presents and reproduces old communist Chinese values. They find voice in Tao's alignment with individualist, Western/Dutch values and articulate these somewhat rebelliously in the classroom ('my way of thinking is Dutch'). The parents of the Chinese community may see the school as providing a traditional Chineseness (and thus, a linear transmission of culture), the students may use their knowledge of Chinese to engage in Chinese popular culture and in the subcultures associated with this. This raises important issues such as on the notion of heritage in a rapidly changing diasporic community in a superdiverse society.

Ideas about identities, language loss and language maintenance are often couched in naive conceptualizations of multilingualism as multiple monolingualisms and of languages, cultures, nations and ethnicities as primordial substances and fixed units of identity and analysis rather than fluid categories of identification. In these times of

globalization and transnationalism, very little in language and culture is fixed, and all the more is dynamic, changing, in transformation. Languages and identities are moving targets. Chinese as a language has a long history of mobility, of being exported 'to the world' by Chinese migrants from the late 19th century until today. This has resulted in divergent configurations of language diversity overseas and at home, that are converging in the current wave of globalization characterized as superdiversity (cf. Arnaut et al., 2016; Blommaert & Rampton, 2011). As discussed in Chapter 3, social realities display layered and scalar features; what we have observed in the school is influenced by and indicates what happens outside of the school. In the next chapter, we are going to zoom out on the picture by looking at language ideologies and Chineseness in the social context of the Chinese community in Eindhoven.

When school is out: Language ideologies and identities outside school

5.1   Introduction

In the previous chapter we have seen that the Chinese school is a space where we see a reflection of big global changes in small moments of negotiation and discussion. This process is clearly not without challenges and inconsistencies. What we have seen is an unfinished process of transformation in which elements of old orders interact with elements of new orders.

The transition that we witness in the school is not accidental. It is an effect of deliberate decisions of the Chinese community in Eindhoven. Consequently, the language, culture and identity process in the school is strongly scaffolded by similar processes outside of the school. This chapter will engage with data that document the big transition within families and Chinese businesses.

During my fieldwork, I had the opportunity of observing and interviewing a good number of members from the Chinese community at home and in the context of their professional practices. There, several things struck me: (1) The Chinese community members I spoke to invariably had very strong opinions about the fact that the shift from their heritage language towards Putonghua was imperative. People were outspoken in stating that their cultural future would be determined by an alignment with the new hegemony defined by mainland China. (2) They saw important con-nections between this new cultural alignment and their economic well-being. Thus, in securing a future for their children, they strongly insisted that their children would learn and acquire Putonghua in order for them to be ready for economic success in their lives. At the same time, the parents themselves clearly realized that their own present economic well-being would also depend on their rapid and effective realignment with the PRC. Consequently, they would engage in complicated forms of learning in order to change and adjust their businesses to the new context. (3) Evidently the complex processes in the broader community, like those in the school, were characterized by confusion, contradiction and conflict. In the community, like in the school, we see unfinished processes and transformations.

The data presented in this chapter will illustrate these unfinished processes in three contexts. First, I will look at what we can call family language policy. Section 5.2 will show how within the family the learning processes at school are extended into a local and new sociolinguistic regime in favor of Putonghua over any other languages. We will also see, however, how this sociolinguistic regime prompts elaborate and often confusing metapragmatic discourses about which variety of Putonghua is 'the best'. Members of the family reflect on the 'purity' and 'impurity' of different varieties of

Putonghua and perform discourses in which varieties are being ranked and rated. The last data example in Section 5.2 further underscores these points. Here I shall turn to data from an interview with a Chinese mother in Eindhoven who worked in the service sector as a hairdresser and whose outspoken opinion about the necessity of cultural alignment extends to her family language policy. Section 5.3 moves the discussion entirely to the field of professional practice. In the linguistic landscape, I further underscore how the shift towards a more PRC-focused recognizable identity leads to new forms of layered multilingualism. In restaurants, we observe how entrepreneurs change the menu or operate with double menus. At the same time we see new moments of Chinese-meets-Japan fusion in the form of the increasingly popular *sushi* and *wok* restaurants, catering for diverse clients.

Having surveyed the change in families and professional environments enables us to return to the students from the school, and see how the transformations referred to are played out in a range of non-academic contexts. I will open Section 5.4 with an analysis of how a Chinese-Dutch girl, Tongtong, is positioned by a Dutch journalist in terms of authentic Chineseness. Tongtong plays pipa, a traditional Chinese instrument. This manifestly triggers stereotype with the journalist, related to public discourse on cultural diversity in the Netherlands in which Chinese people are ascribed a range of 'typical' features. Apart from identity pressure from 'below', i.e., within the Chinese community and family life, we also see identity pressure from 'above', i.e., from mainstream Dutch society. The young Chinese community members I worked with, thus, all had to navigate complex and challenging issues of self-definition. The data on Roel, John and Ming that I add in my discussion of Tongtong, in Section 5.5 will testify the conflictual and complex identity questions facing the Chinese-Dutch youth in Eindhoven. Their environment is polycentric, and so are their identity orientations.

As mentioned before, a lot of the complexity involved in the cultural realignment with the PRC is expressed through metapragmatic discourses in which specific forms of language are sensed to project specific identity orientations. Let us take a look at the conceptual material that we need to take on board when we address the data in this chapter.

To recapitulate what we have stated in Chapter 4: metapragmatic discourses are discourses in which, in the most general sense, the form of language is linked to aspects of social structure and cultural convention; they are, thus, obvious instances of language ideologies (Blommaert, 2006; Jaffe, 1999; Kroskrity, 2000; Schieffelin, Woolard & Kroskrity, 1998). Such concrete links between language and social-cultural features we call 'indexical'. It is by means of indexicals in our language usage that we produce not just linguistic meanings, but also social and cultural ones. Thus, speaking a language with an accent (in which the accent is indexical) triggers all sorts of social and cultural inferences: the accent maybe perceived as a sign of sophistication or back-wardness, it may reveal one's regional, urban or rural roots, it may suggest ethnic, class, and gender categories, and it can be understood in terms of individual character features as well (e.g., kind, smart, nice or arrogant, poorly informed, rude, and impolite).

Such indexical relationships can only work when they rest on shared and recognizable conventional understandings. An accent, to return to our earlier example, can only project the inferences we mentioned when the hearer of the accent recognizes

it as a feature commonly associated with such inferences. This means that indexicals are social and cultural phenomena that are very much part of widespread attitudes and values within a culture and community. Indexcials in other words are ordered; they display forms of organization that belong to the 'stuff' of culture (Agha, 2007; Blommaert, 2005; Silverstein, 2003). Even more, indexical order can be seen as the normative dimension of language use. Whenever we communicate, we rely on the indexical recognizability of the signs we produce; by absence of such recognizability, we simply do not make sense. Our communication must therefore be seen as normatively organized with respect to social and cultural conventions. Slightly reformulated this means that all of us have and obey complex sets of language policies whenever we communicate, that guide us through social life with varying degrees of success.

Language policies then should not be understood in the traditional and formal sense of scaffold of official and institutional sets of regulations. The term language policy can equally be used for non-institutional forms of regulation from 'below' (Blommaert, 2009). The family language policies discussed here are a case in point. Within the families we can observe a strongly conceived and tightly observed set of language ideological regulations that have their origins in the very big social and cultural transformations that are central in this study. It is the existence and enforcement of such informal language policies that ensure several things: it ensures the non-random nature of choice in the field of language, in which PRC Putonghua is distinctly 'the best' language; it also ensures that such language choices are not innocent, but can be turned into highly sensitive identity matters; it also ensures, in the polycentric environment we have sketched earlier in this study, the conflicting co-presence of several language policies, simultaneously operating on the behavior of young Chinese community members, and causing the identity dilemmas we shall encounter in the last section of this chapter.

5.2   Family language policies: Language shift or rescaling heritage?[13]

Curdt-Christiansen (2013) argues that Family Language Policy (FLP) is 'the critical domain' (Spolsky, 2012) for intergenerational transmission of heritage languages, and 'the key factor leading to practices of continuity or discontinuity of heritage and community languages' (Curdt-Christiansen, 2013:12). She addresses the essential interplay between micro language practices and macro political policy decisions at a societal level. FLP has moved from a traditional view of language acquisition as a rather neutral and uncontested state of private choices to a broader view of language/literacy development as social practices involving ideologically shaped ways of encoding and decoding social differences (King & Fogle, 2013). Through examining ethnographically informed data, Curdt-Christiansen demonstrates the ways in which the political and historical 'macro' dimensions and 'micro' language choices are 'interdependent, emphasizing value-laden language choices and power inflected language practices' (Curdt-Christiansen, 2013:3). She expands the notion of FLP as a private family matter to a broader theoretical conceptualization of FLP, which emphasizes power relation-

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[13]   An earlier version of Section 5.2 has been published as Li and Juffermans (2012).

ships between linguistic varieties and cultural and symbolic values. Researchers have also shown that language ideology is often the underlying force in family language planning and decisions on what language to practice and what measures to employ in order to influence or control family members' language behaviors (Curdt-Christiansen, 2009; King, 2000; King, Fogle & Logan-Terry, 2008). Untangling the complexities of the relationships among language policies at various levels can help us understand how power is represented and reflected in and through languages. Unpacking the relationships between micro and macro level policies, FLP can yield important insights into the everyday processes of language use and communicative practices in a migration context.

The data presented here are essays written by the students in Mr. Zhou's class, obtained as 'voluntary homework'. The students that were presented 'correcting' Mr. Zhou's pronunciation in Chapter 4, are revisited here to gain an understanding of family language policy through examining their metalinguistic discourses. Three of the nine students in Mr. Zhou's class returned their essays to Mr. Zhou who passed them on to me. Copies of the essays were made and the originals were given back to the students. Wendy was the first to hand in her voluntary handwritten homework. Tongtong and Esther handed in their computer typed homework a few weeks later, just before the summer holidays. Esther, however, wrote her essay not about her experiences with learning Chinese as had been the assignment, but about what she wanted to become later in life. The other two students in this class, Xiaoxia and Weimin, choose either not to write or not to hand in their homework. With Wendy and Tongtong contact was continued outside the school, also after their graduation. With the other three students in class, no further relation was developed. Here, we will focus on Wendy's handwritten and Tongtong's computer typed essays and compare their experiences with learning Chinese.

Let us start by introducing Wendy's essay in its original version on the left accompanied by a translation in English on the right.

Data example 5.1: Wendy's homework (May, 2010)

周温蒂

我学汉语的经历

因为我的父母都是在中国出生，所以家里都会说家乡话。可是，用家乡话不能跟每位华人沟通。所以在我六七岁的时候，爸爸妈妈每个星期六都会辛辛苦苦地送我到中文学校学普通话。

刚开始学中文，我什么都听不懂，一个字也不会说，不会读，不会写，真的不喜欢去中文学校。曾经我想停止，因为妈妈的坚持，我一直坚持到现在。如今，每个星期六我都是带着兴趣去中文学校学习。

我在家里每天努力地学习，做作业不懂的问题就问妈妈，直到我明白为止。这样，我的中文水平渐渐提高了。

现在中国经济飞速地发展，中文越来越显得重要。不只是在这里出生的中国孩子学中文，全世界各地不同的人都喜欢学中文。所以我觉得我不能不学中文。

在中文学校我学会了很多，所以我要感谢每位教过我中文的老师。谢谢您们！

290个字

Zhou Wendy

My experience of learning Chinese

My parents were born in China, so we speak home dialect at home. However, by speaking home dialect we are not able to communicate with all the Chinese immigrants. So when I was about six or seven years, my parents sent me to the Chinese school to learn Putonghua.

In the beginning of learning Chinese, I could not understand anything. I could not speak a word, could not read and write. I really disliked going to the Chinese school and even thought about quitting. But my mum insisted on sending me to the Chinese school. And now, I start to like going to the Chinese school.

I study very hard every day and do my homework carefully. If I encounter difficulties in learning Chinese, then I would ask my mum until I understand completely. By this way, my Chinese is getting better and better.

Nowadays, the economy in China is growing very fast, and Chinese is becoming more and more important. Not only are the children of Chinese immigrants learning Chinese, but also people from all over the world like to learn Chinese. Therefore, I cannot stop learning Chinese. I have learned a lot at the Chinese school, so I want to thank every teacher who has taught me. Thank you!

290 characters

The text, in simplified characters, is superscribed with Wendy's name and a title and is organized in five paragraphs of three sentences each and one paragraph of two sentences. From a normative, schooling perspective, Wendy's style is clear, well-structured, grammatically transparent, but rather colloquial and exempt from complex stylized lexical items.

The first paragraph identifies Wendy's parents as first generation immigrants from China and as dialect speakers, and mentions the limitations of using dialect in the Chinese community. So she was sent to the Chinese school to learn Putonghua at the age of 6 or 7 by her parents, i.e., when Putonghua teaching in the Chinese School in Eindhoven had just started. The second paragraph is about her initial experience with and (negative) feelings about learning Chinese, and the parental pressure to continue, and her present (positive) attitude toward her complementary schooling. The third paragraph is about the efforts she makes in learning, the help she gets from her mother and the results obtained so far. The fourth paragraph is about the changing position of China and Chinese in the world as a motivating factor to continue learning Chinese. The fifth paragraph is the coda of the story and expresses gratitude to her teachers.

Let us now introduce the second essay, by Tongtong. Again, the original is on the left and the translation on the right.

Data example 5.2: Tongtong's homework (May, 2010)

我學漢語的心路歷程

我从四岁开始就学中文. 一开始我学了两年粤语, 后来我妈妈把我转到国语班了. 我一开始还真的不喜欢国语, 因为我一句也听不懂. 我从小在家里就说广东话, 对国语的了解也很少. 我妈妈会说一口流利的国语, 以前我妈妈说国语的时候, 总觉得她是在说另外一个语言, 这让我对国语有了好奇心. 从我学国语的那一年, 我妈妈就开始教我拼音, 还叫我怎么发音. 一开始是真的很难, 我还觉得我会永远学不会, 因为我每星期只上一堂中文课, 而且练习的机会也不多. 大概从六年前开始我的国语进步的特别快, 因为那一年我妈妈把家里的唯一说广东话的电视台 TVB 删了, 而中文台只剩凤凰卫视, 也就是只说国语的电视台. 这样的话, 如果我想看中文电视, 就只能看说国语的电视台. 本来我真的很不习惯, 后来慢慢的听, 慢慢的学, 我的国语开始进步了. 那一年中文学校也换了学习教材, 而因为这个新的教材, 让我特别想学中文. 新的教材的内容特别丰富, 比以前的好多了. 以前那些书本只会教你怎么写生字, 怎么发音, 而词语的意思和怎么运用就没有教. 现在这些书本除了教你怎么写之外, 每一课还有学不同的文章, 所以学到很多关于中国的历史、地理和文化. 这对我们生长在外国的中国子弟很重要, 因为可以学到很多关于祖国的事以及让我更了解我的父母成长的地方. 除了这些以外, 现在的课本也教怎么运用词语, 怎么造句, 反义词, 作文... 因为内容丰富的教材让我更有恒心地学习中文. 这么多年的学习让我会听会说国语, 而且更会写中文. 慢慢的我也开始看中文报纸, 而且也看中国和台湾的电视剧. 就这样让我的国语进步神速.

My experience of learning Chinese

I started to learn Chinese when I was four years old. I had two years of Cantonese lessons in the beginning, and then my mum sent me to the Mandarin Class. At first, I really did not like Mandarin, because I could not understand anything. At home, we speak in Cantonese, so I do not know much about Mandarin. My mum speaks Mandarin fluently. In the beginning, when my mum spoke in Mandarin, I got the feeling that she was speaking a foreign language, which made me curious about Mandarin. In the first year of learning Mandarin, my mum taught me *pinyin* and the pronunciation. At first I felt it was very difficult and thought that I would never master it, because I only had Chinese lessons once a week and I did not have much chance to practice. ◆ About six years ago, my Mandarin started to make remarkable progress, because my

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mum deleted the Cantonese television channel TVB, there was only Phoenix channel left, so there was only a Mandarin channel. In this way, if I wanted to watch television, I could only watch Mandarin channel. I was not used to it at all, but later on, I listened slowly and learned constantly, my Mandarin started to make progress. ◆ In the same year, the school textbooks were also changed. The new textbooks made me really want to learn Chinese. The content of the new textbook is much richer than what we had before. The old ones only emphasize how to write characters, how to pronounce the words, but no explanations for the words and the context of using the words. The new textbooks not only teach us characters and the pronunciation, but there were also different articles in which I learn about Chinese history, geography and culture. This is very important for those Chinese children who grow up in foreign countries, because we can learn a lot about China, and also the place where my parents grew up. Beside this, the new textbook also teaches us how to use the words and how to make sentences and how to write compositions... Because of this textbook, I want to continue with Chinese learning. ◆ After so many years of learning, I can understand Mandarin and even more importantly, I can write Chinese. As time progresses, I can also read Chinese newspapers and watch Chinese and Taiwanese televisions. In this way, my Mandarin progresses remarkably.

2006 年我和中文学校的几位同学参加了回中国的夏令营, 接触了真正的中国文化, 还有跟中国的青少年交流, 2007 年我还参加了朗诵比赛, 虽然当年没有的任何名次, 但经过这次的朗诵比赛, 让我学习到朗诵的技 巧. 参加了这些活动也让我了解了很多中国的文化.

In 2006, my classmate from the Chinese school and I participated in a summer camp to China, and communicated with the Chinese youth in China. In 2007, I participated in a reading contest. Even though I did not win, because of the contest, I learned the reading skills. All these activities make me know more about the Chinese culture.

现在每当有关于中文的测验和比赛我都踊跃参加, 因为我想让我的中文更好.

Nowadays, I participate in all the Chinese tests and contests that occur, because I want my Chinese to be excellent.

今年是我学中文的第十三年了, 也是我在中文学校毕业的最后一年了, 虽然很开心但也有舍不得. 开心的是我终于不用每星期六早上起床上学, 舍不得的是我会想念中文, 因为在荷兰用中文的机会太少了, 如果不接触就会生疏. 不过现在中国的经济起飞, 会说国语也对以后的工作很有帮助, 就在这一点我就不用愁啦!!

This year is my thirteenth year of learning Chinese, which is also my last year at the Chinese school. I am happy about it but at the same time I am also reluctant. I am happy because finally I do not need to get up so early every Saturday. I hate to leaving the school, because I will miss Chinese, because there are not so many chances to speak Chinese in the Netherlands. If I do not practice it, my Chinese will be less fluent. However, the economy in China is growing very fast; Speaking Mandarin will be very helpful for my job later, so I do not have to worry on this point!!

Tongtong's text, typed in simplified characters (however with the title in traditional characters),[14] is also presented on a single A4-sized page, but is about three times as

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[14] The title of Tongtong's home work is 我學漢語的心路歷程; in simplified characters this would be 我学汉语的心路历程, whereby the second, third, fourth and eighth characters have fewer strokes than in the traditional version. Simplified Chinese is used in mainland China since the language reform of 1956, while traditional characters continue to be used in Taiwan, Hong Kong, Macau and by some of the Chinese communities overseas. The use of traditional characters indicates that Tongtong has been exposed to Cantonese and traditional Chinese through schooling and Cantonese/Taiwanese television that is often subtitled.

long as Wendy's essay (852 versus 290 characters). Her style is, like Wendy's rather colloquial.

The long first paragraph can be divided in four blocks, indicated by bullets that I inserted. The first block is about Tongtong's earliest period of being a learner of Chinese. Tongtong mentions that she started learning Chinese at the age of four and describes that she has undergone a shift from Cantonese to Mandarin education after two years of learning Chinese. She also writes about the initial difficulties as a result of this shift. She names her mum as a key agent in her learning process ('my mum sent me to Mandarin classes', 'my mum speaks Mandarin fluently', 'my mum taught me pinyin and the pronunciation', 'my mum deleted the Cantonese television'), which gives insight into Tongtong's family language policy, i.e., the highly ranked position of Putonghua among Chinese language varieties. The second and third blocks provide explanations for what she describes as 'a remarkable progress' in her learning about six years ago (i.e., at the age of 11). The first explanation for this sudden progress is ascribed to her mother deleting the Cantonese television channel so that she was exposed more to Mandarin. The second reason is the changes in textbooks and teaching and learning style from a character and pronunciation-based approach to a more socio-cultural, contents and usage-based approach. In the fourth block she concludes with the observation that the results obtained so far are satisfactory (although not complete, as she emphasizes progress and a continuous learner identity). The second paragraph recounts two events that further motivated her learning and improved her Chinese, i.e., participating in a summer camp and in a reading contest. The third and final paragraph reflects with a sense of ambivalence on the fact that her Chinese education has come to an end: she fears that her Chinese may become less fluent without routine opportunities to practice, but puts this in perspective with the prospect of a job for which proficiency in Chinese may be an asset.

We will now comparatively analyze the two essays with a focus on the meta-linguistics of Chinese, i.e., on the ways of speaking about and referring to 'Chinese' in relation to identity and education in the two texts. One of the most powerful myths about language includes the idea that there is a scientific distinction to be made between what is *a* language and what is *a* dialect. Such distinction, as five decades of critical sociolinguistic research has attempted to demonstrate, has little to no empirical basis (Makoni & Pennycook, 2007). It is indeed one of the truisms of sociolinguistics that a standard language is nothing more (as among others Joshua Fishman put it) but a dialect with an army and a navy. What distinguishes languages from dialects is the entrenchment in individuals and institutions of powerful ideas of the following reasoning: language variety X is a language while language variety x is only a dialect, in some cases a dialect *of* X. A comparison of Wendy's and Tongtong's metalinguistic lexicon is presented in Table 5.1.

Table 5.1: Wendy and Tongtong's metalinguistic lexicon

Wendy's metalinguistics				
汉语	*Hanyu*	'Han language'	1x	In the title
家乡话	*Jiaxianghua*	'home language / dialect'	2x	In the first paragraph, with reference to her parents and the home situation
普通话	*Putonghua*	'common speech'	1x	In the first paragraph, with reference to the language of instruction in the Chinese school, in contrast with 'home dialect'
中文	Zhongwen	'Chinese (language)'	7x	From paragraph 2 onwards. In collocation with 'learning' and 'school' (Chinese school is Zhongwen xuexiao). Used independently in paragraph 3: 'my Chinese'
Tongtong's metalinguistics				
汉语	Hanyu	'Han language'	1x	In the title
粤语	Yueyu	'Yue language' (Cantonese)	1x	In the first paragraph, in collocation with 'lessons', thus referring to Cantonese as a school language
广东话	Guangdonghua	'language of Guangdong' (Cantonese)	1x	Here used in collocation with 'at home', thus referring to Cantonese as a home language. Occurred 13 times in the first and once in the third paragraph, with reference to the language of instruction or as (national) variety of Chinese
国语	Guoyu	'national language' (Mandarin)	14x	Occurred 9 times in the first paragraph; 3 times in the second paragraph; 4 times in the third paragraph
中文	Zhongwen	'country's language' (Chinese)	16x	Used in collocation with 'learning', 'channel', 'school' and 'newspaper'

In Wendy's essay, she uses three different terms for 'Chinese', *Jiaxianghua* (家乡话), *Putonghua* (普通话) and *Zhongwen* (中文) and she uses a fourth term, *Hanyu* (汉语), in the title of the assignment. The title was literally copied from how the class teacher formulated the assignment and not part of Wendy's personal narrative. Her education is presented as a struggle ('really disliked', 'thought about quitting', 'my mum insisted'), but with a harmonious and satisfying result in the end ('and now I start to like going to the Chinese school'). The trajectory takes her from nothing to something, i.e., from not understanding anything and not being able to speak a word, to a positive self-identification as a speaker and learner of Chinese ('my Chinese is getting better and better'). The satisfactory results of her education are brought in connection with the

current rapid economic developments in China and its changing geopolitical position in the world.

