



UNIVERSITY OF
BIRMINGHAM

**HETEROGLOSSIA, IDEOLOGY, AND IDENTITY IN A BIRMINGHAM CHINESE
COMPLEMENTARY SCHOOL: A LINGUISTIC ETHNOGRAPHY**

By

JING HUANG

A thesis submitted to the University of Birmingham

For the degree of

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

School of Education

College of Social Sciences

University of Birmingham

July 2016

UNIVERSITY OF
BIRMINGHAM

University of Birmingham Research Archive

e-theses repository

This unpublished thesis/dissertation is copyright of the author and/or third parties. The intellectual property rights of the author or third parties in respect of this work are as defined by The Copyright Designs and Patents Act 1988 or as modified by any successor legislation.

Any use made of information contained in this thesis/dissertation must be in accordance with that legislation and must be properly acknowledged. Further distribution or reproduction in any format is prohibited without the permission of the copyright holder.

ABSTRACT

This thesis presents a linguistic ethnographic case study on a large Chinese complementary school (CCS) in Birmingham, England. Guided by Bakhtin's theory of *heteroglossia*, the study investigates multilingual practices of adult participants in and around the school, focusing on the changing constructions of language ideology, Chinese teachers' professional identity and the ethnic identification of Chineseness. It documents the impact of globalisation on the shifting relations among Chinese varieties and English in the Chinese diaspora. The 10-month fieldwork for the study was conducted in 2013/14 academic year, with observations and interviews as dominant methods for data collection. Main findings are: (1) an ideological ecology including 'separate bilingualism', 'translanguaging', 'a hegemony of Putonghua', and 'a preferred school-wide monolingualism' is dynamically constructed in the school. 'Language as pride' and 'Language as profit' are simultaneously in play leading to the dynamic ecology; (2) Chinese teachers' professional identities are shaped by the changing structure of Chinese diaspora, the shifting power balance among different Chinese varieties and English, and teachers' own biographical trajectories of settlement into English society; (3) practices in CCS context reflect an evolving ethnic identification of diasporic Chineseness which 'de-freezes' from a cultural heritage affiliated purely with the past and the national homeland.

DEDICATION

This thesis is dedicated to Shang-xi, Michelle and Melinda

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Firstly I owe a debt of gratitude to the participants who took part in this research. Without their enthusiasm and contribution this thesis would not have been possible. I am particularly grateful to the head teachers and the key participants who gave their time and trust so generously during my fieldwork. I thank the teachers, parents and children in the researched school for their friendliness and their willingness to share their stories with me.

I would like to express my sincerest gratitude to my supervisor, Professor Angela Creese. Her immense professional knowledge, critical engagement and insightful comments have guided me through the journey of completing my PhD. Her wisdom, warm personality and continuous encouragement have also led me to achieve personally and academically more than I thought I could. I am deeply grateful to her for her supervision.

This study could not have been carried out without the financial support provided by the China Scholarship Council and the University of Birmingham. I thank them for awarding me the 3-year Li-Si-Guang Scholarship.

I am also indebted to my family back in China and here in England for their love and support during my study. Thanks to my father and my sister in China for their emotional and practical support. My husband and daughters also deserve a big thank you for their understandings, patience, support and love, for which I will be forever grateful. A special thank you also goes to my friends Bernard and Darshana for their hearty help during the past few years.

A word of gratitude also goes to all the staff and postgraduate researchers I have met in the School of Education. I like to particularly thank Professor Marilyn Martin-Jones for her kind

encouragement during my thesis-writing stage, and Helen Joinson for all her prompt advice regarding administrative procedures. I want to express my gratitude to my fellow doctoral researchers – Soyoung, Ildegrada, Ricky, Onder, Nahoko, Kubra and Rosie – with whom I have many lively discussions and relaxing chats. They made the shared study room an enjoyable working place during the past three and a half years.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

| | Page |
|---|-------------|
| Table of contents..... | vii |
| Figures and tables..... | xii |
| Abbreviations..... | xiii |
| Transcription conventions..... | xiv |
| | |
| Chapter 1: Introduction..... | 1 |
| 1.1 Introduction..... | 1 |
| 1.2 Research context..... | 2 |
| 1.3 Research questions..... | 6 |
| 1.4 Nature of the study..... | 8 |
| 1.5 Structure of the thesis..... | 9 |
| | |
| Chapter 2: Literature Review..... | 10 |
| 2.1 Introduction..... | 10 |
| 2.2 A sociolinguistics under a heteroglossic lens..... | 12 |
| 2.2.1 The dialogism of ‘pride’ and ‘profit’..... | 13 |
| 2.2.2 Indexicality | 19 |
| 2.2.3 Chronotopes..... | 24 |
| 2.2.4 Heteroglossia in bi/multilingual educational settings..... | 28 |
| 2.3 Globalisation, Chinese diaspora and Chinese complementary school..... | 33 |
| 2.3.1 Globalisation and superdiversity..... | 34 |
| 2.3.2 The Chinese diasporic community | 40 |
| ‘Chineseness’ | 43 |
| 2.3.3 The Chinese complementary school (CCS) | 45 |

| | | |
|-------------------|--|-----------|
| | <i>Language ideologies in CCS</i> | 49 |
| | <i>CCS teachers' professional identities</i> | 52 |
| 2.4 | Conclusion..... | 57 |
| | | |
| Chapter 3: | Methodology | 59 |
| 3.1 | Introduction..... | 59 |
| 3.2 | Research design | 62 |
| 3.2.1 | A linguistic ethnography..... | 63 |
| 3.2.2 | Research questions..... | 68 |
| 3.3 | Research context | 72 |
| 3.4 | Access and consent..... | 82 |
| 3.5 | Research participants | 90 |
| 3.5.1 | The school as a holistic research case..... | 90 |
| 3.5.2 | Four teachers as key participants..... | 91 |
| 3.5.2.1 | Ruby..... | 93 |
| 3.5.2.2 | Linda..... | 96 |
| 3.5.2.3 | Steve..... | 100 |
| 3.5.2.4 | Paul..... | 103 |
| 3.6 | Data collection..... | 108 |
| 3.6.1 | Three phases of field work in the school..... | 111 |
| 3.6.1.1 | School-wide observation..... | 113 |
| 3.6.1.2 | Audio-recorded observation in four key teachers' classrooms..... | 114 |
| 3.6.1.3 | Audio-recorded and ethnographic interviews..... | 117 |
| 3.6.2 | Fieldnotes and research progress record..... | 121 |
| 3.6.3 | Questionnaire and document collection..... | 129 |
| 3.6.4 | Participant observation of school events out of the school site..... | 130 |
| 3.7 | Data analysis..... | 132 |
| 3.7.1 | Preparation for data analysis..... | 133 |

| | | |
|--|--|------------|
| 3.7.2 | Data analysis procedure..... | 135 |
| 3.7.2.1 | The mini case studies..... | 135 |
| 3.7.2.2 | Field notes analysis..... | 136 |
| 3.7.2.3 | Analysis on interview data..... | 139 |
| 3.7.2.4 | Analysis on other semiotic data..... | 140 |
| 3.8 | Ethical considerations..... | 141 |
| 3.9 | Conclusion..... | 147 |
| Chapter 4: Language Ideologies in CCS..... | | 150 |
| 4.1 | Introduction..... | 150 |
| 4.2 | Language ideologies around bilingualism: Chinese and English..... | 152 |
| 4.2.1. | <i>‘Chinese only’</i> and translanguaging..... | 153 |
| 4.2.2 | Heritage and utilisation..... | 165 |
| 4.3 | Language ideologies around Chinese varieties: Cantonese and Putonghua..... | 171 |
| 4.3.1 | <i>‘It is different now’</i> –Facing the change..... | 172 |
| 4.3.2 | <i>‘Speak Putonghua!’</i> -Hegemony of standard Chinese variety..... | 176 |
| 4.4 | A preferred school-wide monolingualism for ethnicity construction | 180 |
| 4.5 | Conclusion..... | 183 |
| Chapter 5: Teachers’ Professional Identities..... | | 186 |
| 5.1 | Introduction..... | 186 |
| 5.2 | ‘Service provider’, ‘gardener’ or ‘guide’ – the metaphors..... | 188 |
| 5.2.1 | The service provider..... | 188 |
| 5.2.2 | The gardener..... | 192 |
| 5.2.3 | The guide..... | 195 |
| 5.3 | Proficiency of Putonghua and Kerry’s professional identity..... | 198 |
| 5.4 | The translanguagers’ flexible professional identities..... | 202 |
| 5.4.1 | Linda as ‘老师 [Teacher]’, ‘妈妈 [Mum]’ and ‘我 [I]’..... | 203 |

| | | |
|--|---|------------|
| 5.4.2 | Ruby the ‘new speaker’ | 206 |
| 5.5 | Anxiety, authenticity, and Steve’s teacher professional identity..... | 211 |
| 5.6 | Conclusion..... | 219 |
| Chapter 6: Around the Chinese Complementary School..... | | 221 |
| 6.1 | Introduction | 221 |
| 6.2 | School as a created community of intersections..... | 224 |
| 6.2.1 | The socio-cultural..... | 225 |
| 6.2.2 | The economic..... | 233 |
| 6.2.3 | The political..... | 238 |
| 6.3 | A new Chineseness in superdiversity..... | 242 |
| 6.3.1 | The changing..... | 245 |
| 6.3.2 | The distinction..... | 248 |
| 6.3.3 | The mixing..... | 251 |
| 6.3.4 | A new Chineseness in superdiversity..... | 256 |
| 6.4 | Conclusion..... | 261 |
| Chapter 7: Conclusion..... | | 263 |
| 7.1 | Introduction..... | 263 |
| 7.2 | Answering the research questions..... | 263 |
| 7.2.1 | What language ideologies are constructed, negotiated and developed by the adult participants in the Chinese complementary school?..... | 264 |
| 7.2.2 | How do Chinese language teachers perform and negotiate their professional identities in complementary school teaching practices?..... | 266 |
| 7.2.3 | How do local multilingual practices reflect the ethnic identification of ‘Chineseness’ in and around the Chinese complementary school?..... | 268 |
| 7.3 | Contributions of the study..... | 269 |
| 7.3.1 | Contribution to theory and methodology..... | 270 |

| | | |
|------------------------|--|------------|
| 7.3.2 | Contribution to the development of CCS: practice and pedagogy..... | 272 |
| 7.4 | Final reflections..... | 275 |
| References..... | | 278 |
| Appendices..... | | 293 |