What is metalinguistically remarkable about this short text, are the changing terms of reference for Chinese. In the first paragraph, Wendy constructs an opposition between (an unnamed) 'home dialect' (*jiaxianghua*) and *Putonghua*, an opposition that is resolved by her education. We know that her parents are from Wenzhou and that their home dialect/language is *Wenzhouhua*, but this is not explicitly mentioned in the text. She chooses to leave the respective dialect/language unnamed and to contrast this with *Putonghua* only once. From the second paragraph onwards, Wendy no longer uses the term *Putonghua* for what she is learning, but uses the general term *Zhongwen*. *Zhongwen* is made synonymous with *Putonghua*. She simply refers to the object of her education as *Zhongwen*. The unnamed (Chinese) dialect that she speaks at home is thus disqualified as being *Zhongwen*/Chinese.

This is not a discursive construction made locally and individually by Wendy here, but it is something that also exists on a higher scale level. Wendy's disqualification of her home dialect as being not (a part of) Chinese, has of course much to do with the micropragmatics of the word for 'Chinese school' (中文学校, *Zhongwen xuexiao*), which carries *Zhongwen* rather than *Putonghua* in its name. This is to say that Wendy voices a larger Chinese ideology of language that sees the Chinese language as an exclusive, monoglot, homogeneous entity, and discards the diversity existing underneath it.

Tongtong in her essay uses four different terms for 'Chinese', i.e., *Guangdonghua, Yueyu, Guoyu*, and *Zhongwen*, and a fifth term, *Hanyu*, in the title given by her teacher. She starts using the term *Zhongwen* in the first sentence of the text. In the second sentence she divides the term *Zhongwen* into two: *Yueyu* and *Guoyu*. *Yueyu* is the dialect/language spoken in Guangdong Province and the Hong Kong and Macau special administrative regions in the south of China. It is used as a synonym for *Guangdonghua* and is usually referred to as Cantonese in English, after the old name for the province and the capital, Canton. (Yue is, like Han, an ethnonym and is also the one-character identification for the Guangdong Province, e.g., on car number plates.) Guoyu literally means 'national language' and was used until 1949 to refer to the standard northern variety of Chinese, but is now associated with the Republic of China (Taiwan) since the new Maoist government in 1952 proposed a language reform and introduced *Putonghua* ('common speech') as a name for the standard variety of Chinese spoken. Both *Guoyu* and *Putonghua* (and *Huayu*) correspond to 'Mandarin' in English. Tongtong's trajectory of learning starts from learning *Yueyu* (Cantonese) to a struggling with learning *Guoyu* (Mandarin) and the trajectory ends with an enthusiasm in learning Chinese ('participate in all the Chinese tests and contests', 'will miss Chinese'). In the beginning of her learning trajectory, she considered *Guoyu* as a foreign language, i.e., 'really did not like Mandarin', 'could not understand anything', 'a foreign language', 'very difficult', 'thought that I would never master it'. She mentions her home language is *Guangdonghua* (Cantonese) in the fourth sentence, and she did not know much about *Guoyu*. In her learning trajectory, as we have seen, her mother is the crucial factor ('my mum sent me to the Mandarin class', 'my mum deleted the Cantonese television channel').

From a metalinguistic point of view, Tongtong starts using the term *Zhongwen* in the first sentence as the object of her education. From the second sentence onwards in

the first paragraph, she constructs an opposition between *Yueyu*/*Guangdonghua* (Cantonese) and *Guoyu* (Mandarin). *Zhongwen* corresponds with *Yueyu* in the first years of Tongtong's Chinese education. Then, after two years, *Zhongwen* is synonymous with *Guoyu*. The object of her education has shifted from Cantonese to Mandarin. From the second paragraph onwards, Tongtong no longer uses the term Cantonese, but uses the term *Zhongwen* and *Guoyu*. The satisfactory result of learning *Guoyu* is mentioned in the end in connection with the fastly growing economy in China. Tongtong's learning trajectory goes through a few stages, marked by different meta-pragmatics.

Also the text written by Tongtong reflects more than a local and individual discursive construction, but rather voices a discourse at a higher, institutional scale level. In the interview with Tongtong's mother in Chapter 4, who had been educated in China and had worked as an editor at a television station in Guangzhou before her emigration in the late 1980s, she stressed the importance of speaking Putonghua for educational and general success in life (see the detail of the interview in Section 4.2).

The educational experiences of Tongtong and Wendy raise a number of questions with regard to language teaching and learning in a diasporic context. For instance, what is the object of their Chinese complementary education? If it is essentially language teaching and learning they are engaged in on Saturday mornings, what language then is being taught and learned? The briefest possible answer here would be that they are learning Chinese, and this is indeed how Tongtong and Wendy refer to the object of their education in translation. However, there is a multitude of terms for Chinese available in Chinese – *Zhongwen*, *Hanyu*, *Putonghua*, *Guoyu* (see Table 5.1), each with very specific denotational and connotational properties. Saying that Tongtong and Wendy learn Chinese or that Chinese schools teach Chinese does not tell us much about what is exactly being taught and learned in Chinese complementary schools in the diaspora.

Both Wendy and Tongtong *are* Chinese, or more correctly, they have inherited a Chinese cultural and language family background (see Li & Juffermans, 2011, for a discussion of Dutch-Chinese youth identities in relation to Chineseness, Dutchness, and Asianness). For neither of them, however, it is the exact same language of their heritage or their mother tongue in any straightforward sense that they are learning. Wendy, who is of Wenzhounese background, refers to her local variety of Chinese, i.e., Wenzhounese, non-descriptly as 'home dialect' and disqualifies it as a language, mentioning Putonghua as lingua franca in the Chinese community. Tongtong, who is from a Cantonese language background started her complementary educational career learning Cantonese, but changed on her mother's initiative to Mandarin after two years.

So what is going on here? Are we witnessing language shift from one (variety of) language to another one (from Cantonese and Wenzhounese to Mandarin) or are things more complicated than that? Terms such as 'mother tongue' and 'heritage language' may be misleading here for they compartmentalize Chinese language into many Chinese languages ('Chineses') and discard a sense of linguistic unity ('harmony') which is sociolinguistically very real in China as well as in its diasporas. What we need to account for, is how this unity is realized and what macropolitical order it reveals (see Dong, 2010, for an account of processes of linguistic homogenization). The changing nature of the Chinese community in the Netherland needs to be

understood against the social-economical transformations in the PRC in the last three decades and the local Dutchness that surround them (Li & Juffermans, 2011).

5.3   Parents outside of the Chinese complementary school

Having examined the metapragmatics in the essays of two students at the Chinese school in Eindhoven regarding their family language policy on Chinese as well as the macro-political transformation of the relationship between the Chinese diaspora and the PRC, this section presents the voice from the broader community, i.e., from those who are not actively visible at the Chinese school. The data we discuss here are drawn from a one-hour conversation conducted in Putonghua with a mother of Chinese origin, who came from Hubei province to the Netherlands in 2002 as part of a more recent migration wave from the PRC. The conversation took place in a hair salon where she worked as a hairdresser. The salon is located in the city of Eindhoven and caters for a good number of Chinese customers. Data example 5.3 is drawn from the conversation on a morning in August 2011. The conversation was carried out in Putonghua and translated into English as follows.

Data example 5.3: Conversation with a parent (August, 2011)

1	JLi	When did you move to the Netherlands?
2	P	Nine years ago. My husband was working as a PhD researcher in Maastricht University. So I and our daughter came here as family members. Our daughter was six years old at the time.
3	JLi	What language do you speak with your daughter at home?
4	P	Zhongwen [Chinese].
5	JLi	How is her Zhongwen?
6	P	Listening and speaking seem without problems. Sometimes it is difficult for her to find the relevant word in Zhongwen. Then she says the word in Dutch. I'll tell her the Chinese version and ask her to repeat the Dutch word in Zhongwen.
7	JLi	So in your opinion, it is very important to speak Zhongwen with your daughter?
8	P	Yes, Dutch is not my native tongue and it won't reach the same level as my Zhongwen. If I give up speaking Zhongwen to my daughter, then it will do more harm than good for us; we are not able to have real and deep conversations, but just superficial ones. I don't speak Dutch to her. 'Once you are at home, don't speak Dutch,' I told my daughter. Some immigrants speak and learn Dutch from their children. In my view, they lose more than what they can gain. They lose the chance to have a deep insightful conversation with their children later on in their lives. Because their own Dutch won't be really native-like and expressive, at the same time, they also lose the opportunity to communicate with their children in a deep and insightful way. As mothers, they should use their native tongue to communicate with their children, that's more expressive. My daughter is keen to talk to me. We often have long and nice chats.
9	JLi	So what varieties of Zhongwen do you speak with your daughter at home, Putonghua?
10	P	The same Zhongwen as we are using now, Putonghua. My husband likes to speak Zhongwen at home as well. Because for him, he uses English at his work,

nevertheless, English is not his mother tongue, which takes him more energy than using Zhongwen. So when he comes home, he just wants to be really relaxed by speaking Zhongwen. His Putonghua is bad, not standardized.

11	JLi	Isn't it? What do you mean?

12 | P | I said kindly to him: 'Don't mention about your Zhongwen, your Putonghua is bad.' He comes from a small county near Wuhan city, Hubei province. In that small place, Putonghua was not used by people, even in the schools in his time. He started to learn and speak (accented) Putonghua since he entered university. His and his family's Putonghua were horrible. For instance, they said in *xiaobaitu* [A little white rabbit; a children's song], boyoubo (white and white, very white), instead of baiyoubai. People in Beijing are prejudiced towards those who don't speak standard Putonghua. For instance, when I telephoned the Chinese employees in the Dutch embassy in Beijing, asking relevant information for applying for a visa to the Netherlands, they were very kind and helpful. But to the other relatives of my husband who speak strongly accented Putonghua, the employees in Beijing said that couldn't understand and were not willing to help, they just hung up their calls.

13 | JLi | Hmm, that's sad.

14 | P | His relatives never learned Pinyin [Putonghua pronunciation system using Latin alphabet] in their times. So I told my daughter to learn good Putonghua.

15 | JLi | Do you teach her Putonghua or does she go to the Chinese School in the Netherlands?

16 | P | I speak Putonghua to her, and teach her Chinese characters at home. She has been to the Chinese School once. But she didn't like it. The teacher speaks non-standardized Putonghua. She can't stand with that pronunciation. The Taiwanese style Putonghua, you know, is very girlish.

17 | JLi | So you have been teaching her all these years?

18 | P | Yea. When we just came to the Netherlands, we lived quite a distance from the Chinese school, and we didn't have a car. So I started to teach her at home. We initially thought we would stay in the Netherlands for three years just to finish his research. So we had to be prepared that our daughter's Chinese was going to be good enough for her to enter the school in China after three years absence. And the Chinese school here provides lessons only once a week, not the same pace as at the primary school in China. But after a year, I also started to work, came home late, and did not have time to teach her, even didn't have time to talk. Came home, eat and sleep. Children sleep quite early, at 9 o'clock in the evening. So we stopped teaching her Zhongwen for two years. After that, she didn't want to go to China to attend the school there; she is used to the school here.

The conversation was distracted by a new customer walking into the salon. One week later, I revisited the research site and continued the conversation with the parent and a third person, an international student (St) from mainland China, who was also at the site, and joined the conversation.

19 | JLi | You said last time that your daughter does not like going to the Chinese school, because the teacher speaks Taiwanese Putonghua.

20 | P | My daughter is just like me. The things I don't like, she also doesn't like.

21 | JLi | Hmm, is it? So you don't like the Taiwanese pronunciation?

22 | P | Yes, I think they are not really talking, but mincing in their Putonghua. So I never watch the Taiwanese TV Programs. You will feel like all men are talking like women,

		and women talking like children, just very abnormal. I don't like the acting of the people.
23	JLi	Hmm, I heard some people say that Taiwanese Chinese is real Chinese, you know, writing the traditional characters, like it used to be in mainland China. And the Chinese teachers at the universities here are also mainly from Taiwan.
24	St	That's impossible!! One of my Dutch classmates goes to the Chinese school. His teacher is from Taiwan. I read the study sheets that he got from the school. The grammar they use is not correct, and the pronunciation is also wrong, not standardized. Learning Putonghua from a Taiwanese, what a pity for my classmate! [shaking her head to disapprove]
25	P	[laugh] Yeah, I agree with you completely, just like I never watch the Taiwanese TV programs. I can't stand the pronunciation, very immature. I will get goose flesh from that. And I don't accept the Taiwanese Putonghua and the traditional Chinese characters. Writing in traditional Chinese characters is not necessary. It is too difficult. For my daughter, Chinese is already very difficult. If let her learn traditional Chinese characters, then she won't learn it at all.

In the conversation, the parent describes her migration trajectory and the experience of learning Chinese of her daughter as well as her language attitudes towards the different varieties of Chinese (standardized Putonghua, non-standardized Putonghua, Taiwanese Putonghua). Her migration to the Netherlands happened after 2000; the period in which an increasing number of Chinese students made their journey to the Netherlands to study and brought with them a common language, Putonghua as described in Chapter 2. Consequently, the sociolinguistic landscape in the Chinese community is altered due to the large scale of Chinese immigrants from the PRC.

In the interview, the most noticeable things are: (1) the interviewee's family language policy: the importance of speaking Chinese at home; and (2) her outspoken negative attitude towards Taiwanese Putonghua and non-standardized Putonghua. In her opinion, Zhongwen is equal to Putonghua. This long transcription can be divided in three parts for analysis. The first part (turn 1 to 8) is about the interviewee's migration from China to the Netherlands and her family language policy in the Netherlands. She mentions the importance of speaking Chinese ('If I give up speaking Zhongwen to my daughter, then it will do more harm than good for us; we are not able to have real and deep conversations, but just superficial ones'). She also states that as a mother, she should use her native tongue to communicate with her daughter, which will have satisfactory results for her ('My daughter is keen to talk to me. We often have long and nice chats').

The second part (turn 9 to 18) discusses the different varieties of Chinese (standardized Putonghua versus non-standardized Putonghua, Taiwanese style Zhongwen). The mother comments on her husband's Putonghua is being 'bad, not standardized. He comes from a small county near Wuhan city'. She further claims that 'people in Beijing are prejudiced towards those who don't speak standard Putonghua'; she associates non-standardized Putonghua with the periphery (a small county near Wuhan city), contrasting the center, in this case, Beijing. As Silverstein (1996:206) points out, the standardized language seems to be the 'natural', a 'superposed' register, the code of 'superiority', whereas varieties other than the standardized one seem to be in lack of realness. The standardized language is often imagined to be

'neutral', or 'accent-less'; it is however always evidently accented. Producing non-standard languages is often seen as 'incorrect' in schools or other official institutions. This monoglot language ideology is shared by the large number of newcomers from the PRC. We will reencounter the same story in part three (turn 19 to 25 of the interview, in which Taiwanese pronunciation and grammar are regarded as 'abnormal' ('You will feel like all men are talking like women, and women talking like children, just very abnormal. The grammar they use is not correct, and the pronunciation is also wrong, not standardized. Learning Putonghua from a Taiwanese, what a pity for my class-mate'). Standardization of a language aims to explicitly recognize and institutionally support certain valued linguistic practices or forms of codes; the realization of the 'standard language' is singular, in the way that only one set of rules and conventions is measured to be the standard, and other forms are measured against this standard. The data show how within the family the learning processes at school in the previous chapter are extended into a local and new sociolinguistic regime in favor of Putonghua over any other Chinese language varieties. We also see, how this sociolinguistic regime prompts elaborate and often confusing metapragmatic discourses about which variety of Zhongwen is 'the best'. The mother reflects on the 'purity' and 'impurity' of different varieties of Putonghua and performs discourses in which varieties are being ranked and rated.

When people move across different spaces, they bring their linguistic and cultural baggage with them: what language variety is standard for them, what core values and traditions they have in their traditional culture, and what festivals they celebrate. Both the mother and the Chinese international student are highly educated in China. The Chinese international student has been living in the Netherlands for one year and is studying logistics at the Technological University in Eindhoven. She is from mainland China and had her education in China. In Chapter 4, we have discussed Tongtong's mother's position that being educated is equal to speaking Putonghua. This ideology is shared with the majority of new migrants from the PRC, especially the young Chinese university educated immigrants. The normative standardized spoken language, i.e., Putonghua is ratified as the purest and most superior form of Chinese.

As Chinese language has gradually become the popular language for learners all over the world and as the language is globalizing, questions of norms, standards, and diversity have become increasingly important in teaching and learning Chinese overseas. In the Netherlands, given the increasing diversity in terms of migration trajectories and ethnolinguistic identities of the Chinese-Dutch diaspora under conditions of globalization and superdiversity (see Li & Juffermans, 2011), what it means to be or to speak Chinese is being renegotiated. This negotiating of norms about what counts as (good) Chinese takes place in everyday discourse in both implicit and more explicit claims regarding the status of varieties of Chinese. Depending on one's political and social association vis-à-vis a particular center, particular varieties and accents are considered to be more or less useful, standardized, comprehensible, refined, etc.

Recently, Lu (2015) has introduced the concept of *Dahuayu*, literally big (*da*), Chinese (*hua*) language (*yu*), an abstract and generalized notion for Chinese varieties outside of mainland China: *Guoyu* in Taiwan, Chinese community languages in Hong Kong and Macao, *Huayu* in Singapore and Malaysia, and overseas Chinese community

languages. In this case, *Dahuayu* is not strictly bound to Putonghua, but allows variation in pronunciation and vocabulary in language learning and teaching.

The current study suggests that we need to consider Chinese as a polycentric language, i.e., as a language that operates on various scales and has multiple centers of gravity. In essence, every language in the world is polycentric but due to the large size and global scene in which Chinese operates, this is more obvious for Chinese than for smaller languages. Chinese is a polycentric language and one with a particularly powerful army and navy as we stated earlier. As a polycentric language, Chinese is undergoing considerable transformation with a clear direction towards the standard variety of the PRC, i.e., Putonghua. The process of Putonghuaization is not (only) language shift in the sense of a shift from Cantonese as one language to Mandarin as the other language, but also shifts within a language (Chinese) as well as shifts that extend far beyond language – shifts that are more generally demographic and sociological in nature. We are dealing here with what we may call, adopting from Silverstein (1998), local transformations of a global linguistic community.

It is important for language teachers to realize the scope and depth of diversity existing within a language such as Chinese as well as the transformations the global Chinese linguistic community is undergoing. Teachers need to be aware that Chinese is not a homogeneous, monoglot language, but that it serves as a language of wider communication for a highly diverse student population that is learning the language for a variety of motivations (Francis, Archer & Mau, 2009). It is equally important for teachers to be aware of the implicit ideologies of language that (dis)qualify particular varieties as (good) language, as well as of their role in (re)producing such ideologies in the classroom and the potential harm this may do to students' valuations of their linguistic and cultural heritage.

5.4   New meets old: Transformations in the multiculinary landscape

Along with language, food is one of the most meaningful diacritics of diasporic experience. In this section, language and literacy practices outside of the Chinese complimentary school will be further highlighted in a Chinese culinary class. I shall discuss data from a cooking class organized by Mr. Wu for old and new Chinese restaurateurs as well as other Chinese diaspora members in Eindhoven, in which they learn how to prepare and to write and speak about mainland Chinese dishes. The multilingual cookery classes were observed and analyzed on the bases of their literacy and language use. The interface between the changing Chinese community and its Dutch environment will be illustrated in linguistic landscapes.

The Chinese culinary class is taking place in 'Qingfeng Tea Room' (abbreviated as QF tea room here). QF tea room is located on the second floor of a local Chinese supermarket in the center of Eindhoven. The annual teacher meetings of the Chinese School in 2010, 2011, and 2012 have been taking place at QF tea room. Opened in August 2010 by Mr. Wu, the chairman of the Chinese school, QF tea room is a space to practice Chinese culture by providing tea ceremony courses and Chinese cookery classes. There is also a computer class for elderly Chinese immigrants. Unlike the Chinese school that rents its space from a local Dutch secondary school, and where it

is not allowed to change the classroom layout and make any decoration of classrooms, QF tea room is a space where cultural practices can be fully observed and 'Chineseness' is present in many Chinese cultural artefacts, e.g., Chinese calligraphy and Chinese paintings on the wall; the space is furnished in Chinese style (see Figure 5.1).