FIGURES AND TABLES

| Figures | | Page |
|----------------|---|-------------|
| Figure 3.1 | 2011 Census: Population by Ethnic group – Birmingham, 2001 and 2011..... | 75 |
| Figure 3.2 | Linguistic resources used on my first meeting with two head teachers..... | 85 |

| Tables | | Page |
|---------------|---|-------------|
| Table 3.1 | Profiles of 4 key participants..... | 92 |
| Table 3.2 | Key teacher Linda’s classroom routine..... | 98 |
| Table 3.3 | Summary of data collected from the school..... | 109 |
| Table 3.4 | Three phases of field work within the school..... | 112 |
| Table 3.5 | A sample of field work progress record..... | 126 |
| Table 4.1 | Brief profiles of all 8 Cantonese teachers..... | 156 |
| Table 6.1 | The meeting of ‘Creating a New Chinese Voice in the West Midlands’..... | 243 |

ABBREVIATIONS

| | |
|----------------|---|
| CCS | Chinese Complementary School |
| The CCS | The researched Chinese Complementary School |
| LE | Linguistic Ethnography |
| LI | Language Ideology |
| TPI | Teacher's Professional Identity |
| CTPI | Chinese Teacher's Professional Identity |
| L1 | First Language |
| L2 | Second language |

TRANSCRIPTION CONVENTIONS

| | |
|-------------------|--|
| [<i>italic</i>] | English translation of utterances in Chinese |
| (text) | Contextual information about the interaction |
| CAPITAL | Utterance in a louder voice |
| { <u>text</u> } | Indication of the specific Chinese variety used in the utterance |
| (...) | Part of transcription omitted from extract |
| (@@@) | Unable to transcribe |
| (2.0) (3.0) | Seconds of pause |
| A: [text | |
| B: [text | Simultaneous utterances |
| A: text = | |
| B: = text | Latched utterances by two speakers |

Chapter 1

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Introduction

This research is a sociolinguistic study with a critical ethnographic approach on a large Chinese complementary school (CCS) in Birmingham, England. Viewing ‘multilingualism not simply as a product of migration but as a critical part of the process of constructing the diaspora discourses and identities’ (Li, 2016:1), this study investigates the local multilingual practices of teachers and other adult participants within and around the CCS, focusing on how changing constructions of ideology and identity are being reflected in local multilingual practices. Rooted in the interpretative tradition, the research takes an epistemological stance of seeing Chinese diaspora and the CCS in globalisation as intrinsically ‘heteroglossic’ (Bakhtin, 1981a, 1981b, 1986) with both internally and externally evolving complexity. To investigate this heteroglossia in CCS context, Linguistic Ethnography (LE) with the emic/etic dialectic has been adopted as the research methodology to collect and analyse data. The study documents the impact of globalisation on the changing status of Chinese varieties (Putonghua and Cantonese) and English in the Chinese diasporic context, presenting a description and interpretation of the reflection of such changes in local CCS practices.

In this chapter, I first provide a brief description of Chinese complementary schools in the UK and a rationale for conducting the research in Birmingham, England in section 1.2. In

section 1.3 I outline the research questions that this study seeks to answer. The following section 1.4 is to address the nature of this study. At last the structure of the thesis will be signposted in section 1.5.

1.2 Research context

Complementary schools have a long history in Britain (Creese and Martin, 2006; Li, 2006; Francis, Archer and Mau, 2010). Initially they were formed by the Black and Muslim communities to maintain their heritage languages, cultures, religions, and tackling racism in the 1950s and 1960s (Li, 2006; Francis, Archer and Mau, 2010; Li, 2011b). According to the National Resource Centre for Supplementary Education, there are over 3000 such schools registered across Britain (Francis, Archer and Mau, 2010). These schools usually have been established in result of anxieties over the potential loss of community languages and cultural knowledge over generations (Lytra and Martin, 2010). As a supplementation to mainstream education, these community-based language and culture schools usually run sessions outside the hours of mainstream schools (e.g. a few hours on a weekend morning or afternoon), contributing both to heritage language and culture educational achievements of students coming from minority communities, and to the negotiation of their ethnic identity (Creese and Martin, 2006; Creese et al. 2006; Archer and Francis, 2007; Li and Wu, 2009; Blackledge and Creese, 2010). They serve as important educational sites for the acquisition of minority linguistic, cultural, and literacy knowledge; as well as unique social spaces for minority ethnic identification. Traditionally, ‘ethnicity emphasis’ and ‘heritage inheritance’ are the two main features categorising these schools from other educational contexts (Mau et al. 2009).

The Chinese complementary schools (CCSs) form one group of these minority educational institutions with all of the above characteristics. Teachers in these schools are usually bilingual Chinese immigrants with or without previous educational working experience. There is rarely specific training programme for these teachers before they step into the bilingual language classroom (Li and Wu, 2009; Mau et al. 2009). Their pedagogical practices are mainly affected by their personal life experiences and language ideologies on bi/multilingualism. Although in recent years some of the big Chinese complementary schools may receive support from the home countries (e.g. free textbooks) and the local government (e.g. registration as charity for tax exemption), on the whole there still is a lack of awareness of CCSs in both mainstream school educators and the general public.

Due to historical and political reasons, most of the early Chinese complementary schools in the UK were originally set up with only *Cantonese* Chinese (as one of the most influential dialects with speakers mainly live in the South-eastern Province called Guangdong and the Hong Kong Special administrative Region in China) being the targeted Chinese variety (Li, 2006, 2013). In the last two decades, because of the economic growth in Mainland China and the increasing population of Chinese immigrants from Mainland China to Britain, *Putonghua* (literally means ‘common speech’ which is the standard official language in P. R. China, in many discussions it is replaced by another term, *Mandarin*, for the same variety) has become the major target variety in most of the Chinese complementary schools, especially in the ‘new’ CCSs established during the recent two decades. Because Putonghua is fast gaining currency in Chinese diasporas and CCSs, new issues about the complexities of different modalities in teaching Chinese in CCSs are raised (Li, 2013). For example, most of the originally Cantonese-only CCSs now have switched into teaching both Putonghua and

Cantonese as the target Chinese varieties. The researched school in this study stands as one of these well-established schools.

Furthermore, recent research and discussions also suggest that CCSs are not only just educational and socialising spaces, but also politically important. Li (2006, 2013), for instance, states that the Chinese school community in England is constantly evolving due to such factors as population make-up, social-political events and global markets changes. The Chinese complementary schools are seen to constitute an important support mechanism for the diasporic existence of the Chinese community in the UK, maintaining its connections with China and Chinese popular culture and the communications between different generations (Li, 2006, 2013; Francis et al., 2009; Li and Zhu 2013a).

In this study, CCS is viewed as a research context featured as ‘dynamic, interactively accomplished, and intrinsic to communication across time and space’ (Blommaert, 2010; Rampton et al. 2015). This conceptualisation of CCS as a dynamic research context corresponds with Gumperz’s earlier call for ‘dynamic views of social environments where history, economic forces and interactive processes as such combine either to create or to eliminate social distinctions’ (1982:29). The CCS in this study is seen as one of the ‘small social conjunctions shaped by all the vertical and horizontal forces in the mechanism of society’ (Gumperz, 1982:29). In my view, this ‘small social conjunction’ of CCS is by nature heteroglossic: It is a multi-layered, multidimensional and multimodal social environment where the intersections of historical, economic, political forces dynamically shapes (and also is being discursively reflected in) the local multilingual practices. Under the heteroglossic lens, the Chinese complementary school is no longer merely an ‘ethnic enclave’ casting outside the mainstream education, isolated on rented promises with transient weekly

operations. More importantly, it produces a dynamic and complex linguistic ecology featured by complex multilingualism in superdiversity.

To capture the complexity of CCS multilingualism, I have selected a large Chinese complementary school located in the diverse urban area of Birmingham, England, as my researched case. The school was established in 1960s by an influential member from the Birmingham Chinese community. After more than half a century of development, it grew into a school currently having around 400 students enrolled and offering 27 classes with Cantonese and Putonghua as the two target Chinese varieties.

The stimulus for undertaking this research initially started from my own experiences of being an English language teacher back in China with a deep interest in observing people's daily language use in interactions, which later has been developed alongside my own migration history. In 2009 I moved into England as one the recent Chinese migrants for my MA education. During the first two years of my residence in England, I have worked as a part-time Chinese language teacher in a small Chinese school established by a friend of mine. Those working experiences triggered my original interest in learning more about such a multilingual educational context. Later in 2013, I started taking my own child to a Chinese complementary school to learn Chinese literacy, out of the concern that she might completely lose her Chinese reading and writing ability. During those years I have witnessed the changing structure of CCS as an informal educational setting and its growing influence within the local Chinese diasporic communities.

After years of being involved in such schools, I have developed a deepened interest in exploring this social setting further and to extend my personal perception on the CCSs to an academic perspective. With my background knowledge and experiences as a bilingual

Chinese migrant in England and a previous teacher then a parent involved in the Chinese complementary schools, I became able to generate a new aspiration for undertaking a doctoral research on this context. Later, these early aspiration and interest were enhanced by my discussions with my academic supervisor before I officially started my PhD study. My supervisor's previous research on British minority communities and complementary schools has provided fundamental guidance and empirical knowledge for me to transform my personal interests into researchable academic topic and questions. In the methodology chapter I will elaborate the process of approaching and negotiating access to the researched school. Here in the next section I provide a brief introduction on the three research questions I seek to answer in this linguistic ethnographic case study.

1.3 Research questions

Erickson (1986, 1990) indicates that ethnography ought not to be considered as an investigation process lead by a specific 'point of view'. While calling for attention on the importance of preconceived leading topic and questions shaping the research from the outset; Erickson also points out that it is uncertain to the researcher where those initial questions might lead the research. Guided by this perspective, when I drafted my research questions at the beginning of this study, I was mindful that subsequent changes might apply to them later as part of an interpretative research design. During the process of conducting the research, I tried to focus on the 'sensitising concepts' of my study which are language ideology and identity in CCS and meanwhile keep the 'openness to data' (Rampton et al., 2015:15-16). As a result of this consideration, over time I have rephrased my research questions to reflect the emphasis of this study and to cover the unexpected findings from data analysis. I have perceptively prepared myself to 'expect the unexpected' (Pennycook, 2012:35). In the

methodology chapter I will present the process of phrasing and finalising my research questions. A list of four different sets of research questions formulated at different stages of my study is also attached as Appendix 1.

The research questions I seek to answer in this study are:

1. What language ideologies are constructed, negotiated, and developed by the adult participants in the Chinese complementary school?
2. How do Chinese language teachers perform and negotiate their professional identities in complementary school teaching practices?
3. How do local multilingual practices reflect the ethnic identification of ‘*Chineseness*’ in and around the Chinese complementary school?