Figure 5.1: Qingfeng Tea Room (December, 2011)

In the winter of 2011, I participated and observed the cookery class provided by Mr. Wu in the space of QF tea room. During the class, video recordings were made, photographs and fieldnotes were taken. The language used in the cookery class was Cantonese, which is the native tongue of Mr. Wu as well as all the other seven participants who or whose parents came to the Netherlands in the 1960s or 1970s from southern China, e.g., Guangdong, Hong Kong or as re-emigrants from Vietnam. During the class, three types of writing systems appeared in the participants' notebooks: Dutch, traditional Chinese characters, and simplified Chinese characters. In the beginning of the class, the names of the new dishes and the ingredients were introduced. They were handwritten by Mr. Wu and distributed to the whole class. Figure 5.2 shows a combination of Mr. Wu's handwriting in traditional characters on the northern dish 'sweet and sour spare ribs', followed by John's writing in Dutch about the method of cooking. John, sitting on my left and born in the Netherlands, took notes in Dutch. Cantonese is his home language and community language. The person sitting on my right, Bao, who is a first generation Chinese immigrant from Hong Kong, came to the Netherlands in his twenties in the 1970s. His literacy practice is in traditional Chinese characters, written about the northern dish 'onion with braised lamb fillet' (see Figure 5.2, right). I also observed a combination of Dutch and Chinese simplified characters appearing in the notebook of a re-emigrant, who was born in Vietnam.
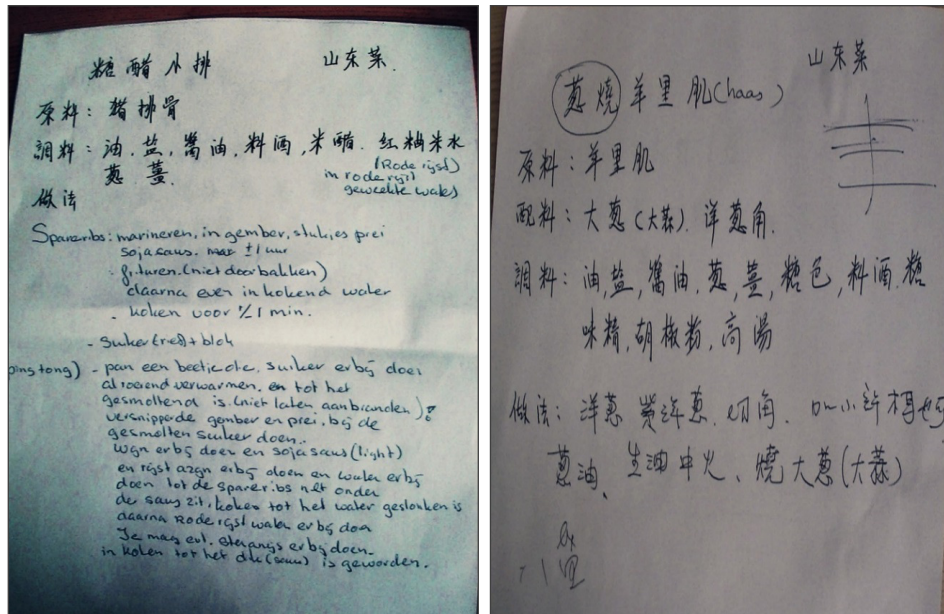
Figure 5.2: Literacy practices in the cookery class (left: John; right: Bao, December, 2011)

The point here is not only to describe these multilingual practices, but to document and analyze the polycentric nature of the diasporic community. In Chapter 4, we learned that in the Chinese complementary classroom, Putonghua teaching coupled with simplified characters has become the normative standard in the school context. However, in the broader community where older Chinese diaspora members interact socially, different Chinese language varieties and Dutch are used. In the professional cookery practice, Cantonese is used, whereas mainland dishes from different regions across the whole county (Shangdong cuisine, Huaiyang cuisine, Cantonese cuisine, and Sichuan cuisine) are introduced. Figure 5.3 includes some dishes prepared during the cookery class. These styles are distinctive from one another due to factors such as availability of resources, climate, geography, history, cooking techniques, and lifestyle. Mapo Doufu and Congshao Liji in Figure 5.3 are popular Sichuan and Shandong style cuisines respectively. Food is more than simple sustenance; it is an integral part of the culture. In the cookery class, the participants learn not only how to prepare, but also how to write and speak about mainland Chinese dishes. The capacity of restaurateurs to change the menu from Chinese-Indonesian dishes to popular mainland ones is seen as a vital economic skill, since the new demographic structure of the diaspora comes, among many other things, with a new taste for food. Opinions on either side of the table about this are quite outspoken.

Figure 5.3: Mainland dishes (left, Mapo Doufu; right, Congshao Liji, cookery class, December, 2011)

Having looked at the literacy and professional practices in the cookery class, we shall zoom out on the broad Chinese culinary sector in Eindhoven to capture the changing condition of the multiculinary landscape. A search for Chinese restaurants within the broader South and East Asian context in the online telephone directory of Eindhoven resulted in a list of 65 oriental restaurants, including *Chinees-Indisch* (Chinese-Indonesian), Chinese, Indian, Japanese, wok, International-Asian, Mongolian, Thai, Indonesian, and Surinamese restaurants. Twenty-four of these are traditional so-called '*Chinees-Indisch*' restaurants. *Chinees-Indisch* is a creolized Chinese-Indonesian cuisine that was imported to the Netherlands after the Independence of the Dutch East Indies (Indonesia) in 1949 by returning Dutch families and Chinese double migrants in the 1950s. *Chinees-Indisch* restaurants are now almost invariably run by Chinese entrepreneurs without links to Indonesia that continue to offer the *Chinees-Indisch* food their Dutch clientele was used to and recognized as Chinese food. Under conditions of superdiversity, i.e., the increasingly complex post-1990s migration patterns causing a diversification of diversity along multiple dimensions (Vertovec, 2007, 2015). Chinese food in the Netherlands is being reinvented. Old restaurants are forced to close down or change their menus, while new ones offering more diversified tastes for a more diversified audience are opening.

Although there is no traditional concentrated Chinatown in Eindhoven, the Chinese people are of course present and visible in the public space in Eindhoven. It is therefore only to be expected that the transition in Chineseness will also have an impact on how the Chinese community shows itself to the outside world. In what follows I shall report the social and spatial influences on visual semiotic signs, investigating the transformations in the Chinese 'multiculinary' sociolinguistic landscape of Eindhoven. In other words, I will look at how linguistic landscapes reflect and index social changes, and how we can decode the realities of a specific social place, i.e., the Chinese diasporic community. Is the polycentric nature of language that we observed in the Chinese community visible to both insiders and outsiders? Linguistic landscaping provides a meaningful way to answer this question. As Scollon and Scollon (2003) suggest, we live in a world where the meanings of visual signs are indexed by time, history, space and language. Linguistic landscaping thus, can be turned into a tool for dissecting the

various forms of sociolinguistic complexity that characterize our contemporary societies (Blommaert, 2013).

Blommaert (2013) suggests that linguistic landscaping research is useful in illuminating and explaining the complex structures of superdiverse sociolinguistic systems. Given the last decade's global developments which have accelerated large scale migration and the use of new communication technologies in the Chinese diasporic context, in this part, I shall investigate how linguistic landscapes reflect, index and contrast these themes and their power semiotics across a broad range of societal arenas. The move from a physical to a social space and from the private to the public sphere as well as from a synchronic to a historical space is not automatic and self-evident, but is precisely lodged in a deeper analysis of the linguistic landscape as indexing social, cultural and political patterns (Blommaert, 2013).

Restaurants, prominently visible in a city's landscape, offer useful insight into demographic transformations, shifting diversities and changing languages. I will combine a genre analysis of the multilingual, multiscriptal, multimodal (and multi-layered) identity discourses displayed on the facades of the Chinese restaurants in Eindhoven with more detailed ethnographic descriptions of selected restaurants and their diverse responses to the challenges and opportunities posed by a diversifying market.

The first is a small *Chinees-Indisch* family restaurant, called Lung Hing restaurant, located in the northern part of Eindhoven that saw a steep increase in its customers after publishing an alternative, authentic Chinese menu on the online Chinese students' and new Chinese immigrants' forum gogodutch.com.[15] The window and the diverse types of menu of the restaurant are reproduced in Figures 5.4 to 5.8. Traditional *Chinees-Indisch* dishes are still offered to eat in or take away for a predominantly non-Chinese audience.

Figure 5.4: Shop facade of Lung Hing restaurant (December, 2011)

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[15]   See *http://bbs.gogodutch.com/thread-417227-1-1.html*, last viewed on 29 November 2015.

In a view of the Lung Hing restaurant facade, three scripts are presented. Traditional Chinese characters in red calligraphic style (龍興酒家 in Figure 5.4) *are* placed on the top of the window which indexes the linguistic and literacy repertoires of the original restaurant owner as well as the majority within the community. Cantonese pronunciation of the restaurant 'Lung Hing' presented in font size in the middle of the window. Above 'LUNG HING', there is another line, in Dutch in a smaller font size specifying that this is a Chinese-Indonesian restaurant. Take a close look at the menu on the window in Figure 5.5, like many other Chinese-Indonesian restaurants, Lung Hing offers Chinese-Indonesian food such as 'Babi Pangang', 'Foe Yong Hai', 'Tjap Choi', etc. These dishes became popular in the Netherlands and Flanders through so-called *Chinees-Indisch* restaurants since the late 1960s and early 1970s. These restaurants were mainly owned and run by immigrants from Hong Kong.
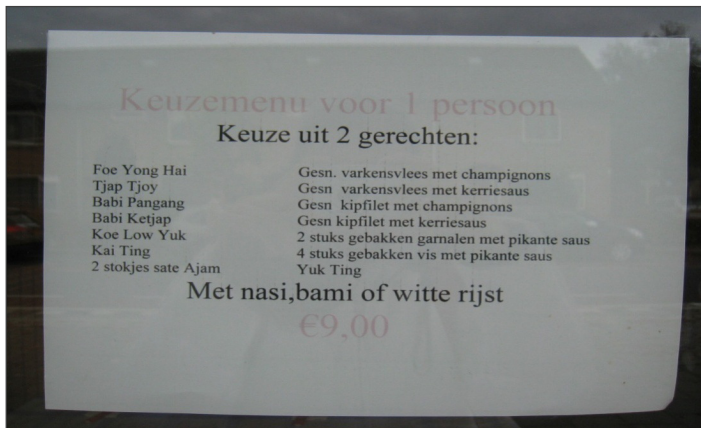
Figure 5.5: *Chinees-Indisch* dishes in Lung Hing restaurant (December, 2011)

The names of the dishes are of mixture of Cantonese, Malay, and Indonesian languages. *Babi panggang* refers to a variety of recipes for Indonesian grilled pork, *babi* meaning pig or pork, and *panggang* meaning grilled or roasted in the Malay and Indonesian languages. The dish consists of slices of crispy deep fried pork served on a bed of *acar campur* (a pickle-like salad made with thinly sliced white cabbage and carrots of Indonesian origin; it is written *atjar tjampoer* in Dutch) over which an amount of the sauce is poured. It is highly probable that the dish was developed by Cantonese cooks, either in the former Dutch East Indies (present day Indonesia) or in the Netherlands itself after the large influx of Asians and Eurasians following the independence of the Indonesian colony. The pronunciation of the dish *Tjap Tjoy* is Cantonese, *tjap* means mixed, and *tjoy* refers to vegetable in Cantonese. This is a dish that goes by several names, depending on your geographic location. Chinese restaurants in the Netherlands call this *Tjap Tjoy*, but it is comparable to the American *Chop Suey*. It is a light dish chockfull of fresh, crunchy stir-fried vegetables in a very basic and mellow sauce. *Foe Yong Hai* has also its origin in Cantonese. *Foe Yong* is the Cantonese pronunciation for hibiscus, a flower and Hai meaning egg. Most of the time, *Foe Yong* refers to scrambled or steamed eggs in Cantonese cuisine due to its resem-

blance of this cottonrose hibiscus flower in both shape and colors. *Koe Low Yuk* or *goo lou yok* in Cantonese is a Cantonese dish, sweet and sour pork made with vinegar, preserved plums and hawthorn candy for an almost scarlet color and sweet-sour taste. *Nasi goreng*, literally means fried rice in Indonesian and Malay. It has been called the national dish of Indonesia, and is also popular in neighboring Malaysia and Singapore, as well as the Netherlands through its colonial ties with Indonesia. The word *sate* itself is Indonesian. Its origin was in Java. Sate was invented by Javanese street vendors as an adaptation of Indian kebabs. This theory is based on the fact that sate has become popular in Java after the influx of Muslim Tamil Indian and Arab immigrants to the Dutch East Indies in the early 19th century. The names of these dishes index the colonial history of the Netherlands and Chinese migration trajectories. The linguistic landscape and the menu in detail suggest that this restaurant offers (either to eat in or to take away) dishes for predominantly indigenous Dutch customers. However, walking into the restaurant, we see a different picture: customers are mainly new Mandarin speaking Chinese students and 'knowledge migrants'. Data example 5.4 note illustrates the transformation of the restaurant.

Data example 5.4: Fieldnotes, Lung Hing restaurant (28/29 November, 2010)

> The first time I visited Lung Hing restaurant was in spring 2010. The restaurant provided exclusively *Chinees-Indisch* dishes. It was dinner time, but there were few customers. Every time when I passed by this small restaurant in my neighborhood, I noticed it was empty and I wondered whether this restaurant like some other *Chinees-Indisch* restaurants in The Netherlands now faced difficulties in their business. A few months later, I saw many Mandarin speaking Chinese people standing in front of the restaurant, waiting to enter. Through the window I could see it was very busy inside the restaurant. I was puzzled and wondered why this restaurant had become so popular all of a sudden with Chinese people. Were the Indonesian dishes such as 'Babi Pangang', 'Fu Yung Hai', 'Chap Choi' becoming very popular among Chinese people? The question was answered by entering the restaurant. When I walked into the crowded restaurant to the counter, the owner gave me a new menu with simplified characters and the names of authentic Chinese dishes on it. I observed that the Chinese customers sitting around the table were also reading the same menu to order. Two teachers from the Chinese school were having dinner. We greeted each other and they said that they were very happy that the restaurant provided authentic Chinese food. The next day, I found that the menu was posted on the online Chinese student's forum, gogodutch.com for a few weeks already and commented upon frequently by the readers that this is one of the best Chinese restaurants and that some dishes are the most authentic Chinese dishes they have ever had in the Netherlands. Some people even traveled for a long distance from other cities to come here.

The new dishes (Griddle cooked series/干锅, traditional Shanghai dish smoked fish/熏鱼, and other new mainland dishes) the female boss learned to cook in Shanghai, were on a handwritten menu (Figure 5.6) before the professionally printed menu (Figure 5.8) came. Figure 5.7 and 5.8 are the professionally printed menus of mainland dishes in simplified Chinese and English. The name of the restaurant remains in traditional characters, opening hours and the business days are in Dutch. This menu was made two years later in 2013. The female boss informed me that she visits Shanghai each year to learn how to prepare new mainland dishes, combining this with her annual family visit. Her husband has a Hongkongese background, came to the

Netherlands in the late 1970s, and had been working in the catering business for years. The female boss herself moved to the Netherlands from Shanghai in 2005. What we observed in the shop facade of Lung Hing is an effect of the polycentricity of Chinese and this polycentricity is the effect of the historical shift outlined earlier in this book: the transformation of the Chinese diaspora in the Netherlands from historically dominated by ex-colonial immigrants from Hong Kong, Indonesia, and Vietnam to immigrants from the People's Republic of China. There are two kinds of power influencing the languages used in this case. One comes from the outside of the Chinese community, i.e., the official language used in Dutch society: the opening hours are in Dutch; the other comes from within the immigrant community itself. It is obvious that this menu selects 'Chinese' audiences and organizes an interaction between 'mainland Chinese' interlocutors. We saw that the main content of the image is in a mixture of simplified Chinese script (used in the PRC) and English. Traditional Chinese script remains to present the name of the restaurant. Dutch was limited to the opening hours and the business day. The semiotic scope here is rather clear. The images tell a story about who produced it, and about who is selected to consume it. In that sense, every image points backwards to its origins, and forward to its addressees (Blommaert, 2013).
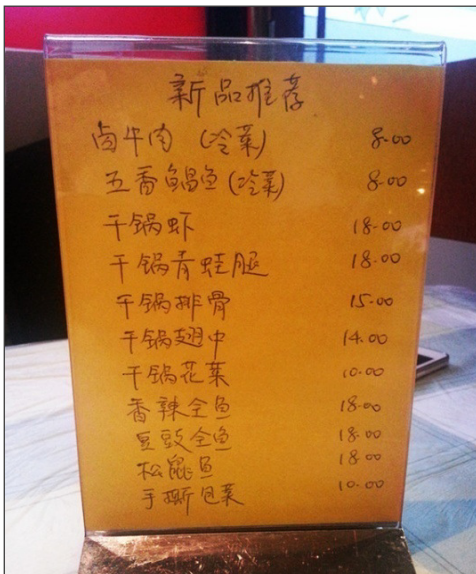
Figure 5.6: Handwritten menu in simplified Chinese of new mainland dishes, Lung Hing restaurant (December, 2011)

Figure 5.7: Menu of mainland dishes, Lung Hing restaurant (May, 2014)

Figure 5.8: Menu of mainland dishes in simplified Chinese, Lung Hing restaurant (May, 2014)

We see in this case an economic rationality in the shift towards Putonghua and mainland culinary preferences: the restaurateur needs to grab the business opportunity offered by the scope of mainland Chinese customers currently characterizing the diaspora. This particular rationality, however, coexists with an old one: the fact that the Chinese restaurant in Eindhoven also caters for the local Dutch population. The culinary preference of the Dutch customers is traditionally satisfied by *Chinees-Indisch* food as we have read in the menu in Figure 5.5. The diversification of the market for Chinese restaurants in Eindhoven, consequently, forces restaurateurs to seek an uneasy combination of both sets of culinary preferences in their menus. Quite often, this results in different menus for different types of customers. Dutch customers would be given the traditional *Chinees-Indisch* menu, with Dutch explanations. Mainland Chinese customers on the other hand would find the meal of their choice on a separate menu, sometimes handwritten or printed in simplified Chinese and English (Figure 5.6 to 5.8). The coexistence of different menus and the linguistic complications generated by it testify to the unfinished character of the transition we document in this study. We witness a degree of linguistic and communicative instability emerging from the polycentricity of the environment of the Chinese community in Eindhoven. And while this linguistic and communicative instability is not always noticeable for the Dutch customers, it is very much a reality behind the scene. Dutch customers may observe the growing number of Chinese customers in the restaurants, but they will still be offered the menu they are accustomed to, containing the dishes they favor. The dominant public perception of the Chinese community in Eindhoven may thus be one

of stability, while a trained observer competent in the different languages and scripts exposed would notice the scope and complexity of the shift in public Chineseness.

Here we encounter the dilemma we have encountered before: which particular Chinese should a member of the Chinese diaspora orient to in Dutch society? We also encountered the difficult and complicated responses to that question: Eindhoven restaurants have become multiculinary and multilingual places in a different way than before.

Interestingly, some restaurants have used these complex conditions to rescope themselves from a 'Chinese' to an 'Asian' restaurant. Figure 5.9 is restaurant Umi Kaiseki, a relative newly (opened in 2010), centrally located in Eindhoven that presents itself in Chinese characters (海鲜居) and Japanese romaji (UMI KAISEKI), offering a variety of Chinese and Japanese food, including Cantonese *dim sum* specialties, other Chinese regional food and Japanese sushi for a predominantly Chinese audience. The simplified Chinese characters (海鲜居/seafood restaurant) indicate that the restaurant offers mainly seafood. As for the Japanese name, Umi Kaiseki (うみかいせき), *Umi* means sea or ocean in Japanese and *Kaiseki* (懷石) or *kaiseki-ryōri* (懷石料理) is a traditional multi-course Japanese dinner. The restaurateur of Umi Kaiseki is of Cantonese background and came to the Netherlands in the 1970s. Figure 5.10 contains a menu of Japanese (Sushi), Cantonese (Dim Sum), mainland Sihuan (Hot Pot), and other dishes, handwritten in English and simplified Chinese. Again, Dutch is used here for explanations of the opening hours and the business day. Figure 5.11 is a trilingual menu printed in traditional Chinese characters, Dutch and English, offering mainly seafood dishes. This new type of restaurants has become a bit of a trend in the last couple of years.

Figure 5.9: Umi Kaiseki Restaurant (December 2011)

Figure 5.10: Handwritten menu, Umi Kaiseki Restaurant (December, 2011
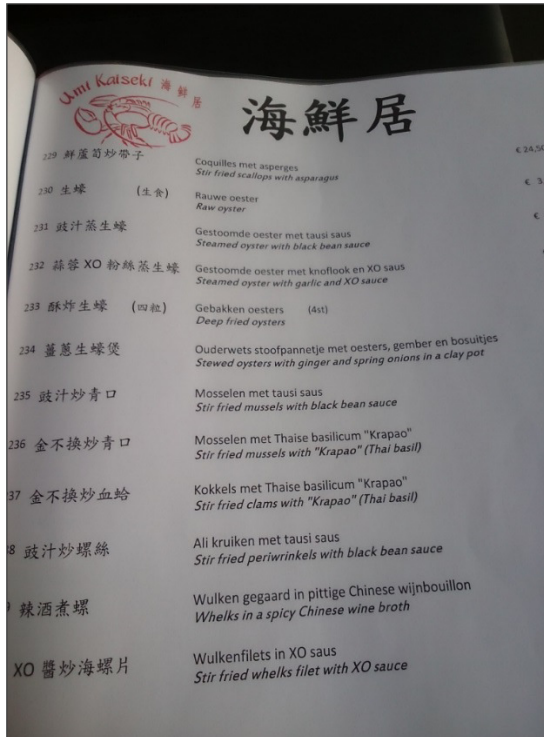
Figure 5.11: Trilingual menu in traditional Chinese characters, Dutch, and English, Umi Kaiseki Restaurant (December, 2011)

Ethnographically, language here is being seen as 'speech', i.e., a sociocultural object rather than a purely linguistic one. The micro-multilingual images discussed here project a clear picture of the macro-sociocultural reality of this community. We need to move from synchronic description to historical analysis.

The superdiverse linguistic repertoires of the images can be read as chronicles (Blommaert, 2013) documenting the complex histories and composition of Chinese migration. Globalization is also a strongly local and localizing phenomenon, in which global scripts are coupled with sociolinguistic regimes which features of local cultural and culinary traditions are entering the local environment. In Eindhoven, the Chinese co-create a new mixed Chinese cultural group. In any event, the resources deployed in these images suggest a heterogeneous, unstable and transient community of diaspora 'Chinese'. An attempt to describe the semiotic scope of these signs leads us, thus, into sociolinguistic aspects of signs, and from there to wider socio-political and historical developments often invisible to the casual language-counting observer.

5.5   Negotiating Chinese-Dutch youth identities

In this section, we shall turn our attention to an interview to look at identity issues of Chinese-Dutch youth in the broader Dutch context. Tongtong, who we met in Chapter

4, is also registered as a student at the Eindhoven music school. There she attends classes in which she learns to play the pipa, a Chinese string instrument more or less resembling a lute. The Eindhoven music school is the only school in the Netherlands that provides pipa classes. For that reason a journalist of the provincial television station *Omroep Brabant* (Brabant Broadcasting) visited the school and interviewed some pipa students. Among them is Tongtong and pipa teacher Mrs. Wang (Figure 5.12). The transcript of the interview (spring 2010) is in Data example 5.5.

Figure 5.12: *Omroep Brabant* interviewing Tongtong in her pipa class (Spring, 2010)

Data example 5.5: Dutch journalist (J) interviewing Tongtong (T) at the Eindhoven musical school

J	Als je in Nederland woont, en je bent gewoon een Nederlands kind, dan moet je op pianoles. En als je, als je een Chinees bent, dan moet je op, op pipales of eh?	J	If you live in the Netherland, and you are a normal Dutch child, then you have to go to piano lessons. And if you are a Chinese, then you have to go to pipa lessons, or eh?
T	Ja, ik allebei dus, ja	T	Yes, I go to both as a matter of fact, yes
J	Je hebt piano en pipa-	J	You have piano en pipa-
T	piano- en pipales. Nou, goed gaan.	T	piano and pipa lessons. Well, it goes well.
J	Je hebt piano en pipales. Aha. Maar hoelang doe je het al?	J	You have piano and pipa lessons. Aha. But for how long have you been doing this?
T	Piano vanaf mijn zevende, dus tien jaar al. En pipa voor vijf jaar, ja.	T	Piano from my seventh, so ten years already. And pipa for five years.
[...]		[...]	
J	Wat bevalt je d'r aan, wat vind je d'r mooi aan?	J	What do you like about it, what do you find nice about it?

T	Aan pipa? Dat komt omdat 't zo speciaal is. De eerste keer toen ik pipa zag. Ik wist niet dat in China zo'n instrument bestond. En mijn leraar gaf een klein concertje hier in de muziekschool. En ik en mijn moeder waren daar ook geweest. Ik heb zoiets van: Wow, dat is echt heel mooi, dat wil ik ook wel eens leren.	T	About pipa? Because it's so special. The first time when I saw pipa, I didn't know that such instrument existed in China. And my teacher had a small concert here in the musical school. And I and my mother were attending it. And I thought: Wow, that's really beautiful. I would also like to learn how to play it.
[...]		[...]	
J	En is jouw hele Chinese familie dan erg trots dat jij een Chinees instrument speelt?	J	Is your whole Chinese family proud of you that you play a Chinese instrument?
T	Ja, dat wel ja. Want dat verwachten ze niet, zeg maar, vooral mijn opa, die in China woont, verwacht niet van een kleindochter in Nederland, dan ook een Chinees muziekinstrument speelt.	T	Yes, they are, because they didn't expect, let's say, my grandfather who lives in China, didn't expect that his granddaughter in the Netherlands plays a Chinese instrument.

What we see in this interview is that the interviewer displays a rather essentialist perspective on Chineseness. If you are a Chinese girl then you rather learn to play pipa than piano. Unfortunately Tongtong answers that she plays both: pipa and piano thereby taking the more or less 'Dutch' perspective that pipa is kind of an exotic instrument that she had never seen before she went with her mother to a pipa concert. She also explicitly says that playing pipa is not something to be readily expected from a Chinese girl in the Netherlands and she supports this position by referring to her grandfather in China who turned out to be really surprised about her playing pipa. In the same vein as it cannot be expected that every Dutchman wears wooden shoes, it can also not be expected that every Chinese knows how to play pipa. Tongtong opts for 'best of both worlds' and combines studying pipa and piano. She plans to go for an examination in both instruments, thereby showing being Dutch and at the same time Chinese.

Tongtong, in this interview, is positioned by the Dutch journalist in terms of authentic Chineseness. Tongtong plays pipa, which manifestly triggers stereotype with the journalist, fitting in a public discourse on cultural diversity in the Netherlands in which Chinese people are ascribed a range of 'typical' features. Apart from identity pressure from 'below', i.e., within the Chinese community and family life, we also see identity pressure from 'above', i.e., from the mainstream of Dutch society. How do Chinese-Dutch youth identify themselves? In order to answer this question, I discussed language practices outside of the Chinese complementary school, and topics such as identity, belonging and feeling at home with some young members of the Chinese community in Eindhoven. The interviewees participated on a voluntary basis, I informed them about my research at the beginning.

I followed the participants in different social contexts, in their real life as well as in virtual communities. During an outing to a restaurant with Wendy and Tongtong in November 2010, the language we used was Dutch. In the beginning, I greeted them in Chinese, but soon when Tongtong started to introduce a Dutch dish, she switched to

Dutch. The conversation during the rest of the evening was in Dutch. Regarding identity construction, Tongtong said the following (Data example 5.6):

Data example 5.6: Conversation with Tongtong, November 2010

| Ik denk zelf dat ik Nederlander ben. Ik ben in Nederland geboren. Ik weet eigenlijk meer van de Nederlandse cultuur dan van de Chinese. Maar in hun ogen ben je toch een buitenlander. Je hebt een ander gezicht. Je hebt een Nederlands paspoort, je praat Nederlands. Ze zien je als Chinees, zeggen 'Ik heb een hele goede vriendin, een **Chinees** meisje'. Wie je bent en hoe mensen naar je kijken zijn vaak niet hetzelfde. Ik voel me een mango, geel van de buitenkant en vlees, wit in de pit. | I myself think that I am Dutch. I was born in the Netherlands. I know Dutch culture actually better than Chinese culture. But in their eyes, I'm still a foreigner. You look different. You have a Dutch passport, you speak Dutch; they perceive you as Chinese and say 'I have a very good friend, a **Chinese** girl'. Who you are and how people perceive you are often not the same. I feel like a mango, yellow from the outside and the flesh, but white in the stone. |

John, a participant in the cookery class, expressed a similar perspective in a conversation after the class (Data example 5.7):

Data example 5.7: Conversation with John, November 2010

| Sommige vrienden van mij zijn hier geboren en denken dat ze Nederlanders zijn. Maar ja, in de ogen van Nederlanders, ze zien je nog steeds als Chinezen door je uiterlijk. | Some friends of mine think they are Dutch. But in the eyes of Dutch people, they still consider you as Chinese because of your appearance |

Tao, a final year student in the complementary school in chapter 4, gives the following comments (Data example 5.8):

Data example 5.8: Online chat with Tao, November 2010

| 我们班上经常会讨论到中国社会和荷兰社会的区别. 何兰人经常会比较随意, 跟中国人不同. 老师的观点和我们的观点还是有些不同. 虽然她在荷兰生活了许多年, 还是受到了中国教育, 观点比较传统. 我的同学们可以算是荷兰人了. | We often discuss the difference between Chinese and Dutch society in our class. Dutch people are quite different from Chinese. The opinion of our teacher on the two societies is different from us. Even though she has been living in the Netherlands for many years, but because of the education she had in China, her attitude is very conservative. My classmates can be considered as Dutch. |

In an interview with Tao, he said that his parents have no social contact with the Chinese that work in the catering business, and that there are different groups of Chinese immigrants in the Netherlands. This also reflects the complex composition of the Chinese immigrants in the Netherlands in terms of language, migration history and socio-economic position. Tao's parents came to the Netherlands in the 1980s as knowledge immigrants working at a technical university. After obtaining their PhDs, they both work as researchers on the High Tech Campus in Eindhoven. Tao has a

Mandarin background. Originally from Beijing, Tao has different Chinese socio-linguistic repertoires from Cantonese background Tongtong and Wenzhousese background Wendy.

Ming, a final year student in the complementary school, gives the following comments (Data example 5.9):

Data example 5.9: Interview with Ming, November 2010

我以后肯定是会回中国的. 每次我都是说**回中国**, **不是说去中国**. 我的根是在中国嘛! 虽然我在荷兰长大, 但你长的就是和荷兰人不一样, 看上去就是不一样, 总是很特殊, 在中国就不一样, 长的不会那么特别.	I will definitely return to China in the future. Every time I say **return** to China, not **go** to China. My roots are in China! Even though I grow up in the Netherlands, but I look different from Dutch which makes me quite peculiar, but it will be different in China. I will look not so much different from the rest.

Ming was born in Fujiang province, China and came to the Netherlands at the age of seven. He has a strong capacity of Mandarin Chinese, both oral and writing skills. For him, the appearance plays an important role in defining where home is.

Roel was born and grew up in the Netherlands. He preferred to be interviewed in English. His parents were from Wenzhou, China and migrated to the Netherlands in the early 1980s. Roel was a student at Tilburg University and lived in Eindhoven at the moment of this research. Part of his interview transcript is presented in Data example 5.10.

Data example 5.10: Interview with Roel, February 2011

R	My daddy moved to the Netherlands when he was 18. I see myself as a Chinese who grew up in a foreign country. I grew up with a lot of foreign people. I mean my neighborhood was quite black, not the wealthiest neighborhood in the Netherlands. You basically get separated from Dutch more or less. So in a way, you feel more Chinese than Dutch.
JLi	What language do you prefer?
R	Right now, hmm, I'm more used to English actually. I identify myself with international students. For that reason, I talk more in English than I talk in Dutch. Most of my early friends are uneducated, so to say, I mean uneducated is a big word, they only have a high school education. Of course, I can't identify myself with mainland Chinese. They have totally different views from me. But I would say Hong Kong Chinese are closest to what Chinese used to be than what mainland Chinese are today. Because they are heavily influenced by Marxism and Cultural Revolution, etc. So I would say I identify myself with Hong Kong Chinese, but not too close as well, because in a way. Let's say in this way: my parents were from Wenzhou. Pre to 1980s, lots of Chinese move to Hong Kong first, and then go to other counties. So the so called Hongkongnese was only the half. It was easier from Hong Kong to The Netherlands than from China. So many flee to Hong Kong then go to the Netherlands. In 1950 or 1960, Hong Kong only had 50,000 inhabitants. My brother-in-law moved to The Netherlands five years ago. I can't recall that he ever felt Dutch. He is American, but he is from Indian descendant, so people here look at him as if he was Caribbean, Pakistani. He is very well educated. He is a PhD from Princeton. How people here on the street treat dark skin people. I mean, my own feeling how people here on the street look at people from different countries, is that, I fell that they think they can

trample on Asians, but they are afraid of dark skin people, because they think they are dangerous. So there are stereotypes, but there are also different treatments, like they don't like foreigners, I mean that's my general feeling. They don't like foreigners. But on Asians, they think we can handle them, because they are just Asians, but the other ones, they think they are criminals, something like that, that's my general feeling, how I perceive it. For instance, when I walk over the streets, I see some kids. They would make fun of me. I have experienced countless times, but when I walk with a Moroccan friend, they won't do that, because they are afraid of him. So there is different treatment between different subgroups in multicultural societies. I think it is partially also, because Chinese culture is more like evading problems instead of facing problems. That has to do with the whole reputation, so to say. What I actually want to express is that I feel Chinese people are undermined by the people here. Other people are treated with more respect, because they are afraid of them. I mean four years ago, before I started with this education, I had not thought about getting a university degree. I mean I was working in a warehouse. My brother-in-law said to me: 'You could be much more than this'.

I see my future in Asia. I have no attachment to here. I mean I appreciate the system. It's a very good system. But it's the culture that is not bounding people here within this place. I think with all the foreign people I have spoken, approximately 80% of them would say I'm not Dutch, so that's from my own. That's how people behave when they expose to certain experiences, I would say. In the future, I would like to go to Hong Kong or Singapore. I want work there for two or three years, get work experience and get an MBA. I'm quite interested in equity, my interest in equity raised from being treated unequal. For the reason I felt it's nice that there are studies.

In most of these data examples the question of being positioned by others on the basis of 'ethnic' appearance or language is a salient issue. Migration was regarded by my interviewees as an enduring change in the spatial organization of their lives. They left their country and settled in another one. In that new country, they lived separated from their country of origin, perhaps (but not necessarily) in ethnic communities. They took their languages and other cultural belongings with them, but the separation from the land of origin and the permanent nature of migration were likely to put them under pressure to accommodate to the host society.

Tongtong and the friends of John identified themselves with 'Dutch', but their self-performed identity was not recognized by their Dutch peers. More often, identities are imposed by others rather than claimed by oneself.

Tao compares his classmates and himself with their Chinese teacher and claims that his classmates can be considered Dutch due to their different ways of thinking from their Chinese teacher. Ming prefers to identify himself with Chinese and considers his residence in the Netherlands to be only temporary. He accepts the ascribed Chinese identity due to the belongings of his appearance and roots.

Roel preferred to have the interviews conducted in English. He basically rejects the battle of which Chineseness he has to adhere to. He puts himself out of the identity game. The choice of Putonghua or Cantonese is not an issue for him. He represents something new, something we have not seen in our data earlier. Chineseness is a moving target that is difficult to aim at, at the same time there is a tendency that Chinese who are in the position to do so can also start moving away from Chineseness to Dutchness or internationalness.

The young Chinese community members I worked with, thus, all had to navigate complex and challenging issues of self-definition. The data on Roel, John, and Ming that I added in my discussion of Tongtong, in this section testified the conflictual and complex identity questions facing Chinese-Dutch youth in Eindhoven. Their environment is polycentric, and so are their identity orientations.

5.6   Summary

This chapter has shown the changing hierarchy of Chinese language varieties, Chinese language ideologies as well as the identity work that young people have to deal with in the Chinese community and in the Dutch society at large. It draws on the concept of *metapragmatics* addressed in the previous chapter and the concept of the *family language policy*. When it comes to language teaching and learning in a diasporic context, Putonghua coupled with simplified script has become the norm both in the school context as well as family and professional contexts. However, other Chinese language varieties such as Cantonese and Wenzhounese are still being used in the various domains.

We also discussed an economic rationality to the shift towards Putonghua and mainland culinary preferences: the restaurateurs need to grab the business opportunity offered by the scope of mainland Chinese customers currently characterizing the diaspora. Interestingly, some restaurants have used these complex conditions to rescope themselves from a 'Chinese' to an 'Asian' restaurant. In this chapter, we encountered Roel, a young man of Chinese descent who refused to be trapped in the choice between Chinese and Dutch identities, and defined himself as Asian and cosmopolitan. Some Eindhoven restaurants appear to have made the same choice: apart from *Chinees-Indisch* and mainland Chinese food, they now also offer Japanese, Korean, Thai, and other Asian dishes.

The basic demographic changes of the Chinese diaspora in Eindhoven that super-diversity entails, urge us to revisit, deconstruct and reinvent many of our established assumptions about language, identity, ethnicity, culture, and communication (Arnaut et al., 2016; Blommaert & Rampton, 2011). An ethnographic study such as the present one uses participants' voices as an analytical heuristic for finding and dealing with alternative understandings of language, ideology and ethnicity. Cultural dynamics are closely bound up with the negotiation and performance of heritage and identities. People's identities are self-identified, shifting rather than visible categories.

The movement of people across space is never a journey across empty spaces. The spaces are always filled with norms, expectations, conceptions of what counts as proper and normal language use and what does not. Mobility, sociolinguistically speaking, is therefore a trajectory through different spaces – stratified, controlled, and monitored ones – in which language 'gives you away.' Big and small differences in language use locate the speaker in particular indexical ascriptive categories – that is, categories that ascribe an identity and a role; and, as we have learned from John Gumperz' (e.g., 1982) work this is rarely inconsequential.

World Wide Web: Chineseness 2.0

6.1   Introduction[16]

In Chapter 5, we have seen how the big transition from one form of Chineseness to another extended beyond the school and proved to be a powerful factor in family life and professional practice. The young Chinese community members thus get potentially caught in a dilemma which particular form of Chineseness they should orient towards, a dilemma in which the community at large has taken a clear position: to be a true Chinese means to align oneself to the cultural linguistic features associated with PRC. Towards the end of Chapter 5, however we saw another powerful identity orientation putting pressure on the young community members: a Dutch or even transnational identity. Just as we witnessed in our data from the school, the question for the young people is not only about which particular version of Chineseness they should inhabit, but also how this choice has to be balanced against the norms and conventions of the Dutch society they are very much part of.

   In the present chapter I extend what we have observed in the Chinese complementary school, the Chinese community and the broader Dutch society to online contexts to examine what the demographic changes described by the notion of superdiversity mean for articulations of ethnic and linguistic identity by Chinese-Dutch young people. I see the Internet as part of everyday life, rather than as separate and solely virtual, and I approached the digital media in much the same way as historians make use of archives. I observed interactions of a metalinguistic character on two platforms, the Dutch-medium teenage Asian and Proud community on the social network site Hyves, and the adolescent platform, *jonc.nl*. This view from digital media brought two methodological advantages over more classic classroom ethnographic observations. First, the voices online gave us insights into discourses of Chineseness outside of the context of complementary schooling by people not currently involved in complementary education, including those who dropped out or never enrolled. Secondly, it also offered answers to the very issues I was interested in without having to ask the questions, thus devoid of some of the traditional sociolinguistic observer's paradox effects (Juffermans, Blommaert, Kroon & Li 2014). The blurring of the offline/online dimension of data collection generates different and unexpected voices and insights, facilitating the collection of richer data (Baker, 2013). The online data collection similarly focused on key moments of data that offer insights into multilingual identity repertoires.

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[16] This chapter combines material from two written papers: Li and Juffermans (2011) and Juffermans et al. (2014). The original material has been substantially reorganized and rewritten to fit in this book.

I assume that the Internet carves out a new, democratic space to communicate with peers that is different from other, offline channels and associations of communication. The term 2.0 is used to refer to new ways of 'languaging' (Becker, 1991; Jørgensen et al., 2016; Juffermans, 2015; Møller & Jørgensen, 2009) and performing identity among multiethnic youth that defy modernist assumptions about (relations between) language(s), culture(s), and identity/ies. The term 2.0 invokes the notion Web 2.0, the revolutionary second phase in the development of the World Wide Web with increased interactivity compared to the earlier stages of the Internet when ordinary users could only retrieve information. The Web 1.0 was largely a read-only place requiring centralized and specialized programming skills (e.g., html) commanded by IT specialists to write on the internet. In the Web 2.0 phase non-specialists have writing rights as well and the Internet becomes a place to retrieve but also to publish information. Blogs are an early example of Web 2.0 technology, Wikipedia ('the free encyclopaedia that anyone can edit'), YouTube ('Broadcast Yourself') and social network sites such as Facebook, Twitter and Hyves are more recent ones.

With the analogy to identity that I mentioned, here I suggest that the dynamics of identity in the era of globalization and superdiversity have also shifted from fairly stable identities with limited 'writing rights' (limited scope for acting out and developing alternative identities) to more complex repertoires of identity young people can actively perform by making use of all the channels and forums of expression that are currently available to them. Identity 1.0 corresponds to essentialist or absolutist models of ethnic identity – identity and ethnicity as something that is a given, that one is born into, while identity 2.0 assumes a more constructivist model of ethnic identity, regarding identity and ethnicity as something that is performed and developed in the course of one's life. Although it is beyond the scope of this chapter to answer the question to what extent superdiversity is caused by technological changes, this chapter explores the potentials and consequences of a Web 2.0 for articulating superdiverse linguistic and cultural identities in the context of migration and globalization. Focusing on young people's identities, Section 6.2 aims to illustrate that being Chinese in the Netherlands is far from a single, uniform category of identity one simply belongs to.

Theoretically, this chapter builds on a view that multilingualism should not be seen as a collection of countable 'languages' that users control, but rather as a complex of specific semiotic resources. The resources are concrete accents, registers, genres, language varieties.

Parkin (2012) compared late-modern urban sociolinguistics with the earlier sociolinguistics of the 1960s. The theoretical position has shifted from a focus on what can be identified to what people identify *with*, thus replacing the ideal of an objective observing outsider with an subjective interpreting insider: 'For a speaker to identify a speech variety as different from others is to classify it as one might an object. [...] By contrast, for a speaker to identify *with* a speech variety is to embody it or, perhaps, to be embodied by it' (Parkin, 2012:76, original italics). For Parkin this distinction marks a shift from classification to ontology and from multilingualism to translanguaging. The ontological impact resides in the redefining capacity of new work on language in superdiversity, where the traditional objects of analysis have to be re-imagined as an effect of empirical analysis. This process leads to notions such as crossing (Rampton, 2005 [1995]) and translanguaging (García, 2009; Creese & Blackledge, 2010). Trans-

languaging and crossing are different from codeswitching not phenomenologically but theoretically in that codeswitching *grosso modo* takes a structural perspective on bilingual text or talk whereas translanguaging focuses primarily on what speakers actually do and achieve by drawing on elements from their repertoires in situated contexts. A translanguaging perspective looks at people not as *having* or *using* a language or identity but as *performing* repertoires of identities by means of a range of linguistic-semiotic resources acquired over the course of one's life trajectory through membership of or participation in various communities of practice (Jørgensen, Karrebæk, Madsen & Møller, 2011, 2016; Varis, Wang & Du, 2014). For Parkin (2012: 76) this also means that 'the speaker and the variety share in each other's being'. This is a double ontological act: a language exists only by virtue of it being used or identified with; and one becomes (a speaker of) a language by speaking or identifying with it. A language exists only in so far and as long as people use it and identify with it; and one can claim to be a speaker of this language only in so far and as long as one speaks or identifies with it.

Speakers or language users or languagers in Jørgensen's (2008) terms, are agents of language change. Languagers have a relative freedom to choose which language they speak or identify with. This agency is only relative as it is collectively distributed among all speakers of, or those who identify with, the same construct of language. Seen from the perspective of the individual speaker such choices are extremely constrained, as they depend on the sum of all the individual choices of these speakers. This is why neoclassical or rationalist explanations of language policy and planning fall short; they fail to situate individual agents within a larger social and historical structure (see Tollefson, 1996, for a classic critique) and overlook the creative and agentive, solution-oriented facts of language use on-the-ground (McCarty, 2011).

6.2   Asian and proud: Chinese-Dutch youth identities on social media

The social network site Hyves is the Dutch alternative for Facebook and was tremendously popular among youngsters and almost everybody else using the Internet in the Netherlands. According to the official figures provided by Hyves itself, the social network site had 10.6 million members in 2011 (of which 9 million in the Netherlands, i.e., more than half of the population or three quarters of those using the Internet). Hyves started in the same year as Facebook, in 2004, but stayed local and did not expand to become a global medium like Facebook which now has 600 million users, i.e., close to 10 per cent of the world's population. Like Facebook, Hyves is an onymous (non-anonymous) site and provides a virtual forum to create and articulate identities and engage in networks of friends that are partly – or greatly – overlapping with one's real-life identities and networks. For most of the personal profile details, one is given the choice to fill them out or to leave them blank and to set restrictions on who is able to see the information (only friends, friends of friends, Hyvers, everybody).

Through students of the Chinese school in Eindhoven I found out about the Asian and Proud community on Hyves (*http://asian-and-proud.hyves.nl/*), which is described as 'The place to be for all proud asians ;p' and had members in the age range of 12-17 mainly from throughout the Netherlands. This network of Asian-Dutch was established

on 21 July 2007 by the then 13-year-old 'Wingy' who also moderates the community together with 'Vietpride'. Wingy is a Cantonese-speaking Chinese-Dutch girl who studies Chinese (Mandarin) in complementary education in Amsterdam. One of the most important corners of activity on the Asian and Proud Hyve is the discussion forums that are both playful and serious. Some of the forums were active for only a few days and received just a handful of comments; others remained open for several years receiving new posts every few hours, days, or weeks. As the community's members aged and Hyves lost terrain to Facebook, the community was mostly abandoned some time before the entire social network site was closed down in 2013. The first contribution in the forum is written by Danying on 21 July 2007 (see Data example 6.1).