In order to answer these questions, I adopted a Linguistic Ethnography (LE) to investigate multilingualism in the CCS context with an emic-etic dialectic. I applied research methods including participant observations and interviews with note-taking and/or audio-recording, questionnaire, and document collection to emically look at the small signs in local practices, while taking an etic perspective to describe and interpret these signs under wider socio-historical conditions such as global mobility and superdiversity. I collected a dataset including field notes, audio-recorded classroom interactions and interview narratives, as well as a various range of documentations and photographs. Under the interpretative epistemology and with a LE approach, I conducted a dialogic and critical data analysis to capture and understand the small semiotic (including linguistic) signs and forms in the research context, and then to provide an interpretation of these micro signs in relation to macro conditions. The

theoretical and analytical frameworks are respectively explained in my Literature Review chapter (chapter 2) and Methodology chapter (chapter 3).

1.4 Nature of this study

Theoretically this study adopts Bakhtin's theory of heteroglossia (1981a, 1981b, 1986) as the overarching framework to emphasise both the internal and external complexity of multilingual practices in the context of Chinese complementary school at late-modern time. 'Indexicality', 'dialogism', and 'chronotope' are the key concepts from heteroglossia used to inform, guide, and underpin analyses and discussions in this study. Under the heteroglossic lens, I draw interdisciplinary knowledge from philosophy, sociology and history to interpret local multilingual practices for discussions on language ideology, identity, ethnicity and social inequality. Methodologically this study is featured with ethnographic participant observations in and around a Chinese complementary school in the city of Birmingham. The data collection procedure constitutes a 10-month fieldwork within the researched school and a few out-of-school observations in different settings in the Birmingham Chinese diaspora. For example, a celebration dinner party of China's National Day and a community meeting in the local Chinatown. The analyses and discussions in this thesis use 'ethnographically-informed discourse analysis'(Copland and Creese, 2015) with the 'criticality' from CDA (Fairclough, 2013) to interpret a wide range of data extracts including field note vignettes, transcripts of classroom audio-recordings and interview narratives, and also photos and school documents. Three chapters of data analysis and discussion are provided to answer the research questions thematically.

1.5 Structure of the thesis

In chapter 2 I present a review of the literature pertaining to my research, in terms of the epistemological stance, the theoretical framework and concepts underpinning this study, and the empirical research which informs the study. Chapter 3 is my detailed description and explanation of the research design, the methods and procedure for data collection, and how the dataset has been analysed. Chapter 4 to 6 are the data analysis and discussion chapters. Chapter 4 presents how different groups of adult school members dynamically construct an ideological ecology including ‘separate bilingualism’, ‘translanguaging’, ‘a hegemony of Putonghua’, and ‘a preferred school-wide monolingualism’. It also demonstrates how ‘Language as pride’ and ‘Language as profit’ in late capitalism (Heller and Duchêne, 2012) are simultaneously in play leading to the dynamic ecology. Chapter 5 draws on the heteroglossic perspective to discuss how Chinese teachers momentarily perform and negotiate their professional identities in interactions with others in the context. It talks about the impact of the changing structure of Chinese diaspora, the shifting language balance within Chinese community, and individual teachers’ migration trajectories and settlement on their performance and negotiation of professional identities. Chapter 6 extends the discussion further from *within* the researched school to *around* it. It explores how discursive multilingual practices from the local Chinese community reflect an evolving ethnic identification of ‘Chineseness’. It presents a discussion on how the local heteroglossia in and around the CCS can ‘defreeze’ Chineseness from merely an ethnic heritage affiliated with the past and the national homeland. The final chapter, chapter 7, concludes the findings and points to how this research contributes to knowledge and practice with a final reflection.

Chapter 2

LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Introduction

Heteroglossia, as a translation of the Russian term *разноречие* [*raznorechie*], was coined by the Russian linguist and language philosopher, Mikhail Bakhtin, in his 1934 paper to originally describe the intra-language variety within Russian. The paper became well-known after being translated into English by Emerson and Holquist and published as ‘Discourse in the Novel’ (Bakhtin, 1981a). Recently, scholars in sociolinguistics have turned to reapplying Bakhtin’s notion of heteroglossia for better understandings on linguistic practices in superdiverse contemporary societies (e.g. Blommaert, 2007, 2015; Blackledge and Creese, 2010, 2014; Rampton, 2011; Jaworski, 2012; Bailey, 2012; Rymes, 2014; Jaffe, 2015a; Jaffe et al., 2015). Using heteroglossia as a framing principle, these scholars share a common interest in the internal and external stratification of language and the inter-relationship between small semiotic (including linguistic) signs and the individual, community, and society; as well as between the local or regional performance and the national and global structures. With its key concepts of *dialogism*, *indexicality*, *multivoicedness*, and *chronotope*, heteroglossia offers a useful framework for understanding social phenomena like migration, multilingualism and language shift.