Data example 6.1: First scrap on Asian and Proud, Danying, 21 July 2007, 19:01[17]

| heeeyy..eerste krabbel van my😎 echt cool man zo'n asian site ben ik net op zoek naar😄 khooop dat er nog meer azns komen🙂 xxx❤ | heeeyy..first scrap from me😎 really <u>cool</u> man such an <u>asian site</u> just what I was looking for🙂 I hope more asns will come🙂 xxx❤ |

The main part of the community's archive would consist of the discussion forums that group dozens or hundreds of posts. A discussion forum can be introduced by any member of the community as a titled theme or question other members can respond to. Examples of such forums on the Asian and Proud Hyves include both more serious discussion topics as well as more playful formats, and also miscellaneous posts that are in one way or another relevant to the Asian and Proud community (e.g., from a University of Amsterdam researcher asking members to fill out a questionnaire, from a community theatre looking for Chinese musicians/actors, and from a fashion designer looking for a model with Asian looks and size 'S'). Serious discussion topics usually take the shape of a question that is introduced and explained and then being answered in a series of replies. Examples of 'serious' discussions are:
– 'Asian.. leuk of niet leuk?' (Asian.. like it or not?)
– 'Wat is jouw "meest Aziatische" bezit?' (What's your most Asian possession?)
– 'Wat voor soort types val je?' (What type [i.e., Asian, Dutch or otherwise] do you fall in love with?)
– 'Waar geboren?' (Where [are you] born?)
– 'Hoe oud zijn jullie?' (How old are you?)[18]
– 'Vraagje voor alle asians hier hoe lang zijn jullie??' (Question for all Asians here, how tall are you?)
– 'Jouw favo asian dramas ^^' (Your favo[rite] Asian drama)

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[17] Fragments are represented in their original on the left and with a translation in English on the right. Words or phrases that are already in English in the original are underlined in the translation; untranslatable items as well as superfluous translations are indicated between square brackets.
[18] We are dealing with a youthful community here: following the 151 posts to this forum, 72 per cent of the Asian and Proud members fall within the range of 13 to 16 year-old and 94 per cent is under 20.

Examples of playful forums are:
- The magic crystal ball – a game in which members predict something about the next poster which is either confirmed or disproved by the next poster who then predicts something about the next poster again.
- The three word game – a game in which members collaboratively construct a story by posting three words at a time, resulting in a surrealist never-ending story (e.g., freely translated: Once upon a time there was a group of Asians in the supermarket who were talking, and three of them were actually chicken so that day, they put an egg on the table with a chick, but the chick was actually a weird swan...).
- Word snake – a game in which members post words beginning the final letter of the last word (e.g., *mobiel / liefde / egoïst / toetje / emo / onmogelijk / kip / patat*...: mobile, love, egoist, desert, emo, impossible, chicken, chips).
- Guessing age – a game in which members estimate the age of the previous poster.
- 'What origin is the person below you?' – a game in which the members guess the ethnic origin of the previous poster on the basis of his/her profile picture);
- 'Rate the pictureee' (a flirtatious game in which members give report marks for the profile picture, and the looks, of the previous poster).

All topics are directly or indirectly connected to Asian identity issues or are turned into discussions of ethnic identity (e.g., in the forum where participants are asked to give their age, they often also add their country of origin). Some topics elicit hundreds of responses; others remain more exclusive. The most popular forum, the crystal ball game, had more than 1700 posts in 2011 since it started in September 2008. The oldest forum is as old as the Asian and Proud Hyves community itself, i.e., the forum *Ik kom uit...* (I come from...) that was initiated by Wingy on the day she founded the community.

The posts on the discussion forums show little evidence of editing or moderation. It appears that almost anything may be articulated on the forums. When a member expresses racist or otherwise offensive opinions, he is verbally reprimanded by his peers and further being ignored. In one case, an entire discussion forum in which one member defended not to be a racist while articulating ideas of Asian racial superiority, denying the holocaust and insulting fellow Hyvers, was deleted altogether. The discussions generally tend to stay within bounds of decency, however.

The forum I have focused on is *Welk Chinees dialect spreken jullie?* (Which Chinese dialect do you speak?). Within the Asian and Proud community, this forum is a bit more exclusive than some of the other forums as here Asian identity is narrowed down to Chineseness, thereby creating a sub-community of Chinese speakers within the Asian and Proud community. This particular forum was introduced by Leon on a Sunday night in April 2008 (see Data example 6.2a).

Data example 6.2a: Opening of the forum by Leon, 20 April 2008, 21:37

Ik ben zelf kantonees 😄 ksit op chinese school in eindhoven, ik moet Sinas leren van me ouders -.- ,,	I'm cantonese myself 😄 im going to chinese school in eindhoven, I have to learn [Chinese] from my parents -.- ,,
Maja kvind mandarijns moeilijk xD! kan het wel beetje verstaan maar kan het niet spreken >.< stomme klanken 😒	But yeah I find Mandarin hard xD! can understand it a little, but can't speak it >.< stupid sounds 😒
Maja vul hieronder maar in of je mandarijns bent of Kantonees of Wentonees etc. etc	But yeah just fill out down here if you're mandarin or Cantonese or Wenzhounese etc. etc
^^ kanto rules~ xX	^^ <u>canto rules</u>~ xX

The forum can be read as an inquiry into Leon's online friends' repertoires of Chinese but also as a broader sociolinguistic discussion of their experiences with learning Chinese and their multilingual identities as Dutch-Asian or Chinese-Dutch youth. What is interesting about this, is (1) that we can treat the forum as an archive of discourses of Chinese-Dutch identities voiced within an informal peer group setting that is not controlled or influenced whatsoever by researchers; and (2) that the voices contained in this forum are complementary to the voices I have been recording in the school, thus giving us additional insight into Chinese complementary education in the Netherlands from the perspective of both those who have (almost) completed and those who have quitted their complementary education. The data thus provide rich ethnographic detail of the constraints and regrets or missed opportunities teenagers have experienced with respect to learning Chinese. Leon, who initiated the forum, for instance expresses the following unvarnished opinion with regard to Chinese complementary schools (see Data example 6.2b):

Data example 6.2b: Chinese school by Leon, 3 June 2008, 19:10

Chinese school = 1 woord,: <u>IncredibleSuperDuperBoring</u> =/	Chinese school = 1 word,: <u>IncredibleSuperDuperBoring</u> =/
ik ben de oudste van de klas,De op een na oudste is 13 O_- ksit in een klas vol met kinderen tusse 5 en 13 -.- xD ksit bij hun in de klas omdat ik de basis niet ken, + i Suck @ mandarijns ;\ kheb kantonees/nederlands accent XD stel je voor hoe ik Ni hau ma? zeg :}	I'm the oldest of the class,The second oldest is 13 O_- im in a class full with children between 5 and 13 -.- xD im with them in class because I dunno know the basics, + <u>i Suck @</u> mandarin ;\ ive got cantonese/dutch accent XD imagine how I say Ni hau ma? :}
Achja kheb nog vrienden op school daar dus,, kan me nooit vervelen tijdens de pauze =]	Wellyeah i still got friends at school there so,, i can't get bored during the break =]

The medium of conversation on the forum is Dutch – not Chinese. No Chinese characters appear throughout the forum. Chinese linguistic identity is entirely being discussed in Dutch here. The Dutch used on the forum is not the same Dutch they learn or use in school, nor is it the same Dutch they would speak with their real-world friends. It is what we may term a 'netnolect' of Dutch, a (youth language) variety of Dutch that is written (rather than spoken) on the Internet. Fluent users of netnolectal Dutch are Dutch 'netizens' that are active on any of the social network sites such as

Hyves or Facebook. I refer to netnolectal Dutch not as an ethnographic fact but as a descriptive act. This is to say that I use the term as a loosely descriptive term that enables us to identify a complex inventory of common non-standard linguistic practices without essentializing them as a stable linguistic code.

On the basis of the forum analyzed here, we can arrive at the following list of Dutch netnolectal linguistic practices as used by the Asian and Proud community.

- free(r) use of capitalization and punctuation marks
  - e.g., !!, !!!, ??, ,,
- visual paralinguistics (emoticons)
  - pictographic emoticons: e.g., 😛, 🙂, 😄, 😳, 😎, 🐷
  - typographic emoticons presenting visual cues of facial expressions, that are constructed either sideways or upright, e.g., 54: :}, XD, xD, =], =), xX, and ;>.> are examples of sideways emoticons. When turned ninety degrees clockwise, xD for instance shows a laughing face with eyes squeezed shut and a wide open mouth while with some imagination ;>.> shows a frowning face. Examples of upright emoticons found in our sample include: >.<, -.-, -.-' and ^^
- word contractions and abbreviated forms
  - contractions: e.g., 'maja' for *maar ja* (lit. but yes), 'tis' for *het is* (it is), 'achja' for *ach ja* (well, yeah), 'kheb' for *ik heb* (I have), 'idd' for *inderdaad* (indeed)
  - abbreviated function words: e.g., 'k' for *ik* (I), '&', 'n', and '+' for *en* (and), '@' for *at* (borrowed directly from English)
  - shorthand keywords: e.g., 'Canto' for *Kantonees* (Cantonese), 'Mando' for *Mandarijn* (Mandarin), 'Viet' for *Vietnamees* (Vietnamese), 'Amsie' for *Amsterdam*, 'Uttie' for *Utrecht*, 'ehv' for *Eindhoven*, 'cn' and 'Chin' for *Chinees* (Chinese)
  - other abbreviated forms: e.g., 'lol' for *laughing out loud*, 'LOLZZZ' (a plural form of *LOL*, much *laughter out loud*), 'wtf' for *what the fuck*
- extensive borrowing of lexical items and phrases from English
  - 'I suck', 'I guess', 'yeah', 'yeah man', 'too busy of everything', 'and a little', 'fuck', 'wtf', 'lol', 'nahhh'
- deliberate misspellings
  - 'sgool' for *school* (school; cf. skool), 'lere' for *leren* (learn), 'kunne' for *kunnen* (can), 'beetjj' for *beetje* (little bit), 'zown' for *zo'n* (such a), 'naadruk' for *nadruk* (emphasis), 'gaat naa' for *gaat naar* (goes to), 'comunicere' for *communiceren* (communicate)
  - humorous spellings: 'sinas' for *Chinees* (Chinese); the wordplay of Sinas refers to yellow lemonade in Dutch, and perhaps also to the website *www.sina.com.cn* (a Chinese Twitter-like website)
  - use of 'y' instead of 'ij': e.g., 'moeilyk voor my' for *moeilijk voor mij* (difficult for me)
- use of vulgar or foul language
  - 'kut' (cunt, used very productively in Dutch as a foul word, equivalent to 'fuck' in English), 'houjebek' (shut your mouth, here written in one word, normally three words), 'fck', 'fuck'

– onomatopoeic exclamations to express emotions
   • 'gheghe', 'gehehee', 'ghehe', 'hehehehe', 'phew', 'yayy', 'whuhahaha', 'bohh',
      'nahhh', 'hmm', 'whuahha', 'ahem'
   • 'zucht' (sigh), 'fszeu' for *of zo* (or so)
– colloquialisms
   • 'mn' for *mijn* (my), 'me broer' for *mijn broer* (my brother), 'me lerares' for *mijn
      lerares* (my teacher), 'nie' for *niet* (not), 'kan der' for *ik kan er* (I can), 'ikke' for *ik*
      (I)
– 'coolisms'
   • 'vet saaii' (bloody boring, lit. fat boring), 'vet ver' (bloody far), 'wooow'
   • also borrowings from English have this function
– duplication of vowels or consonants to express intensity
   • 'o jaaaa' (o yes), 'nahhh', 'jaa' (yes), 'cantooo', 'wentooo', 'heeeel' (very),
      'wooow'
– occasional switches to Chinese words or phrases or integrated loans from Chinese
   into Dutch
   • terms: 'pinyin' (the system for transliterating Chinese with roman alphabetical
      characters)
   • proper names, including place names: 'fa yin' (name of a Chinese school in
      Amsterdam), 'Suzhou', 'hk' (Hong Kong), 'Wenzhou'
   • phrases: 'ni hau ma?', 'hou mau?' (both greetings, in Mandarin and Hakka
      respectively, used not communicatively on the forum, but as illustrations of the
      language/dialect)
   • names for the languages/dialects, in either Westernized/Dutchified or Chinese
      form or playful respellings/abbreviations, e.g., 'Qingtianees', 'Kantonees',
      'Mandarijns', 'Chaozhou(hua)', 'Kantoow', 'Mando'

Except for the last, all of the above features may be assumed to be shared by
netnolectal Dutch used in other online communities as well. Although traditional
language or spelling mistakes do occur on the Asian and Proud forums, they are fairly
minimal and unobtrusive. I define language mistakes here as deviations from ortho-
graphic or grammatical norms that have been canonized in consecutive Dutch
language reforms and are instructed in mainstream education. Although mistakes are
not intrinsically wrong, they are socially sanctioned as mistakes in certain contexts and
may be recognized as such in other contexts. Examples of mistakes include classic dt-
errors, which are mistakes against the morphological principle which prescribes that
the spelling of a morpheme remains constant across all forms in which it occurs even if
has no phonological realization. Thus, the homophonous verb forms *ik word* (I
become) and *hij wordt* (he becomes) and *het gebeurt* (it happens) and *het is gebeurd* (it
has happened) are spelled differently, respectively because all simple present third
person singular forms are suffixed with a -t and because all past tense forms of verbs
with stems that end with voiced consonants are suffixed with -d (-de, -d) forms. Dt-
errors do not in any way reveal foreign accents or learner identities, but are simply the
most common orthographic mistakes in Dutch occurring in every possible type of text
and committed by any person, except perhaps the most zealous Dutch language
teachers and dictation contest enthusiasts (see Sandra, 2010, for a detailed discussion

and psycholinguistic explanation). It is hardly surprising that they are also encountered on discussion forums of the Asian and Proud community, e.g.,

–   *het is niet echt moeilijk* (vindt ik dan) [vind] (It's not really difficult I think);
–   *ben ermee opgegroeit* [opgegroeid] (was raised with it [Mandarin]);
–   *Ik ben gewoon Nederlands opgevoedt* [opgevoed] (I was simply brought up in Dutch).

And even here, we cannot be conclusively certain that these are really 'mistakes' and not playful agentive deviations from shared norms. There is no reason to assume that the Asian and Proud community members are concerned with styling their posts in impeccable, school-normative Dutch. They are writing here in an environment that is relatively little error-oriented and where there are other norms than those espoused by their teachers, grammar books and spelling guides. In a very basic sense, it is not possible to make conventional orthographic errors or mistakes in this community because the Asian and Proud Hyve is a space of heterogeneity and diversity, a place where difference and otherness are accepted much more than penalized. It is exactly by being creative and playful with norms that one builds and maintains a reputation of being cool. The visual paralinguistics, the use of English expressions (associated with television and popular music), the creative contractions, abbreviations and other graphic devices to style one's text-as-talk are important means to achieve prestige and 'web credibility' in this online community.

Apart from the Chinese proper name vocabulary and the odd borrowed term necessary to discuss Chinese identity in Dutch, only the use of two sets of emoticons could be taken as indexical of a Chinese-Dutch identity. As observed by Loterhing and Xu (2004), Azuma and Ebner (2008), and others, there are distinct Asian and Western styles of emoticons, with directionality as their mean distinguishing feature (see also Wikipedia's *List of emoticons*). Whereas Western style emoticons are generally designed to be read sideways, Eastern style emoticons can typically be read upright:

> An emoticon, very often placed at the end of a phrase or a sentence, is a typographic version of a paralinguistic or prosodic feature. In East Asia, especially in Japan, people developed their own style of emoticons, or in the Japanese language, 'kaomoji' (face marks or face characters). Normally, these East Asian emoticons are to be read vertically, such as in the sentence 'Well, this paper is not so bad as you might think (^_^).' Although their style is different from the Western style, these are also quite intelligible to people all over the world. (Azuma & Ebner, 2008:973)

In the samples I find both styles of emoticons, even within the same posts. In Leon's two posts in Data examples 6.2a and 6.2b for instance, there are seven emoticons each. Two of these are pictographic emoticons and twelve are typographic. Of these twelve, six are Western style (xD!, xD, =/, ;\, :}, =]), five are Eastern style (-.- [twice], >.<, ^^, O_-) and one could be either Western or Eastern (xX).

6.2.1   Diversity within Chinese: To be or not to be proud

Reading the forum as an archive of self-articulations of Chinese-Dutch identity, we can begin with mapping the diversity that falls under Chinese (language) in the Chinese community in the Netherlands and learn something of the vocabulary and pragmatics of diversity within Chinese. Although, as indicated, we have not had any control or influence over the research sample, the 89 persons behind the 95 posts might well form a representative cross-section of Chinese-Dutch youth in the Netherlands.

The language varieties named in the forum include (in their various names and spellings), apart from Chinese itself (41 textual occurrences), especially Mandarin, Cantonese, and Wenzhounese. The 89 persons in the sample collectively speak or identify themselves with ten different varieties of Chinese, of which Mandarin (63), Cantonese (53), and Wenzhounese (21) are most frequently mentioned. Also Vietnamese (8) is named in answering the forum question *What Chinese dialect do you speak?*. Among the other 'Chineses' occurring in the post are Hakka with four textual occurrences and Fuzhounese ('fuchounees'), Hokkien ('fokkien'), Teochew ('chaozhou(hua)'), Qingtianese ('qingtianees'), Shanghainese ('ShangHai's'), and Suzhounese ('dialect wat uit Suzhou komt') with one occurrence each.

There is display of linguistic/ethnic pride or chauvinism in expressing one's ethnolinguistic identity, especially in the case of speakers of Cantonese and Wenzhounese – the two oldest and largest ethnolinguistic groups of Chinese in the Netherlands. Also members identifying with Mandarin and Vietnamese displayed pride in talking about their ethnic/linguistic identity. Compare Leon's '^^ kanto rules~ xX' (Data example 6.2a) with the posts by ZhuChi, Inge, and Huy in Data examples 6.2c, d, and e.

Data example 6.2c: ZhuChi, 21 April 2008, 22:57

Wenzhounees!! Yeah man.. 🤘 maar ik zit/zat op cn school in zwolle.. verplicht🙂	Wenzhounese!! <u>Yeah man</u>.. 🤘 but I go/went to cn [Chinese, JL] school in zwolle.. by force🙂

Data example 6.2d: Inge, 10 May 2008, 21:27

Mandarijns! =)	Mandarin! =)

Data example 6.2e: Huy, 12 May 2008, 19:56

Ik spreek Vietnamees 😎	I speak Vietnamese 😎

Their pride is expressed verbally or (more frequently) through the use of exclamation marks and happy emoticons. ZhuChi in Data example 6.2c makes use of all three modalities to express his pride over being Wenzhounese, i.e., he puts two exclamation marks after the name of his dialect ('Wenzhounees!!'), adds a cool expression that he may have picked up by watching American films ('Yeah man..') and also places a cheering emoticon with two arms up at the end of this proposition. The message is clear: ZhuChi is proud to be Wenzhounese. Note that the wording, capitalization and the emoticon of the second part of his post (about his membership of a Chinese school) are more austere. Huy in Data example 6.2e adds a cool emoticon (with

shades) after the plainly worded declaration that he speaks Vietnamese. By doing so, he suggests that people speaking Vietnamese are like the emoticon, cool.

In contrast to the ethnic/linguistic pride of speakers of the larger varieties of Chinese (and of Vietnamese), Asian and Proud members that identify with the smaller varieties of Chinese are more reserved and even a little embarrassed about their ethnolinguistic identities. Compare the posts by Lisa, Kenny, and Ellen in Data examples 6.2f, g, and h.

Data example 6.2f: Lisa, 28 November 2008, 16:17

ik spreek een dialect wat uit suzhou komt 😝 (nooit van gehoord zeker😝) kan mandarijns verstaan en beetje spreken ook met canto kan ik verstaan maar nog niet echt spreken. heb een paar jaar op chinese school gezeten maar vond het niet leuk dus gestopt, maar ik moet weer op school in amsie van me moeder🙂	I speak a dialect which comes from suzhou 😝 (never heard of I guess😝) can understand mandarin and speak it a little also with canto I can understand but not really speak it. have been to the Chinese school for a few years but didn't like it so quitted, but I have to go back to school in amsie [Amsterdam, JL] from my mother🙂

Data example 6.2g: Kenny, 14 April 2009, 01:22

Qingtianees. Mand, Konton😜	Qingtianese. Mand, Konton😜

Data example 6.2h: Ellen, 17 June 2009, 17:40

Chaozhou(hua) , bijna niemand spreekt dat whuahha, voel me echt dom, iedereen spreekt van die standaard talen kom ik aan hoor. En ik kan een beetje mandarijns en viet verstaan ^^	Chaozhou(hua) , hardly anyone speaks that whuahha, I feel really stupid, everybody speaks those standard languages and then there's me. And I can understand a little mandarin and viet ^^

Lisa assumes that her fellow network members have never heard of her hometown and adds both a happy emoticon and one that sticks out its tongue. This suggests that she is fairly self-confident to have a background she does not share with many other Chinese-Dutch. Ellen on the other hand, writes that she feels stupid to be from a lesser known place and to be speaking a language/dialect (Teochew) hardly anyone speaks. Kenny lists three languages (Qingtianese, Mand [Mandarin; JL], Konton [Cantonese; JL]) as response to the question what Chinese dialect he speaks and adds a freaky emoticon, which may be interpreted as an expression of discontent with his unusual/abnormal descent.

6.2.2 Constraints and missed opportunities in learning Chinese

The forum also offers rich detail about Chinese-Dutch young people's attitudes toward learning Chinese. A study of complementary education such as that of Francis, Archer, and Mau (2009) which primarily investigates classroom and playground activities during school hours can only take the experiences of school-going youngsters into account. If we are also concerned with the experiences and articulations of identity of those staying away from the Chinese school (e.g., of the early school leavers), then we

must find them in other spaces than the school. One such space where we can encounter them (or rather their artefactualized, archived voices) is online, on social network media such as the Asian and Proud Hyves community.

Some of the Asian and Proud members indicated that they were forced to learn Mandarin and go to the Chinese school by their parents (e.g., see Leon in Data example 6.2b and Lisa in Data example 6.2f). In Data example 6.2b cited above, Leon further elaborates his aversion of Chinese schooling. He describes it in 'one word' as 'IncredibleSuperDuperBoring' and explains that he is mainly frustrated with the age disparity in his class, himself being much older than the other students. The problem of attending classes with too young children was similarly reported by Chris (Data example 6.2i) who exaggerates the situation somewhat telling us that he as a teenager has to take classes with four- and five-year-olds. However, he seems to see the humor of the situation as indicated by the 'lol xd' he ends his post with.