In this chapter, I aim to present an integrated way to explain how heteroglossia can be applied into this sociolinguistic study on Chinese diasporic community and Chinese complementary school. First of all, under the heteroglossia lens a Chinese complementary school is deemed as one kind of the community ‘whose discourses... are shot through with both mainstream and minoritized resonances’ and that provide ‘the multiple types of linguistic and cultural belonging as a source of heteroglossia’(Jaffe et al., 2015:135). The local practices in such a school are seen as reflexively amplifying a heterogeneous dynamic of multiple frames, voices and stances that are (re)constructed during discursive interactions at certain times, in certain spaces, and under certain conditions. Ideology and identity, the two themes of this study, are observed and analysed as two major domains which reflect these frames, voices and stances in the local heteroglossia.

The chapter is constituted with two main sections: *A sociolinguistics under a heteroglossic lens* in 2.2; and *Globalization, Chinese diaspora and Chinese complementary school* in 2.3. Section 2.2 provides the theoretical and analytical framework, by elaborating how heteroglossia – with its concepts of dialogism, indexicality and chronotopes – can be drawn upon to guide my study and to describe and explain my data. In this section, I argue that in the multilingual context of a CCS, it is fundamental to view the stratified and dynamic language ideologies and identities, and the two intertwining tropes of viewing Chinese language in diaspora and CCS education as (for) ‘pride’ and/or ‘profit’ as intrinsically dialogical, indexical and historical. Moreover, in section 2.2 a particular review on various bi/multilingual ideologies in bi/multilingual educational settings is also provided in relation with heteroglossia, within which ‘translanguaging’ as a pedagogy is especially introduced.

Section 2.3 concerns the historical and sociocultural context of this research. It sketches a portrait of the Chinese complementary school and Chinese diasporic community within the wider structure of globalization and superdiversity. It draws upon a set of literature (e.g. Giddens, 1994; Coupland, 2003; Heller, 2003; Creese and Blackledge, 2010; Blommaert, 2010; Blommaert and Rampton, 2011) to argue for understanding the local agency's performance in relation to the wider globalising conditions dialogically and historically. Section 2.3 also constitutes a discussion on Chineseness as an ethnic identification in Chinese diasporas in 2.3.2 and an introduction of the Chinese complementary school (CCS) in 2.3.3. A selected literature on Language Ideologies (LI) and Teachers' Professional Identities (TPI) is also reviewed in section 2.3.3 with CCS context as the focus. At last a conclusion is provided to summarise the chapter. Now I shall start with the section of 'a sociolinguistics under a heteroglossic lens'.

2.2 A sociolinguistics under a heteroglossic lens

This section provides the theoretical framework and relevant concepts to ground my analyses and discussions on language ideologies and identities in Chapter 4, 5, and 6. Three key concepts from Bakhtin including *dialogism*, *indexicality* and *chronotope* are discussed together with literature on the contemporary sociolinguistics, with multilingualism and linguistic minorities staying at the heart. By saying 'under a heteroglossic lens', I take heteroglossia as an epistemological stance and a philosophical perspective to understand sociolinguistic practices and meanings and also an overarching approach to observe, analyse and interpret the local practices. A heteroglossic lens strengthens my focus on the complex stratification of meaning in this study on a CCS. In the following part of this section, I will

introduce the three concepts of ‘dialogism’, ‘indexicality’ and ‘chronotope’ respectively and explain how I apply them in this study. First I integrate the concept of ‘dialogism’ with ‘Language as pride and/or profit’ proposed by Heller and Duchêne (2012) for a discussion.

2.2.1 The dialogism of ‘pride’ and ‘profit’

As Heller and Duchêne indicate in the introduction chapter of their edited book ‘Language in Late Capitalism: Pride and Profit’ (2012), we are now

at a particular moment in this process that we can call late capitalism, and that stretches the system of national regulation of markets to and possibly beyond its limits. The resulting tensions in the nation-state regime give rise to new discursive tropes in which language plays a particularly central role not only because of its place in regulation and legitimization of political economic spaces but also because of the emergence of the tertiary sector as a defining element of the globalized new economy(p3).

To understand language and culture at the moment, Heller and Duchêne propose ‘pride’ and ‘profit’ as two ideological tropes to ‘justify the importance of linguistic varieties and to convince people to speak them, learn them, support them, or pay to hear them spoken’(2012:3-4). They also indicate that ‘pride’ and ‘profit’ can be viewed as ‘co-constructive tropes’ (p16) for indexing ‘the debates about *the nature of language itself*, as the idea of language as whole, bounded system cedes ground to the idea of language as a set of circulating, complex communitive resource’ (p4, emphasis added). They argue that connecting the role of language in late capitalism to terms like ‘pride’ and ‘profit’ opens up a new approach for our access to interpret ‘the dynamic, and often contradictory, cultural assemblages in late capitalism’ (p4). Because of the dynamic, often contradictory and complex characteristics of our time, ‘sociolinguistics in late capitalist process intrinsically

requires greater awareness of how language practices are legitimized and how repertoires reinforce or marginalize the power bases of different speakers' (Heller 2001:383). Understanding processes of power negotiation and shift becomes the key for current sociolinguistic work.

According to Heller and Duchêne (2012:4-6), the ideological trope of 'pride' is associated to a legitimation of certain linguistic varieties to certain nation-state, groupness and hierarchies. In a social context featured with multilingualism, for example, during the legitimating and power negotiating process, certain linguistic varieties (or fragments of these varieties) are associated with meanings like homogeneity, boundaries and distinction in construction of citizenship or group kinship. It usually tends to be the internals of the nation-state, or the particular group, trying to secure a control over linguistic value hierarchies. Within this hierarchized value system, if any others do not speak the particular language of the nation, or the group, and do not speak it properly, they show a lack of ability for the access to political and economic power, and consequently are being marginalized.