Data example 6.2i: Chris, 27 December 2009, 02:59

| Kantoow van mijn ouders, dus ik kan wel gewoon kanto praten en verstaan. Manderijns kan ik niet dus volg ik lessen in Arnhem met allerlei kindjes van 4, 5 lol xd | Cantoow from my parents, so I can of course speak and understand canto. Mandarin I don't know so I'm taking classes in Arnhem with lots of little children of 4, 5 lol xd |

Onki in Data example 6.2j reports a different problem with respect to learning Chinese in the Netherlands: the distance of the school to her home. As she lives in a 'nobody's rural village' (*niemandsboerendorp*), she has to resort to self-study if she wants to know Mandarin. This imposes a significant barrier to Onki's possibilities of learning Chinese. Although the Asian and Proud community does not make up for this in terms of language learning potential, it does offer her access to a community of Chinese and Asian peers to discuss issues of Asian identity.

Data example 6.2j: Onki, 6 October 2008, 20:43

Cantonees 😊 (ben daar geboren en gebleven tot mijn 6e dus..<3)	Cantonese 😊 (was born there and stayed there until my 6th..<3)
Ik kan een beetje Manderijns verstaan en spreken maar echt ver kom ik er niet mee -.-'	I can understand and speak a little Mandarin but it doesn't get me really far -.-'
Ojaaaaa ik probeer het ook zelf te leren schrijven en lezen sinds ik in niemandsboeren-dorp woon is de chinese school vet ver hiervandaan zucht XD	O yeah I also try to teach myself to write and read it since I live in a nobody's provincial village the Chinese school is bloody far away from here sigh XD

Other members who had the opportunity to attend a Chinese school in their sur-roundings, noted that it was (too) difficult to combine it with their mainstream education or with their busy lives in general. Cantonese-speaking Seline (Data example 6.2k) and Mandarin-speaking Hexue (Data example 6.2l), for instance, write that they would like to learn or to have learned Chinese in school, but are or were not committed enough to give up their weekends for it. Note that for Seline and Hexue, learning Chinese does not mean the same thing: for Seline who grew up speaking Cantonese at

home, it means in the first place learning to speak Mandarin; for Hexue, who already speaks Mandarin, it presumably means learning to read and write Chinese characters.

Data example 6.2k: Seline, 21 April 2008, 00:04

Yeah Ik spreek zelf ook cantonees..	Yeah I speak cantonese myself too..
Ik ben zelfst opgevoed ermee omdat mijn ouders ook cantonees spreken..	I'm even raised with it because my parents also speak Cantonese..
Ik zat op chinees school in utrecht..maja nu allang niet meer..Too busy of everything..	I went to Chinese school in Utrecht..but yeah not anymore for a long time now..Too busy of everything..
Ik zou wel manderijns willen leren want het is belangrijk voor later als je iets wilt bereiken in china	I would want to learn mandarin because it's important for later if you want to achieve something in china

Data example 6.2l: Hexue, 10 December 2008, 23:10

Mandarijns n_n	Mandarin n_n
Ik dacht erover na om naar Chinese school te gaan in weekend fszeu... maar nahhh ik heb 't al druk genoeg met middelbare XD	I thought about going to Chinese school during the weekend or so... but nahhh I'm busy enough already with secondary XD

Yet other community members report that they quit Chinese school because it was too difficult for them. Cantonese-speaking Sinyi92 (Data example 6.2m) writes that she now sticks to speaking Chinese (Cantonese) as learning (to read and write) is too difficult for her. Margriet (Data example 6.2n), also Cantonese-speaking, writes that she can understand a little (spoken) Mandarin, but finds speaking it too difficult. Pui (Data example 6.2o), who is of mixed Cantonese and Wenzhounese descent, also quitted learning Mandarin because she 'didn't get it'.

Data example 6.2m: Sinyi92, 5 May 2008, 18:57

Ik zelf spreek canto.. net soals de meeste van jullie.. k zat op chin school.. maarja.. lere was te moeilijk voor mij.. 🙂dus blijf ik bij het praten..	I speak canto myself.. like most of you.. went to chinese school.. but yeah.. learning was too difficult for me.. 🙂so I stick to speaking..

Data example 6.2n: Margriet, 27 June 2008, 20:38

cantonees 😎en kan een beetje mando verstaan maar niet praten veels te moeilyk voor my xd.	cantonees 😎and can understand a little mando but not speak it way too difficult for me xd.

Data example 6.2o: Pui, 12 October 2009, 20:01

Canzhou? o.0 [mam canto -hk-, pap wenzhou] maar ik ben dus canto opgevoed :3, ooit moest ik manda leren @chinese school in ehv ;>.> ik snapte er niks van en ging eronderuit [a.]	Canzhou? o.0 [mum canto -hk-, dad wenzhou] but I was brought up canto :3, once I had to learn manda @chinese school in ehv ;>.> I didn't get it and got out of it [a.]

Cantonese-speaking Bonny is still attending Chinese school at the time of posting the message in Data example 6.2p, but says she is not very good at Mandarin as she admits to be sleeping in class on Saturday mornings. Bonny's post, as well as those of Seline, Hexue, Sinyi92, Margriet, and Pui point at the considerable effort teenagers of Chinese background need to make in order to connect with their linguistic heritage. Simply being Chinese is not enough as they have to spend long hours in classrooms on Saturday morning to learn the culturally and economically required variety of Chinese (Mandarin) together with a highly complex and educationally very demanding writing system. It is clear that the object of Chinese language education is very time-consuming and exclusive linguistic capital.

Data example 6.2p: ~Bonny~, 27 December 2009, 16:57

| IK spreek kantonees . | I speak cantonese . |
| en beetj manderijns niet echt goed.Maar ik zit ook op chinese school,let daar nooit op'..want het is in het weekend 😊 dan slaap ik liever tijdens de les 😳 | and a littl mandarin not that well.But I'm also going to chinese school,don't pay attention there'..cuz it's during the weekend 😊 then I rather sleep during the lesson 😳 |

Ting, who has a Wenzhounese family background, writes (Data example 6.2q) that she understands all of Wenzhounese, but cannot speak it, and knows only a little Mandarin from the Chinese school, but has forgotten most of it. A similar remark about 'forgetting' Chinese outside of a formal educational context, is made by Peter in Data example 6.2r who writes that he spoke much better Mandarin when he was young than he does now and has forgotten much of what he knew.

Data example 6.2q: Ting, 30 July 2008, 20:43

| wenzhou, versta alles maar spreek 't niet manderijns kan ik een beetje en versta ik ook n_n | wenzhou, understand everything but don't speak it I know a little mandarin and understand it too n_n |
| heb op chinese school gezeten in heerlen maar ben alles inmiddels al vergeten 😐 | have been to chinese school in heerlen but have forgotten everything already 😐 |

Data example 6.2r: Peter, 10 October 2008, 16:04

| Manderijns, maar het spreken en verstaan lukt me soms niet helemaal 😕Kzit niet op een chinese school en ook nog nooit op gezeten xD Toen ik nog jong was kon ik het veel beter...vergeten 😄😄😳 | Mandarin, but I sometimes don't quite manage with speaking and understanding 😕I'm not going to chinese school and have never gone there xD When I was young I could do much better...forgotten 😄😄😳 |

The importance of even little bits and pieces of Chinese these youngsters' language repertoire for their Chinese-Dutch identity is illustrated by the posts of Sara (Data example 6.2s) and Lisanne (Data example 6.2t) who report to experience serious shortcomings in their proficiency in Chinese. Sara writes that she expects her parents to be ashamed of her because she does not speak enough Vietnamese and Mandarin. Lisanne comments that she has zero competence in Chinese and notes this with a

sense of regret or frustration ('wtf') in observing that other Chinese Asian and Proud members speak at least some Chinese. She marks her comment with a crying (sad) and a blushing (embarrassed) emoticon.

Data example 6.2s: [»Sara«],17 June 2008, 15:43

whuhahaha, ik kan alleen vietnamees verstaan, niet spreken, maar wel een klein beetje mandarijns praten..🙂 Verbaast me niet als mijn ouders schamen voor mij 😳	whuhahaha, I can only understand vietnamese, not speak it, but do speak a little bit of mandarin..🙂 Doesn't surprise me if my parents are ashamed of me 😳

Data example 6.2t: Lisanne, 14 March 2010, 17:15

wtf iedereen kan hier wel ietss van chinees spreken🙂 . kom ik aan met me niks 😳	wtf everybody here can speak some chinese🙂 . and there I am with my nothing 😳

On the basis of a detailed analysis of these posts I argue that knowing Chinese in the Netherlands can mean a plurality of things. First of all, for the young people on the Asian and Proud Hyves it invariably also means knowing Dutch. The Chinese-Dutch hyvers studied here come together in the context of a broader Dutch-Asian virtual network, the vehicular language of which is Dutch, not Chinese. All members are highly proficient in Dutch, especially in what we called 'netnolectal Dutch', in ways that make them undistinguishable from indigenous 'native speakers' of Dutch. Ethnicity (being Chinese) or the 'mother tongue' (Chinese, Wenzhounese) therefore is not a valid criterion for determining native-speakerness in this context. The sub-community of Chinese-Dutch youth within the Asian and Proud community is eventually a community of native Dutch speakers-and-writers. In multilingual Europe 2.0, ethnicity (being Chinese) or the mother's tongue (Chinese, Wenzhounese) is not a valid criterion for determining native-speakerness anymore. In multilingual Europe 2.0 or superdiverse Europe, we are dealing with new natives and new European identities, with Chinese-Dutch and many other hyphenated, polycentric identities.

Secondly, the Chinese component of one's Chinese-Dutch identity cannot be taken for granted. Breaking it down into its regional variants (Cantonese, Wenzhounese, Mandarin, etc.) does not tell us everything about someone's Chineseness. Equally important is the extent of socialization into the school-taught variety of Chinese, Mandarin, or Putonghua someone has undergone. Someone's success in Chinese complementary education determines in important ways someone's identification with his or her Chinese linguistic and cultural heritage. New natives' heritage in super-diverse Europe is not a bounded, homogenous set of traditions, practices and values but is complex, multilayered and polycentric.

Thirdly, in Chineseness 2.0, ethnicity seems no longer solely or even primarily to be determined by one's biological descent, but is increasingly (re)negotiable through engaging with other forms of ethnicity. It becomes evident that ethnicity is not in the first place the property of fixed groups (young) people simply belong to and that researchers may work with as unproblematic taken-for-granted social units (Brubaker, 2002). 'Chinese-Dutch' is certainly not the only or best ethnic denominator for all

situations. Importantly, the online network studied here is not entitled 'Chinese and Proud' but 'Asian and Proud'. The broad participation of young people of Chinese background within this community suggests that Asianness is at least as productive a marker of ethnic identity as Chineseness, probably in more pervasive and meaningful ways than was the case for their (grand) parents' generation. Online communities allow for a rescaling of ethnicity: a partial redefinition of one's Chineseness as Asianness.

What we read in the Asian and proud forum, is evidence of truncated repertoires of Chinese language. Chinese-Dutch youth have different repertoires from their parents who made their settlement in the Netherlands. To state the obvious: no user of Chinese knows the entire Chinese language. This is hardly surprising as this is true for any language and any speaker: nobody speaks all of a language. One may be more or less confident in speaking (a variety of) a language such as Dutch or Chinese, but nobody can claim to know (either to produce or understand) all there is in a language. This is a sociolinguistic universal: linguistic or communicative competence is always limited (Blommaert & Backus, 2011). Language proficiency is essentially truncated. Proficiency is always proficiency in a particular variety (standard versus vernacular), to a particular extent (more or less) and in a particular mode of language (understanding, speaking, reading, writing) (cf. Blommaert, Collins & Slembrouck, 2005a, 2005b; Dyers, 2008). This is all the more evident for Chinese as 'the Chinese language' groups a higher number of people, a vaster geographical area and a larger continuum of variation than any other language in the world, while at the same time upholding a meaningful sense of unity ('sociolinguistic harmony') among speakers of mutually by and large unintelligible vernaculars (DeFrancis, 1984).

6.3   JONC: Being Chinese in Dutch

In this section, we shall shift our attention to another digital platform of peer-to-peer interaction where issues of Chinese identity are explicitly discussed. In the previous section, we discussed and analyzed the Asian and Proud community and explored the ethnic and linguistic identification of Chinese-Dutch youngsters. It shows how Chinese-Dutch youngsters of diverse backgrounds engage in creative languaging in 'netnolectal' Dutch while discussing/celebrating their Chineseness. The present section focuses on *jonc.nl*, the website of JONC (*Jongeren Organisatie Nederlandse Chinezen*), one of the two national organizations of and for Chinese youth in the Netherlands.[19] The age group of this community is older (between 18 and 35 years old) than the previous one (12-17). Using the slogan 'Connecting Asians' and the headline 'Online portal voor Nederlandse Aziaten' (online portal for Dutch Asians), JONC describes itself as an organization for Dutch Chinese youth or young adults in the age range of 18 to 35.[20] Its website is a meeting place for young persons of Chinese heritage living in the Netherlands. Significantly, JONC does not see its task as promoting integration into Dutch society, which is a process JONC considers well completed for the 1.5th, 2nd and

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[19]   The other organisation is Chinese Jongeren Organisatie (CJO), which publishes a three-weekly newsletter, *Jongerenpagina* (previously: *Nieuwe Generatie Rubriek*) in *Asian News*. CJO's website, *www.cjo.net*, is unlike *www.jonc.nl*, little interactive and allows no user-generated content.

[20]   See *www.jonc.nl/article/view/196/over-ons.html*.

3rd generation Chinese-Dutch it targets. The emphasis is so put on 'cherishing' Chinese descent by bringing Chinese-Dutch youth together 'in a relaxed atmosphere of Western openness'.

As data for this study, I have made use of the 'Forum' section, one of the thirteen columns *jonc.nl* had in 2011; other columns featuring in November 2011 were 'Home', 'Nieuws' (news), 'Agenda', 'Asian Party', 'Blogs', 'Chat', 'Foto's' (photos), 'Forum', 'Hotspots', 'Lifestyle', 'Members', 'Video's', and 'Over ons' (about us). The Forum section contains open discussion forums organized by topic in categories such as 'JONC', 'Jobs', 'Chinese community', 'Chinese cultuur' (Chinese culture), 'Lifestyle', 'Entertainment', 'Internet', 'Computers en Technologie' (computers and technology), and 'Hobbies', each of which is further divided in one, two, or four subcategories. 'Chinese community' for instance is subdivided in 'General Chat', 'Activiteiten en evenementen' (activities and events), 'Werk en inkomen' (work and income) and 'Politiek en maatschappij' (politics and society) and 'Chinese cultuur' (Chinese cultuur) is sub-divided in 'Chinese geschiedenis' (Chinese history) and 'Wuxia' (i.e., literature or films on martial arts).[21] In the largest subcategory, 'General chat' (731 topics and 17,346 posts), I have searched among the discussion threads for topics that could inform us about language, culture, ethnicity and identity issues of Chinese-Dutch youth.

Posters are identified with their self-chosen screen names that in all cases fully or partially mask their legal identities yet revealing some aspects of their identity such as age, ethnicity or gender. In some cases first names – real or invented – are used (Dennis, Ricky, Mich, Jen, Jason), but in most cases posts are signed by virtual alter egos. These names index Asian (Hayashi, TyRai, BORNINHK1971), Dutch (Boer, Brillie, Tostiman) or Anglo stylizations (Faraway, Ricky, Jason). Some of these suggest place names (Faraway, BORNINHK1971, Santiago) or particular personal interests, tastes or attributes (testarossa, Tostiman, KiWi, Brillie). Online discussion forums are publicly accessible archives of self-articulated reflection on identity and other matters that conveniently lend themselves for discursive analysis. One discussion thread suffices to exemplify this.

On Monday August 6, 2007, JONC member Faraway (the members' directory identifies him as male and as living in Eindhoven) initiated the discussion '*Hoe vaak ben jij in China geweest en spreek je de taal goed*?' (How often have you been to China and do you speak the language well?). The topic ran for 48 hours and 46 minutes and comprised 11 posts by 9 different contributors. Individual posts ranged from 18 to 160 words (84 on average). Messages were posted on Monday between 7:53 in the morning and 01:01 in the night and resumed Tuesday afternoon on 13:31 until midnight (23:48), with one final message being posted at 8:37 on Wednesday morning. Three hours after Faraway started the topic, the first reaction is posted by Pooky, followed by Eek's post two hours later and Dennis's another two hours later and posts by BORNINHK1971 and Jason later that night. The next day messages from Eek and Pooky again follow in the afternoon, Boer and Jen late at night and KiWi as final poster the next morning. The discussion then stopped for unclear reasons. Two of the eleven

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[21]   Note that many of the titles of the website's columns and the Forum sections can be either English or Dutch, something that is typical for language on the Internet.

messages were modified by the posters – twice on the same day for Pooky's first message and once about 24 hours later by Jason. Below is a transcript of the discussion.

Data example 6.3: 'The English of Jacky Chan is better than my Chinese' (discussion thread on *jonc.nl*, 6-8 August 2007)

Hoe vaak ben jij in China geweest en spreek je de taal goed?	How often have you been to China and do you speak the language well?
Faraway, 06-Aug 07:53	
Nou dan begin ik maar. Ik ben pas 1x geweest. Mijn Mandarijns en WenZhounees zijn niet super geweldig maar ik versta wel alles + dat ik nog genoeg tijd heb voordat ik voor me zelf woon.	Well then I will start. I have been only 1x. My Mandarin and WenZhounese are not super great but I do understand everything + that I have enough time before I will live on my own.
Ik twijfel of ik volgend jaar terug ga naar China om bij mn oom in Beijing te zijn (Olympic Games) of dat we naar Malaysia gaan, aangezien mn vader in Malaysia is geboren (opa en oma waren wel Chinees). Dus het word 2e keer China of 1e keer Malaysia voor mij. Nu jullie. 🙄	I'm doubting if I go back to China next year to be with my uncle in Beijing (Olympic Games) or if we'll go to Malaysia, since my father was born in Malaysia (grandpa and grandma were Chinese). So it will be 2nd time China or 1st time Malaysia from me. Now you guys. 🙄
Pooky, 06-Aug 10:50 [modified 06-Aug 15:51]	
Ik ben 3 keer naar China geweest (Beijing, Shanghai en Shenzhen). Alledrie de keren vanuit Hong Kong toen ik daar op vakantie was, gemiddeld om het jaar. Al zijn er ook jaren geweest dat ik er meer dan 1 keer naartoe ben geweest.	I have been to China 3 times (Beijing, Shanghai and Shenzhen). All three time from Hong Kong when I was there on vacation, on average every other year. Though there were years that I have been there more than once.
En vanuit Beijing en Shanghai ook uitstapjes gemaakt naar plaatsen waar ik de naam niet meer van weet, dus ja; het waren van die georganiseerde reizen vanuit HK.	And from Beijing and Shanghai, also made excursions to places of which I don't know the name anymore, so yes; it were those organized trips from HK.
Ik zou graag nog de Chinese Muur willen zien/bezoeken, daar is het nog niet van gekomen. Maar wie weet, volgend jaar ben ik van plan weer eens richting HK te gaan. 😄	I would still like to see/visit the Chinese Wall, that hasn't happened yet. But who knows I'm planning to go in the direction of HK again next year. 😄
En met mijn Kantonees kan ik mij vooralsnog prima redden in het dagelijks (vakantie)leven. Mijn Mandarijns is eh... eh... ehh... 😳Ik kan nog net het verschil horen tussen Mandarijns en welke andere andere Aziatische taal dan ook, maar daar houd het ook op... 😳😳	And with my Cantonese I can manage just fine so far in daily (vacation) life. My Mandarin is uh... uh... uhh... 😳I can only just hear the difference between Mandarin and whichever other Asian language, but that's it... 😳😳
Eek, 06-Aug 12:49	
Ben wel vaker na China geweest (o.a. Beijing, Shenzhen, Zhuhai) ook alllemaal via HK. Maleisie maar 1 keer geweest	Have often been to China (a.o. Beijing, Shenzhen, Zhuhai) also all via HK. Been to Malaysia only 1 time.

Dennis, 06-Aug 14:52	
Ben al 5 x naar China en Hong Kong geweest maar mijn Kantonees sucks big time en hakka (van origine) is ook shit. Mijn mandarijns is non existent maar toch blijft het altijd leuk om daar heen te gaan. Het beste zou zijn om een drakenbootwedstrijd te varen met onze team in Hong Kong.	Have been 5 x to China and Hong Kong but my Cantonese sucks big time and hakka (from origin) is also shit. My Mandarin is non existent but it's still fun to go there. The best would be to sail a dragon boat race with our team in Hong Kong.
BORNINHK1971, 06-Aug 21:48	
Ik ben nog nooit eerder in China geweest als ik HK en Macau niet meereken. Mijn kennis van het Mandarijns is niet zo best alhoewel ik wel Mandarijnse lessen gehad heb. Is er iemand toevallig wel eens in Shenyang geweest?	I have never been to China if I don't count HK and Macau. My knowledge of Mandarin is not so good although I took Mandarin classes. Is there anybody who happened to have been to Shenyang?
Jason, 07-Aug 01:01 [modified 08-Aug 00:24]	
Ben vanaf mijn 15e 4x naar China geweest. HK <--> Shenzhen vooral, waar mijn familie woont, Guangzhou 2 weken, Shanghai (5 weken), Beijing (1 week).	Have been 4x to China since my 15th. HK <--> Shenzhen especially, where my family lives, Guangzhou 2 weeks, Shanghai (5 weeks), Beijing (1 week).
HK en Shenzhen ken ik aardig. En Shanghai na 5 weken ook. Zeker omdat we daar zelfstandig ben gegaan, heb ik mooi de gelegenheid om de stad te verkennen.	HK and Shenzhen I know pretty well. And Shanghai after 5 weeks too. Especially because I been go there independently, I have a good opportunity to explore the city.
Kantonees is goed, omdat ik veel te netjes te beschaafd praat zodat ze gelijk horen dat je uit buitenland komt. Mandarijn is okay. Kan alles verstaan en me vrij goed me verstaanbaar maken en Chinees lezen, wat geen overbodige luxe is als je op reis gaat naar China. Ik heb het geluk dat ik een geldig Chinees reisdocument heb, waardoor ik daarmee zonder veel poespas tickets etc kan kopen.	Cantonese is good, because I speak far too decent too civilized so that they hear immediately that you're from abroad. Mandarin is okay. Can understand everything and make myself understood fairly well and read Chinese, which is no unnecessary luxury if you regularly travel to China. I'm lucky to have a valid Chinese travel document, with which I can buy tickets etc. without too much hassle.
Olympische Spelen is zeker de moeite waard. Dat wil je eigenlijk niet missen.	Olympic Games is definitely worth the effort. You don't want to miss that really.
China is zo groot, genoeg plekken om nog te gaan: Hainan Dao, Gui Lin, Xi' An en op termijn; Tibet met de trein...	China is so big, enough places to go to: Hainan Dao, Gui Lin, Xi' An and on the long run; Tibet by train...

Faraway, who introduces the forum, begins by giving his own Chinese travel and language repertoire. He writes that he has been to China only once and that his Mandarin and Wenzhounese are not super great, but that he understands everything. He is planning to travel next year, but doubts if he should visit his uncle in Beijing during the Olympic Games or to go to Malaysia where his father was born. He closes the discussion with a 'shades' emoticon, suggesting that he is introducing a 'cool' topic. His message sets the tone for the subsequent discussion.

The topic inquires about several elements of JONC members' orientation towards China and the Chinese language: how often have you been in China and how good is

your Chinese. The 'how often' is taken to imply a 'where' and, triggered by Faraway's travel plans to Beijing or Malaysia next summer, the topic develops into discussing destinations contributors have not yet been to, but would like to visit sometime. Pooky understands 'China' in Faraway's question as excluding Hong Kong and reports that she's been to China three times, always embedded in her annual vacations to Hong Kong. Her travels to the mainland were all package trips organized from Hong Kong. Eek and BORNINHK1971 also exclude Hong Kong from their count of times they visited China, but Dennis, Jason, Boer, and Jen include Hong Kong in their counts.

Table 6.1 gives a schematic and condensed overview of visited and desired destinations in China (and Asia) and Chinese language competence as expressed in the forum.

Table 6.1: Schematic overview of the travel oriented part of the discussion

Name	Travel freq.	Visited destinations	Desired destinations	Chinese language competence
Faraway	1x	China	Beijing (Olympic Games), Malaysia	Mandarin and Wenzhounese ('not super great')
Pooky	3x, * annually	Beijing, Shanghai, Shenzhen (from Hong Kong)	Great Wall	Cantonese ('with indefinable accent')
Eek	often *	Beijing, Shenzhen, Zhuhai (from Hong Kong); Malaysia	–	Cantonese ('fluent'), Mandarin ('brackish'), Wenzhounese ('1%'), Weitouhua ('75%')
dennis	5x	China, Hong Kong	–	Cantonese ('suck big time'), Hakka ('also shit')
BORNIN HK1971	never *	Hong Kong, Macau	Shenyang **	Mandarin ('not so good', 'classes')
Jason	4x	Hong Kong, Shenzhen, Guangzhou, Shanghai, Beijing	Hainan Dao; Gui Lin, Xi'an, Tibet	Cantonese ('good', 'too polite'), Mandarin ('okay'), can read Chinese
Boer	8-9x	Hong Kong		Cantonese ('belabberd'); 'even Jackie Chan's English is better than my Chinese'
Jen	8-9x	Hong Kong, Shanghai, Hangzhou, Suzhou, Shenzhen, Dong Guan	Gui Lin (Kwai Lam)	'no Mandarin, raised more Cantonese and Hakka'
KiWi	8-9x	Hong Kong, Shenzhen	Shanghai > Beijing, Japan, Korea	Cantonese ('mainly'), Mandarin ('little bit')

* excluding Hong Kong (and Macau); ** destination inquired about

Except for Faraway himself, all the contributors to this topic have frequently (typically annually or biannually) travelled to China if this also includes Hong Kong. The places most often mentioned as visited include towns in the vicinity of Hong Kong (Shenzhen, Guangzhou, Dongguan, Macau, and Zhuhai) as well as Beijing and Shanghai. Other places mentioned include Hangzhou and Suzhou in Zheijiang province. The places Faraway's online friends have visited are all places in southeastern and eastern China.

The desired destinations on the other hand are more situated in central and western China: Guilin in Guangxi province, Xi'an in Shaanxi province, and Tibet in the far west of China, as well as outside of China: Malaysia, Japan, Korea. The destinations that are mentioned (also the Great Wall, Shenyang, and Shanghai) are scenic and touristic places that are often included in holiday packages to China offered by international tour operators. They are part of the international imagination of China. Faraway wants to visit Beijing the following summer not only to visit his uncle but also for the Olympic Games. Pooky says that her Cantonese is good enough for the purposes of her 'daily (vacation) life' in Hong Kong. Dennis is hoping to participate in a dragon boat race with his team in Hong Kong – not a usual tourist activity but nevertheless a leisure-time and spectacular event. Jason considers it useful for his travels to China to understand and make himself understood in Mandarin and says he would not want to miss the Olympic Games. Jen wonders if anyone of her online friends has been to Guilin which she knows is famous for its scenic mountains. KiWi, finally, dreams of travelling from Shanghai to Beijing, for which she would first like to work on brushing up her Mandarin. However, she holds Japan (in the cherry blossom period) and Korea as her favorite destinations in Asia.

The imagination of China for these JONC members is to an important extent that of a holiday destination, a place to consume and discover during regular vacations. This imagination of China, we suggest, is not so different from their non-Chinese Dutch friends, who may also travel or have travelled to China. For Pooky and others, of course, there is a sustained and long-term engagement with China that takes shape in repeated visits and involves networks of family and friends. However, these networks are located primarily in Hong Kong for most of them, making China a different – and foreign – country altogether.

With respect to language competence, all posters break up 'the language' in subunits (languages or dialects) with names and indicate that their proficiency in at least one of these *Chineses* is not perfect or what they would like it to be. Among the posters, there appears to be a general sense of not speaking enough Chinese or the right kind of Chinese, or that their competence is not good enough. Faraway distinguishes between Mandarin and Wenzhounese and indicates that her proficiency is 'not super great' but that she can understand everything. Pooky claims that she can manage herself for the moment with her Cantonese, but that her Mandarin is 'eh..eh... ehh...' and concludes this with a blushing emoticon which suggests that she is somewhat ashamed or uncomfortable about this. She says she can only just recognize the difference between Mandarin and other Asian languages, hereby indicating minimal receptive language skills.

Dennis says about his Cantonese that it 'sucks big time' (using the original English expression in his Dutch) and about his proficiency in Hakka, which he identifies as his family's language, that it is 'shit' (also borrowing from English to enrich his Dutch) and

about his Mandarin that it is 'non existent' (again switching to English). Despite his limited language competence, he still considers it 'always fun to go there'.

BORNINHK1971 comments that his knowledge of Mandarin is not so good, despite having taken classes. Jason says about his Cantonese that it's 'good', but 'too civilized' which gives away his identity as a foreigner. Mandarin is 'okay' – he can understand everything, make himself understood, and read Chinese. Note here that Jason speaks Cantonese and Mandarin, but reads Chinese, however associating reading skills more with Mandarin than with Cantonese.

Eek says in his second post that he can speak and understand Cantonese fluently and that reading is 'also okay good'. He can understand Mandarin ('as long as it is not super fast') but speaks it in a 'brackish' way since he is not confident with the tonal distinctions. About 'other dialects', he says that he can make some sense of Wenzhounese here and there and make some more sense of the 'oh so bad' Weitouhua ('Wai Thou'),[22] estimating his receptive proficiencies at respectively 1 and 75 per cent.

Pooky adds to the discussion in her second post that she apparently speaks Cantonese with an indefinable accent, on the basis of which Hongkongnese sales people often think she is from Tai Lok, Vietnam, or Japan. She cannot read Chinese. Boer says about his Cantonese that it is 'belabberd', a word that is probably best translated as 'rotten'. He claims that even Jackie Chan's English is better than his Chinese, which involves a qualification not only of his own Cantonese/Chinese, but also of the movie star's English as heavily accented, bad English. About his English, Jackie Chan himself wrote on his website in 2006 while shooting Rush Hour 3:

> To me, action scenes are so easy, but dialogue scenes drive me crazy. The directors and producers want me to speak everything perfectly. Every single word must be spoken perfectly. Sometimes, I wonder why is it that Chris Tucker and the other actors don't have to speak perfect English yet I have to. The directors always want to make sure I add that "s" at the end of a word or add the "d" at the end of another. The directors tell me, "you missed this or you missed that". I have to say my lines over and over again until I get it right. I want to ask them, "Can I speak Jackie Chan English?" I know all my fans know how I feel when it comes to working on English dialogue.[23]

Boer implies that he also has such an accent, only not in English or in Dutch, but in Chinese. The difficulty Jackie Chan reports to have with speaking the kind of English film directors request of him, Boer also experiences, only in Chinese. The comparison with Jackie Chan gives a mirror image of Boer's multilingual repertoire: L1 Cantonese interference in English as a lingua franca for Jackie Chan versus L1 Dutch interference in Cantonese as a regional lingua franca for Boer.

Boer further writes that he often speaks English with sales persons in Hong Kong, although mainly to irritate them. He cites a typical reaction to his inappropriate use of

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[22] Weitouhua is a rural dialect of, or related to, Cantonese spoken in the Hong Kong New Territories and parts of Shenzhen.

[23] See *http://jackiechan.com/blog/207150--So-Much-Dialogue-*.

English in Hong Kong as follows: 'Nee Koon Mat Lang Yeh'. The form he uses to spell this Cantonese phrase, meaning 'What are you saying?', makes use of the typical spelling conventions of Dutch. Compare this with its form as used in Hong Kong with traditional Chinese characters: 你 講 乜 嘢 話? and tone-marked Cantonese pinyin *éih góng mātyéh wá?* or Jyutyu pingjam *nei⁵ gong² mat¹yeh⁵ wa²?* as used in Hong Kong. Jen comments briefly that she doesn't speak Mandarin and has been raised 'more Cantonese and Hakka'. KiWi finally writes that she mainly speaks Cantonese (learned at the complementary school in Amsterdam) and a little Mandarin. About her level of Mandarin she says that she really can't manage it and that she wants to brush up her Mandarin before she makes the trip from Shanghai to Beijing.

On the basis of this interaction on *jonc.nl*, Chinese for Dutch Chinese youth appears to be heavily fragmented. Nobody simply speaks it or doesn't speak it. Everybody speaks some of it to some extent, and many evaluate their competence as insufficient, as not being up to the standards they wish for. The family and repeated visits to China account for an important amount of informal learning besides the Chinese complementary school. Many of them further report to be speaking with accents that they claim are 'indefinable', 'too civilized', or simply 'very bad'. The posters also indicate they have greater receptive than productive competence in Chinese and are more confident in spoken Chinese (especially Cantonese) than in reading and writing Chinese.

By contrast, if we turn to the form of their posts and extend the notion of accent also to writing, their Dutch is not noticeably accented for most of them, or only very lightly so for others. The only features we can ascribe to non-nativeness in Dutch are the word-internal capitalization or spacing of words such as 'WenZhounees' (Faraway), 'Gui Lin' (Jason and Jen), 'Wai Thou' (Eek), which, for aesthetic reasons perhaps, mark the character-segmentation in Chinese. Also the English spelling of Malaysia instead of the monolingual Dutch form *Maleisië* (Faraway) may be considered salient here, and possibly also constructions such as 'voor me zelf woon' instead of *op mezelf woon* (on my own) [Faraway], 'onze team' instead of *ons team* (our team) [Dennis], 'na China' instead of *naar China* (to China) [Eek], 'omdat we … ben gegaan' instead of *omdat we … zijn gegaan* (because/we have gone) [Jason]. However, in making such inferences, we find ourselves on dangerous terrain as we risk interpreting minor impurities that come with the informality and casualty of the genre of online discussion forums too *normatively* as instances of foreign accents.

6.4   Summary

This final analytical chapter explored the demographic changes described by the notion of superdiversity for articulations of ethnic and linguistic identity by Chinese-Dutch young people. It argued that multilingual/multicultural identity has reached a next level since we have entered the era of superdiversity. The members of Asian and Proud and JONC forums are Dutch citizens and they are fully participating in the Dutch society. Dutchness is something that they take for granted, but they also want to find their Chinese heritage of their ancestry, which is not something central to them. What we read in the Asian and Proud forum is evidence of truncated repertoires of their Chinese

language proficiency. The members discuss their Chinese language capacity in Dutch, not Chinese. In Chapter 4 (Section 4.3), we see that language teaching is intertwined with the teaching of national cultural heritage and as a means of reproducing cultural identity. The imposition of such identities from the teacher was contested by the students. The students in the complementary classroom have good command of Chinese and claim their Dutchness in Chinese. The online data in this chapter show that Chinese-Dutch members are ashamed of their limited capacity in Chinese. They are Dutch citizens, but it doesn't mean that they want get rid of their Chinese. Being Chinese in the Netherlands is far from a single, uniform category of identity, one simply belongs to. This chapter further explored the internal diversity within Chineseness as well as its functioning within (or its repositioning as) a larger Asian identity, and also focuses on its relation to Dutchness.

The dynamics of identity in the era of globalization and superdiversity have shifted from fairly stable identities with limited 'writing rights' (limited scope for acting out and developing alternative identities) to more complex repertoires of identity young people can actively perform by making use of all the channels and forums of expression that are currently available to them. Through the digital platforms, Chinese-Dutch youth stay tuned with sociolinguistic and more general political developments in China. They both assert and renounce their Chineseness, maintaining rather than resolving ambiguity and indeterminacy. The Web 2.0 with its possibilities to simultaneously retrieve and create content seems to facilitate the maintenance and development of such ambiguous and indeterminate translocal and translingual identities. These online discussion threads reveal the immense polycentricity of Chinese-Dutch language repertoires.

For the young adults on *jonc.nl* and the teenagers on the Asian and Proud community being Chinese invariably means knowing Dutch and sometimes means knowing very little or no Chinese at all (Nicholas, 2011). In these virtual spaces these young people are Dutch, but come together to jointly discuss and explore their Chinese belonging and heritage. As the JONC organization stated (*jonc.nl*, 'Over ons'), not their Chineseness but their Dutchness can be taken for granted. For Sara, Elianne and (and note their mainstream Dutch first names), growing up 'simply' Dutch is the common/normal situation and Chinese is something extra they have but also don't have. Chinese (indifferent forms) is in their family but did not fully pass onto their generation. Note the blushing and shamefaced emoticons in Lisanne's post and see how Sara blames herself and feels ashamed in front of her parents. These feelings of regret and shame have to do with their neglect for the moral obligation to maintain, something that is of course at least as much a family and community as an individual matter. Chineseness is a moving target. For these young people, it is something hard to aim at.

Conclusions and implications

7.1   Recapitulation

Let me by way of conclusion recapitulate what I intended to achieve in this book. I presented the sociolinguistic study that I carried out in and around a Chinese complementary school in Eindhoven in the south of the Netherlands as part of a larger HERA-funded research project that investigated discourses of inheritance and identities in and beyond educational institutions in four European multilingual contexts. The study took classrooms in the complementary school as a starting-point, but also included the Chinese community at large, offline as well as online. Based on socio-linguistic ethnographic off-online observations and through analysis of classroom talk, interviews, linguistic landscaping, and online discourses, I revealed identity issues and language ideologies of transnational Chinese migrants, revolving, notably, around the dislodging of the concept of 'Chineseness' in everyday self-presentation as well as in linguistic and discursive orientation. This dislodging is an effect of the global repositioning of the People's Republic of China in recent decades, and the new waves of PRC-Chinese diaspora it has generated as an overlay of an existent (largely Cantonese) diasporic community, creating new sociolinguistic, discursive and cultural complexities.

The thematic domain of this study is situated in the troublesome transition from 'traditional' models of identification towards models that emerge in the context of globalization and superdiversity. More specifically, by studying the contemporary identity construction of the Chinese diaspora in Eindhoven, this study documented and analyzed homogeneous stable notions such as Chinese in relation to the multiple and often seemingly paradoxical practices that are hidden behind this idea of stability. In understanding diasporic identities, homogeneity is often suggested as an effect of globalization. This study however shows that globalization processes create more diversification, at a variety of scale-levels interacting in a polycentric pattern, in which different 'centers' of normative authority (broadly, the 'center' of the older diasporic community versus that of the new PRC migrants) would have to be simultaneously or sequentially oriented to, in attempts to construct socially ratified modes of 'Chineseness'.

In the introductory chapter, I explained the theoretical framework employed in this study. The study of Chinese migration and Chinese communities is a study of superdiversity and globalization processes and effects. I have argued that the conceptual framework of polycentricity is a strong analytical structure for the study of language and identity repertoires in contemporary immigrant societies. Polycentricity therefore is the key notion deployed in this study. In doing so, I took complementary school classrooms as a starting-point, but triangulated the findings in the domain of

education to the Chinese community at large, including the virtual spaces of online communities, Chinese restaurants and businesses, linguistic landscaping as well as the private spaces of family life.

Chapter 2 outlined the background of the study and described the changing nature of the Chinese diaspora, i.e., the historic, demographic changes of Chinese migration worldwide and in particular Chinese diasporas in the Netherlands as well as the sociolinguistic transformations of the Chinese community in Eindhoven. Chapter 3 explained the sociolinguistic-ethnographic methodology this research deployed and documented the longitudinal fieldwork I carried out. The chapter concludes by going into researcher reflexivity.

The analytical Chapters 4, 5, and 6 described and analyzed the empirical data collected in the diverse spaces. Chapter 4 examined the polycentric nature of linguistic and cultural aspects of Chineseness in the normative space of a Chinese complementary school. The changing hierarchy of varieties in the Chinese language (from Cantonese to Putonghua) and the complex identity work performed by Chinese-Dutch youth in the complementary classroom are discussed; they demonstrate an ongoing shift, along with demographic, economic and political changes, in what counts as Chinese. Chapter 5 focused on the sociolinguistic and cultural aspect of Chineseness in the broader Chinese community. The language, culture and identity process in the school in Chapter 4 is strongly scaffolded by similar processes outside of the school. Thus, Chapter 5 engaged with data that documented the transitions in process within Chinese families and businesses, corroborating the dislodging patterns we already observed. Chapter 6 drew on data on two online discussion forums. Focusing on young people's identities in a peer-group environment, the chapter disentangles the present complexities of being, speaking and learning Chinese for young members of the 'older' diaspora in the Netherlands and explores the internal diversity within Chineseness and its functioning within, or repositioning as, a larger Asian identity as well as its relation to Dutch- or Europeanness.

7.2   Overview of outcomes

In Chapters 4 and 5, we saw how in the Chinese school and in the community at large a number of different versions of Chineseness were being played out and articulated, often in an uneasy and unfinished way, causing identity dilemmas for those involved. Towards the end of Chapter 5, we also saw the emergence of two complicating factors: the pressure from the Dutch society to articulate a recognizable Chineseness (templated on the 'old' diaspora), and the presence of the identity option of 'Asian' and 'cosmopolitan' as a way out of the dilemmatic either/or Chinese-Dutch and 'old' versus 'new' Chinese choices we previously encountered.

The complexity is outspoken for the traditional community that is facing enormous pressure not only to adjust to new forms of Chineseness, but also to Dutchness. Chinese newcomers, however, enter the Netherlands with a strong expectation of monocentric, i.e., PRC Chineseness. And this large body of newcomers essentially redefine the normative centers for the Chinese community.

They create the economic opportunities for those ('old', Cantonese) Chinese restaurateurs who are, consequently, prompted to change. The children of these restaurateurs are swept up in this recentering exercise towards this new PRC norm of Chineseness. However, this is not the only pressure in this field, because for the traditional community, both old and young, there is also Dutch society (a real factor both culturally, socially and economically), in which one needs to orient to a particular Chineseness, and in which Dutchness also operates as a real center. The restaurateurs still need to satisfy the taste of their customary Dutch clientele. And their children are often more fluent in Dutch than in any form of Chinese as we have seen in Chapter 6. The new demography of the Chinese diaspora thus complicates the identity work performed within the older community of immigrants. The tension between these two layers of Chineseness in the Netherlands was clearly presented in the empirical Chapters 4 to 6. The conflicts over the interpretation of *The song of a little brook* in Chapter 4 displayed these very tensions in the context of a high pressure learning environment: the school where young members of the traditional Chinese diaspora need to learn the old and new codes of Chineseness. The conflict between the teacher and students over the interpretation of the story here develops in Putonghua, but it involved crucial and conflicting issues of cultural and identity alignment. Thus, while the young Chinese diaspora students are becoming fluent in the linguistic emblem of their new Chineseness, i.e., Putonghua, this does not solve the identity complexity provoked by the very process of re-becoming a particular type of Chinese person. They are fluent enough in Putonghua to correct pronunciation 'errors' made by their teacher, but that does not make them less Dutch-Chinese than before.

The dimension of Dutchness does not come out of thin air. As we saw in Data example 5.5 of Tongtong being interviewed by a Dutch journalist, there are powerful popular and mainstream discourses involving stereotypical templates for the identity of immigrants in Dutch society. We also know that longtime residents in the Netherlands are conditioned by increasingly strict and forced trajectories of integration. The assimilationist dimension of integration (immigrants are expected to adopt the core features of Dutch social, cultural, and linguistic identity), is however joined by a paradoxical expectation of authenticity. The journalist who interviewed Tongtong expressed this expectation by focusing on Tongtong's traditional instrument, the pipa, which he saw as emblematic of 'genuine' Chineseness. Appreciation and recognition of typical Chineseness, expressed for instance in Chinese New Year celebrations, sits uneasily with strong institutional demands of cultural adjustment to the Dutch mainstream. Obviously, the pressure exerted by Chinese-Dutch parents on their children to realign themselves with the PRC, in view of future professional and economic success, creates almost unsolvable paradoxes for young people already profoundly integrated in Dutch society. Their response to these conflicting pressures is often extraordinarily confused, as we could see from their contribution to the Asian and Proud forum in Chapter 6. Or, as the name of that website already suggests, they can opt for an Asian and cosmopolitan identity that evades the dilemma of Dutchness or Chineseness.

The Chinese diaspora members investigated in the Netherlands are organizing complex identity work in multiple levels and domains. They do so *on shifting ground*: their main foci of orientation – the normative 'centers' of their identity work – are

shifting and changing rapidly and intensely. Consequently, we can see much of the phenomena we have detected in this research as forms of identity *adjustment* or *catching up*, by a heterogeneous, polycentric community to a surrounding world in which the centers are moving targets for the moment.

In the case of the Chinese diaspora in the Netherlands, the orientations towards their country of origin are particularly intriguing. The historical diaspora did not accept the People's Republic of China as a 'homeland'. The homeland was a *particular region* of China: in particular Guangdong and Hong Kong on the east and southeast coast, with Cantonese – along with traditional character writing and romanization – functioning, until very recently, as the lingua franca for the Dutch Chinese. The changing position and role of the PRC in the globalized world system, however, have produced important transformations in this respect, both material and ideological. Materially, the demography of the Chinese diaspora changed because of the influx of large numbers of PRC citizens entering their new environment in a variety of roles, as labor force (elite and working class), but also as foreign students, business associates and tourists. In addition to this, there is also an increased demand on the local Dutch labor market for direct business collaboration with the PRC, unmediated by Hong Kong. Ideologically, the growing confidence of the PRC as a superpower, and its strong insistence on pride and assertiveness regarding Chinese identity, have had strong transformational effects on the structure of the diaspora communities as evident in sociolinguistic, educational and culinary-economic practices. The Chinese diaspora is now a far more heterogeneous and stratified community than ever before, partly resident partly transitory, rich and poor, PRC and non-PRC. Sociolinguistically, this translates into an increased demand for Putonghua, the northern, Beijing variety of Chinese. The focal point for orientations regarding Chinese identity has shifted from the 'homeland' of the past to the 'nation-state' of the present and the future.