However, in the chapter Heller and Duchêne also explain that under the conditions of late capitalism with the fluidity of capital, information, technology, migration, and other resources under neoliberal ideologies, 'the logic of expansion of capital has outstripped the ability of nation-states to adequately regulate markets, resources and population, while not disturbing them entirely' (p6). The complete legitimation over certain rights, identity, cultural and linguistic preservation as 'pride' was deconstructed; while the emergence of the trope of 'profit' is being legitimized in and of the contemporary adjustments of value distribution and affiliation in neo-liberalization. In their discussion Heller and Duchêne (2012) elaborate the capital expansion in five processes of destabilization of a nation-state in neoliberalizing global world, which include 'Saturation of markets; Expansion; Distinction; Tartarisation and

Flexibilisation’ (p7-8). Based on the explanation on capital expansion, they summarise two major ways in which language is involved in the globalised new economy. One is as ‘a source of symbolic added value’; the other as ‘a mode of management of global networks’ (2012:10). This account can be seen as related to ‘the commodification of language’ (Heller, 2003) in forms of marketing ‘*usefulness*’ of a language or marketing ‘*authenticity*’ associated with a language. In the discussion on the commodification of language, Heller (2003) views language per se as a resource with commodity values, as something can be used for creating, exchanging or negotiating ‘profit’. The ideological trope of ‘profit’ emphasises the impact of neoliberal economic structures on the legitimating process of certain language uses among certain social groups.

In recognition of these two ideological tropes of ‘pride’ and ‘profit’ and the importance of the political economic structures behind and over them, this study focuses on the ways in which these two tropes unevenly coexist with tension and negotiation during processes, and also on the consequences coming out of the processes. In the context of CCS, it is meaningful to look at the ‘pride’, to observe and understand concerns like ‘who have constructed themselves as members of the *one and same* Chinese community?’; ‘how they treat (or being treated by) other participants in the construction of particular groupness?’; ‘what activities are perceived in national or ethnic terms; and ‘what resources are shared as part of the cultural heritage?’. Meanwhile, it is also important to look at the ‘profit’, to investigate ‘what language(s) or fragments from certain language are seen and used as useful for political and economic profit?’; ‘how do local agents perceive certain language uses as source of value for capital and identity?’; ‘how are teaching and learning interaction in a CCS classroom being affiliated with capitals?’, etc..

Here I would like to emphasise that, although there are certain distinctions between these two tropes, it is important to understand that in the diasporic context of a CCS, ‘language as pride’ and ‘language as profit’ cannot be viewed as dichotomous dual phenomena. Rather, they interweave with each other in dynamically dialogical ways. And it is this interweaving interaction of these two tropes that opens up possibilities for creating new spaces for reconfigurations of the role of language and communication under new complex conditions. ‘Viewing Chinese language and CCS education as cultural heritage associated with Chinese ethnicity’ and ‘taking teaching and learning Chinese language as something profitable’ are not dichotomously separated. Rather, they play together simultaneously in shaping the language ideological ecology in a CCS. This *dialogism* of ‘pride’ and ‘profit’ in a Chinese complementary school is the first theoretical theme I would like to address in this chapter.

According to Bakhtin (1981a, 1981b), *dialogism* can be best understood as the epistemological mode of a world dominated by heteroglossia in which everything is understood as a part of a greater whole; and there are constant interactions between meanings and all of which have the potential of conditioning others (also see Vice, 1997; Holquist, 2002; Steinby and Klapuri, 2013; for recent discussion on Bakhtin’s theory). Bakhtin originally uses the term to refer to particular instances of language perceptible in novels and popular speech, to recognise the multiplicity of perspectives and voices. For Bakhtin, dialogism is inherent in any language itself, which means any kind of linguistic discourses does not separately unfold, but rather interacts with others. Dialogism also refers to the intersection of two or more ‘contexts’ in an utterance, that is, the interaction of the social and historical contexts of heteroglossia (Bakhtin, 1981b). Dialogism acts as a refusal of closure; it opposes the fixation on any particular monologue. Moreover, dialogism is not simply multiple perspectives on the same world; rather, it involves the distribution of utterly

incompatible elements within different perspectives. It is ‘a struggle among socio-linguistic points of view’ (Vice, 1997:50).

In his writing on dialogism, Bakhtin particularly emphasises the tension and contradiction inherent in the construction of particular regimes of language. He says:

‘all the languages of heteroglossia, including narratorial and characters’ discourse, permit a ‘multiplicity of social voices and a wide variety of their links and their interrelationships (always more or less dialogized)’ (1981a:263).

Bakhtin substantiates that variation exists even within in a ‘single language’ (for example, Chinese in this study). Within this ‘single language’, the relationship between the centripetal forces in forms of legitimated political or cultural ideologies (i.e. the attempt to keep the language unified or collective as ‘pride’) and the centrifugal forces coming out from local agents’ contextualised practices (e.g. a pull towards ideological diversity which includes the exchange of ‘profit’) is not stably dichotomous. Instead, there is an ongoing process of interaction and contradiction, during which centripetal and centrifugal forces coexist and evolve simultaneously. Furthermore, in his discussion on dialogism Bakhtin (1981b) also emphasises the historical and socio-political circumstances within which the contradictory relationship between centripetal and centrifugal forces emerges with newness of the language, which is fundamental to its local interpretation.