The way in which this shift from 'homeland' to 'nation-state' is effected differs from social domain to social domain. In the Chinese school context, we could see a language regime that emphasizes Putonghua-only in the classroom, notwithstanding the multilingualism before and after class hours; an emphasis on 'core' values and meanings belonging to the new PRC cultural canon: re-emphasis on Confucian values, 'hard work' and dedication to being a 'true' Chinese. We also see a general shift in the language learning options available to students, from only Cantonese and traditional characters in the 1980s over a transition period with more diversified language streams, including special Taiwanese classes with Mandarin and traditional characters and a Cantonese class, to Putonghua-only today. This language shift within Chinese has been almost complete when seen over the forty Chinese complementary schools in the Netherlands.

In the linguistic landscape, we saw how the shift towards a more PRC-focused recognizable identity leads to new forms of layered multilingualism, with 'old' (traditional characters and Jyutping) inscriptions gradually being complemented by new (simplified characters and Pinyin) inscriptions. And in restaurants, we observed how entrepreneurs change the menu or operate with double menus – one for the local Dutch clientele offering the 'old' *Chinees-Indisch* fusion dishes (*bami*, *nasi*, *kroepoek*), and another with new 'authentic' regional mainland Chinese and Hong Kong (*dim sum*) dishes to meet the demands of the new migrants and tourists. At the same time we see

new moments of Chinese-meets-Japanese fusion in the form of the increasingly popular *sushi* and *wok* restaurants, catering for a diverse clientele.

In the online contexts, we observed that youngsters articulate far more diverse orientations towards their Chineseness, and often express identity orientations towards multiple belongings, including Dutch, PRC-Chinese, regional-Chinese (e.g., Cantonese, Wenzhounese, Vietnamese), and pan-Asian. Online communities function as gathering places for Chinese and other Asian heritage youth to discuss and discover as well as (re)construct, in a friendly peer-to-peer environment, a differently experienced but shared sense of Dutch-Chineseness or Dutch-Asianness.

The dominant image we get from these contexts is that of intense polycentricity. Chinese people in the Netherlands organize their identity work in relation to a number of simultaneously occurring but context-specific 'centers' – Dutch, PRC, regional, age, gender, etc., identities. These different centers provoke differing orientations towards normative complexes – 'being adequate' as a Dutch-Chinese is a different thing in class from in an online forum environment, and in each of these spaces, different norms prevail and different openings and lines for legitimate identity work exist. Consequently, 'cross-over' moments, i.e., moments where fragments from various contexts meet and are blended, can and do lead to forms of contestation and conflict. Teachers are corrected by students, and students challenge fundamental (PRC) Chinese values contained in a reading task. Similarly, students themselves wrestle with the heterogeneity of their Chinese heritage – which now requires streamlining, or harmonizing, towards one particular set of emblematic features, i.e., those of the PRC. Evidence for this could be found in the variety of terms used to denote the Chinese language in student essays: an old vocabulary can be seen here to be in a stage of gradual transformation towards a new one.

One important reason we identified for the conflictual and complex nature of learning in these contexts is the background of the teachers themselves. These backgrounds included often painful and traumatic language shifts, a struggle with teaching resources, and a legacy of older teaching styles that may come into conflict with new and different teaching styles. The sociolinguistic biographies of teachers are complex and not without their problems, turning language teachers sometimes effectively into language learners, thus effacing the distance between themselves and their students required for the authority they are expected to articulate as teachers. The proficiency of certain teachers in the target language resources – Putonghua, simplified script, and Pinyin – is not markedly superior to that of some of their students. This too indicates the 'unfinished' character of the present situation of rapid language and identity shifts among this community.

In short, the Chinese diasporic context is not evolving in a vacuum, but is encapsulated in divergent processes under conditions that are both historically and synchronically exerting their influence. We can understand the synchronized reality only when we consider the complex mobility dynamic in which they are encapsulated.

7.3   Theoretical implications

These findings demand innovative forms of interpretation, as widespread metaphors of 'mixed identity', 'growing up in two cultures' etc. do not offer the precision required here. What we witness is a dynamic process, operating at a variety of levels and scales and in relation to a range of different foci, each of which is undergoing rapid transformation at present. We see how in this complex process judgments are continuously being made about specific, micro-hegemonic features of being and behavior (Blommaert & Varis, 2011), ranging from speech and accent all the way to objects, values and explicit acts of belonging. Since we are also addressing a heterogeneous community, part of which has been entrenched in Dutch society for generations while another part of it is transitory and non-resident (yet culturally and ideologically of increasing influence), the 'rules of the game' are also dissipated over different (and differently organized) units of the 'community' – which now receives scare quotes, because we best see the 'community' not as one social unit but as a polycentric complex that has the capacity to close itself down and focus on a limited range of identity targets, as well as to open itself up towards more heterogeneous and fluid forms of mixing and pluriform incorporation and belonging.

This too has consequences for our understanding of inheritance. Although we may see the Chinese school as a heritage school and consider that Chinese is taught as a language of cultural and linguistic heritage, it became obvious that Chinese is more than just that. Heritage in this context does not exclusively or primarily refer to something inherited *from the past*, but also to something *for the future*, as the language taught and learned is in many cases an actual break-away from the family's language background inherited from earlier generations. Migration trajectories itself are not the cause for this shift. Global economic and political developments transforming and redefining the position of China in the world are causing families and individuals to expand and rescale their language and identity repertories. The language and literacy practices I observed across a diverse range of settings in Eindhoven were characterized by communicative repertoires which were flexible and fluid, as multilingual young people made meaning with whatever linguistic resources came to hand – they performed complex and dynamic forms of 'languaging' in a wide variety of social groups.

The basic demographic changes superdiversity entails, urge us to revisit, deconstruct and reinvent many of our established assumptions about language, identity, ethnicity, culture, and communication (Arnout et al., 2016; Blommaert & Rampton, 2011). An ethnographic study such as the present one uses participants' voices as an analytical heuristic for finding and dealing with alternative understandings of language, ideology and ethnicity and thereby contributes to renewing our theoretical and conceptual apparatus for analyzing and understanding the world in its superdiverse complexity. The study of Chinese diasporas is a study of globalization and superdiversity processes and effects both 'up there' and 'down here'. There is no way in which we can look at any community without keeping the processes and effects of globalization in mind. Globalization is not sort of given in itself, but can only be understood on the basis of different modes of mobility that are being used and blended in social space, which leads to what we call polycentricity.

Polycentricity proceeds at different speeds and involves different histories. Therefore, when investigating polycentricity in diasporic communities, we need to keep in mind that ethnographic synchrony, i.e., the observed ethnographic here and now, is always made up of different historicities. Also synchrony in other words is a mixed, i.e., a polycentric thing. In the present study, what I have observed and analyzed is exactly how old histories try to cope with new phenomena and how slow histories – those of an 'old' diaspora community gradually being entrenched in Dutch society – interact, often uneasily, with more rapid historical processes – those of a highly diversified new Chinese diaspora entering the social, cultural and economic spheres of the older one. The menus in Chapter 5 are an excellent example: the old history of *Chinees-Indisch* restaurants having their traditional menus for their traditional clientele printed like they used to do probably since these restaurants first opened, is recently undergoing a sudden change reflected in new dishes and new, temporarily handwritten menus for a new clientele – a rapid development, involving flashes in the communities' surface. The diasporic community has shifted from a static and totalized entity to a dynamic and mobile one in the context and as a reflection of processes of globalization and superdiversity that (continue to) characterize contemporary societies. Chineseness is a moving target, but it moves at varying speeds. The three fundamental elements: globalization, superdiversity, and polycentricity all have to be taken into consideration when studying diasporic communities. The present study is only a beginning.

A final theoretical implication for researching diasporic communities is methodological and has to do with attention to their infrastructures, more specifically the importance of online and offline infrastructures and their interactions. Here again, the complex dynamic of polycentricity is reflected in the interaction of the online and offline worlds in which communities and individual people participate, and in which very different practices can be performed, and very different effects can be achieved. We arrive at a sort of inevitable truism here: communities are no longer observable only in offline space. We need to consider and include their online infrastructures for social and cultural life, for – as our analysis of the Asian and Proud data showed – very different 'groups' emerge there, and create yet again new centers of normative authority guiding new (and in our data, surprising) behavioral templates. We would never be able to understand a community if we only look at the offline context. The Chinese students that I observed in complementary classrooms and the Chinese youth that I followed online might well be the same people, yet they show different profiles, attitudes and ambitions online and offline, although still being part of the same global, superdiverse and polycentric diasporic community.

I can summarize my own conclusions in the form of three recommendations for addressing similar issues in future research:

1   we can only study communities as polycentric, which has as an implication that identities can no longer be considered fixed categories;

2   we can only ethnographically observe communities in synchrony, but in doing so we have to be aware of the layers of diachronic historicities that shape their current position and profile;

3   we can only observe and analyze communities by looking at both online and offline
    infrastructures in order to be able to understand how community members
    organize their lives.

What I have shown in this book is that Chineseness is a moving target. In superdiverse
societies, there is no such thing as a monolithic identity. Identities are on the move.
The strong ideologies of a monocentric identity, an identity of stability, purity and
perfection are losing their currency. In the online Asian and Proud forum in Chapter 6,
Chinese-Dutch youngsters use online varieties of Dutch reflecting very strong
deviations from the language norms promoted and fostered in schools but strongly
normative in Dutch 'out-of-school' youth communities. They use them while discussing
the often uncomfortable norms and expectations attending their 'Chineseness', 'Asian-
ness', and 'Dutchness'. These online discussion threads convincingly reveal the
immense polycentricity of Chinese-Dutch language repertoires.
    The dynamics of identity formation in the era of globalization and superdiversity
have shifted from fairly stable identities to more complex identity repertoires that
people can actively perform by making use of all the offline and online modes, channels
and forums of expression that are currently available to them. Under superdiversity we
are confronted with a diversification of diversity: relations between ethnicity, citizen-
ship, residence, origin, language, profession, etc. have become more complex, more
dynamic and less predictable than ever before, and as a consequence there is a need to
revisit, deconstruct and reinvent our theoretical toolkit to analyze language, culture,
and identity.

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Appendix

bold	: loud
×××	: inaudible word(s)
[ ]	: transcriber's comments
italics	: Dutch
<u>underlined</u>	: English

Chineseness as a Moving Target:
Changing Infrastructures of the Chinese Diaspora
in the Netherlands

This book is a sociolinguistic-ethnographic study on identities. It examines contemporary identity making processes in the Chinese diaspora in the city of Eindhoven, the Netherlands. The study asks how such processes, that appear in Chinese diasporas all over the world, can be understood against the background of changing migration patterns as a result of large scale social-economic transformation in the People's Republic of China, and under current conditions of globalization and superdiversity.

It is part of a larger European project entitled *Investigating discourses of inheritance and identities in four multilingual European settings* (IDII4MES). The empirical material consists of data collected in the Chinese complementary school in Eindhoven, the family, Chinese businesses, and the online context. Through multi-site ethnography, (participant) observations, interviews, document analysis and linguistic landscaping are conducted.

The book is organized in seven chapters. The first chapter sketches the theoretical framework employed in this study. The study of Chinese migration and Chinese communities is a study of superdiversity and globalization processes and effects. It is argued that the conceptual framework of polycentricity is a strong analytical structure for the study of language and identity repertoires in contemporary immigrant societies. Polycentricity, superdiversity, and metapragmatics are the key notions deployed in this study.

Chapter 2 describes the overall IDII4MES project, outlines the background of the study and the changing nature of the Chinese diaspora, i.e., the historic, demographic changes of Chinese migration worldwide and in particular Chinese diasporas in the Netherlands as well as the sociolinguistic transformations of the Chinese community in Eindhoven. In the Dutch project, the various ways in which changing Chinese communities in the Netherlands engage with problems of cultural transmission were studied, in which some sub-communities re-engage with a lost heritage, while other subgroups attempt to keep the chain of transmission unbroken in spite of residence abroad. Such problems emerge in a context of societal superdiversity, in which traditional and new immigrant groups engage with the dominant sociocultural environment of the host society. Language and literacy are key ingredients to such processes. In such contexts, community schools are critical loci for the transmission of heritage. That is where the fieldwork of the study begins.

Chapter 3 explains the sociolinguistic-ethnographic methodology this research deployed and documents the longitudinal fieldwork. Ethnography by definition

implicates the body of the ethnographer, and the ethnographer's position in the ethnographic study is to act as a tool of data collection. The unique multi-faceted approach of 360° ethnography allows us to capture the changing conditions of Chinese diasporas from every angle, e.g., top-down, bottom-up, macro social changes reflected in micro individual discourses, and to connect the present to the past. It argues that ethnography has to be seen as a full intellectual program stemming from anthropology. Language is seen as a socially and culturally embedded resource to be used by Man in social life. The chapter concludes by going into researcher reflexivity.

The analytical Chapters 4, 5, and 6 describe and analyze the empirical data collected in the diverse spaces. Chapter 4 examines the polycentric nature of linguistic and cultural aspects of Chineseness in the normative space of a Chinese complementary school. The changing hierarchy of varieties in the Chinese language (from Cantonese to Putonghua) and the complex identity work performed by Chinese-Dutch youth in the complementary classroom are discussed. They demonstrate an ongoing shift, along with demographic, economic, and political changes, in what counts as Chinese. The articulation of the diverse and subtle shades of Chineseness through the exploration of 'small and fleeting' moments in the classroom, i.e., the account of the students' reactions to their teacher's pronunciation of Putonghua and the low-key teacher-student tussles over the oral sub-text of *The song of a little brook* provide an understanding of the complex ways in which Chineseness is taken up by members of the diasporic communities involved, with implications for how the label of 'overseas Chinese' should be construed.

Chapter 5 focuses on the sociolinguistic and cultural aspect of Chineseness in the broader Chinese community. The language, culture, and identity process in the school in Chapter 4 is strongly scaffolded by similar processes outside of the school. The chapter engages with data that documented the transitions in progress within Chinese families and businesses, corroborating the dislodging patterns we already observed. It shows the changing hierarchy of Chinese language varieties, Chinese language ideologies as well as the identity work that young people have to deal with in the Chinese community and in the Dutch society at large. It draws on the concept of metapragmatics addressed in the previous chapter and the concept of family language policy. When it comes to language teaching and learning in a diasporic context, Putonghua coupled with simplified script has become the norm both in the school context as well as family and professional contexts. However, other Chinese language varieties such as Cantonese and Wenzhounese are still being used in the various domains. The chapter also discusses an economic rationality to the shift towards Putonghua and mainland culinary preferences: the restaurateurs need to grab the business opportunity offered by the scope of mainland Chinese customers currently characterizing the diaspora. In the linguistic landscape, it underscores how the shift towards a more PRC-focused recognizable identity leads to new forms of layered multilingualism. In restaurants, we observe how entrepreneurs change the menu or operate with double menus.

Chapter 6 draws on data on two online discussion forums, the Dutch-medium teenage Asian and Proud community on the social network site Hyves, and the adolescent platform *jonc.nl*. The chapter extends what we have observed in the Chinese complementary school, the Chinese community and the broader Dutch society to

online contexts. The chapter disentangles the present complexities of being, speaking, and learning Chinese for young members of the 'older' diaspora in the Netherlands and explores the internal diversity within Chineseness and its functioning within, or repositioning as, a larger Asian identity as well as its relation to Dutchness or Europeanness. Theoretically, this chapter builds on a view that multilingualism should not be seen as a collection of countable 'languages' that users control, but rather as a complex of specific semiotic resources. The resources are concrete accents, registers, genres, language varieties.

The final chapter summarizes the whole study and brings three important theoretical implications for addressing similar issues in future research: (1) we can only study communities as polycentric, which has as an implication that identities can no longer be considered fixed categories; (2) we can only ethnographically observe communities in synchrony, but in doing so we have to be aware of the layers of diachronic historicities that shape their current position and profile; (3) we can only observe and analyze communities by looking at both online and offline infrastructures.

The outcomes of the in-depth analyses of the wide range of ethnographic on and off-line data in this book reveal identity issues and language ideologies of transnational Chinese migrants around the dislodging of the concept of 'Chineseness' in everyday self-presentation as well as in linguistic and discursive orientation. Where current literature often states that diasporic identities show homogenization as an effect of globalization, this book shows that globalization processes create more diversification, at a variety of scale-levels interacting in a polycentric pattern.

Tilburg Dissertations in Culture Studies

This list includes the doctoral dissertations that through their authors and/or supervisors are related to the Department of Culture Studies at the Tilburg University School of Humanities. The dissertations cover the broad field of contemporary sociocultural change in domains such as language and communication, performing arts, social and spiritual ritualization, media and politics.

1   Sander Bax. *De taak van de schrijver. Het poëticale debat in de Nederlandse literatuur (1968-1985)*. Supervisors: Jaap Goedegebuure and Odile Heynders, 23 May 2007.

2   Tamara van Schilt-Mol. *Differential item functioning en itembias in de cito-eindtoets basisonderwijs. Oorzaken van onbedoelde moeilijkheden in toetsopgaven voor leerlingen van Turkse en Marokkaanse afkomst*. Supervisors: Ton Vallen and Henny Uiterwijk, 20 June 2007.

3   Mustafa Güleç. *Differences in Similarities: A Comparative Study on Turkish Language Achievement and Proficiency in a Dutch Migration Context*. Supervisors: Guus Extra and Kutlay Yagmur, 25 June 2007.

4   Massimiliano Spotti. *Developing Identities: Identity Construction in Multicultural Primary Classrooms in The Netherlands and Flanders*. Supervisors: Sjaak Kroon and Guus Extra, 23 November 2007.

5   A. Seza Doğruöz. *Synchronic Variation and Diachronic Change in Dutch Turkish: A Corpus Based Analysis*. Supervisors: Guus Extra and Ad Backus, 12 December 2007.

6   Daan van Bel. *Het verklaren van leesgedrag met een impliciete attitudemeting*. Supervisors: Hugo Verdaasdonk, Helma van Lierop and Mia Stokmans, 28 March 2008.

7   Sharda Roelsma-Somer. *De kwaliteit van Hindoescholen*. Supervisors: Ruben Gowricharn and Sjaak Braster, 17 September 2008.

8   Yonas Mesfun Asfaha. *Literacy Acquisition in Multilingual Eritrea: A Comparative Study of Reading across Languages and Scripts*. Supervisors: Sjaak Kroon and Jeanne Kurvers, 4 November 2009.

9   Dong Jie. *The Making of Migrant Identities in Beijing: Scale, Discourse, and Diversity*. Supervisors: Jan Blommaert and Sjaak Kroon, 4 November 2009.

10   Elma Nap-Kolhoff. *Second Language Acquisition in Early Childhood: A Longitudinal Multiple Case Study of Turkish-Dutch Children*. Supervisors: Guus Extra and Kutlay Yagmur, 12 May 2010.

11 Maria Mos. *Complex Lexical Items*. Supervisors: Antal van den Bosch, Ad Backus and Anne Vermeer, 12 May 2010.

12 António da Graça. *Etnische zelforganisaties in het integratieproces. Een case study in de Kaapverdische gemeenschap in Rotterdam*. Supervisor: Ruben Gowricharn, 8 October 2010.

13 Kasper Juffermans. *Local Languaging: Literacy Products and Practices in Gambian Society*. Supervisors: Jan Blommaert and Sjaak Kroon, 13 October 2010.

14 Marja van Knippenberg. *Nederlands in het Middelbaar Beroepsonderwijs. Een casestudy in de opleiding Helpende Zorg*. Supervisors: Sjaak Kroon, Ton Vallen and Jeanne Kurvers, 14 December 2010.

15 Coosje van der Pol. *Prentenboeken lezen* als literatuur. *Een structuralistische benadering van het concept 'literaire competentie' voor kleuters*. Supervisor: Helma van Lierop, 17 December 2010.

16 Nadia Eversteijn-Kluijtmans. *"All at Once" – Language Choice and Codeswitching by Turkish-Dutch Teenagers*. Supervisors: Guus Extra and Ad Backus, 14 January 2011.

17 Mohammadi Laghzaoui. *Emergent Academic Language at Home and at School. A Longitudinal Study of 3- to 6-Year-Old Moroccan Berber Children in the Netherlands*. Supervisors: Sjaak Kroon, Ton Vallen, Abderrahman El Aissati and Jeanne Kurvers, 9 September 2011.

18 Sinan Çankaya. *Buiten veiliger dan binnen: in- en uitsluiting van etnische minderheden binnen de politieorganisatie*. Supervisors: Ruben Gowricharn and Frank Bovenkerk, 24 October 2011.

19 Femke Nijland. *Mirroring Interaction. An Exploratory Study into Student Interaction in Independent Working*. Supervisors: Sjaak Kroon, Sanneke Bolhuis, Piet-Hein van de Ven and Olav Severijnen, 20 December 2011.

20 Youssef Boutachekourt. *Exploring Cultural Diversity. Concurrentievoordelen uit multiculturele strategieën*. Supervisors: Ruben Gowricharn and Slawek Magala, 14 March 2012.

21 Jef Van der Aa. *Ethnographic Monitoring. Language, Narrative and Voice in a Carribbean Classroom*. Supervisors: Jan Blommaert and Sjaak Kroon, 8 June 2012.

22 Özel Bağcı. *Acculturation Orientations of Turkish Immigrants in Germany*. Supervisors: Guus Extra and Kutlay Yagmur, 3 October 2012.

23 Arnold Pannenborg. *Big Men Playing Football. Money, Politics and Foul Play in the African Game*. Supervisor: Wouter van Beek, 12 October 2012.

24 Ico Maly, *N-VA. Analyse van een politieke ideologie*. Supervisors: Jan Blommaert and Sjaak Kroon, 23 October 2012.

25 Daniela Stoica. *Dutch and Romanian Muslim Women Converts: Inward and Outward Transformations, New Knowledge Perspectives and Community Rooted Narratives*. Supervisors: Enikö Vincze and Jan Jaap de Ruiter, 30 October 2012.

26   Mary Scott. *A Chronicle of Learning: Voicing the Text*. Supervisors: Jan Blommaert, Sjaak Kroon and Jef Van der Aa, 27 May 2013.

27   Stasja Koot. *Dwelling in Tourism. Power and Myth Amongst Bushmen in Southern Africa*. Supervisor: Wouter van Beek, 23 October 2013.

28   Miranda Vroon-van Vugt. *Dead Man Walking in Endor. Narrative Mental Spaces and Conceptual Blending in 1 Samuel 28*. Supervisor: Ellen van Wolde, 19 December 2013.

29   Sarali Gintsburg. *Formulaicity in Jbala Poetry*. Supervisors: Ad Backus, Sjaak Kroon and Jan Jaap de Ruiter, 11 February 2014.

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