By integrating Bakhtin’s concept of dialogism and Heller and Duchêne’s two ideological tropes, I see the dialogical relationship between the ‘pride’ and the ‘profit’ around a language therefore is intrinsically characterised with a dynamic interplay and interruption. Such conflicts never go away. Neither does the dialogically evolving process close up for means to convert those who continue to believe in or choose to prefer situated monologism (though

certain monologism never disappears from the evolving heteroglossic ecology). For example, in this study, the linguistic ideology emphasising ‘Chinese as heritage’, the national identity of ‘being *zhong-guo-ren* (Chinese citizens/people)’ and the ‘We-’ collective ethnical identity are still entailed in the Chinese complementary school as forms of ‘pride’. This trope of ideologies does not disappear in late-modern time; instead, it evolves together with the ‘flexible’ perspectives towards bi/multilingualism and learning Chinese for use and profit during the transformation of the local heteroglossia.

In this study the dynamic dialogism of ‘pride’ and ‘profit’ also shows as a performative stratification of Chinese teachers’ professional identity: teachers position themselves (e.g. as ‘service provider’, ‘gardener’ or ‘parent’) according to their own perceptions of these two tropes of ideologies (see detailed discussion in chapter 5). The deconstruction of dichotomy in such dialogism also is demonstrated in the school governors’ local interpretation on the ethnic identification of *Chineseness*, where new and complex meanings are added to ‘traditional’ or ‘stereotyped’ constructions on Chinese ethnicity in England. Detailed discussion on this dynamic coexistence of the ‘old’ and the ‘new’, of the ‘unitised’ and ‘diversified’ around Chineseness will be provided in Chapter 6.

In order to observe and interpret this dialogism of ‘pride’ and ‘profit’, I will look at the school participants’ everyday use of language in different settings (e.g. in and out of the classroom, at a school assembly, or on a school board meeting) as local signs which index to certain points of views, stances, voices and frames. In the next subsection I will move on to talk about another important concept of heteroglossia – indexicality – to demonstrate how I observe and interpret the local signs.

2.2.2 Indexicality

Charles Sanders Peirce (1839-1914), in his theory of semiosis (1991), presents three basic semiotic elements in a sign relation: 1) the sign; 2) the object (which stands as the sign's subject matter); and 3) the interpretant (the sign's meaning or ramification as formed into a kind of effect). Significantly different from Ferdinand de Saussure's interests on the sign/signifier/signified/referent description of semiotics and emphasis on the referential signs, Peirce emphasises that the 'interpretant' is the key element of making meanings among people. According to Peirce, sign action always involves a subject's mind. An interpretant gives the sign more or less clarified meaning or ramification, a unique form or idea of the difference. Peirce holds that all meaning is in signs, issuing in and from *interpretation*, where 'sign' is the word for the broadest variety of conceivable semblances, diagrams, symptoms, metaphors, signals and indexes. Because the interpretation from subjective minds would never complete, there is not a final interpretant *per se* to be obtained. Instead, it can only be coincided. In this sense, a truth is only the final interpretant of a person's pursuit of truth: one coincides with a final interpretant of some questions about 'what is true' whenever and to whatever extent that one believed that he/she reached a truth. In this way, meanings of signs come from interpretant according to certain norms or rules, based on a subject's certain determination and preferences under certain structure. I take this account on the interpretant meaning very useful to understand and explain *indexicality* in Bakhtin's theory.

In Bakhtin's view, because language is primordially dialogical (as discussed in 2.2.1), words never simply communicate information in relation to other words in a neutral system, neither can a language relate lineally to an external world (1981a, 1981b, 1986). Rather, a social field of interaction always mediates the relationship between an individual speaker and the world.

In multilingual practices, every type of language use is mediated by and affiliated to certain social ways of seeing, pointing to one type of ideology or identity in the irreducible plurality of belief-systems. A language in Bakhtin's view is 'an ongoing, unending chain' of meaning which is constantly renewed and reborn following certain socially constructed rules, patterns and structures. These rules, patterns and structures for meaning negotiation in language interactions are reflected and indexed in the local use of a language.

Based on an emphasis on the indexical meanings of language in society, Bakhtin(1986) also uses the term 'Speech-genres' to refer to the standard ways in which language use is combined in different sphere of activities in the novel. Each sphere of language-use in a novel tends to have 'its own *relatively stable types* of the utterances' (Bakhtin, 1986:60). In this view, the relationship between the abstract system of a language and an individual speech-act is mediated by speech-genres. Each genre embeds particular social values, world-views as well as references. Meanwhile, Bakhtin also indicates that it is important to remember that among the boundless diversity of speech genres, there are no absolutely 'neutral' or never-problematic speech-genres – speakers are always reflective about the speech-genres they use based on the contact between their word and actual reality (1986: 84-88). The interactions of different speech-genres constantly produce new speech-genres with new forms of speech.

To discuss the interpretant meaning indexed in language use, Michael Silverstein (1977) coins the notion of *indexicality* referring meanings that connect linguistic signs to contextual attributes such as value systems, social position, status and frames. Given the emphasis on the indexical meaning, the referential meaning of a sign represents only one dimension of language meaning. The signifier-signified relationship posited by de Saussure is only one

mode of the reality of actual language use. Meaning of words does not only constitute the denotational and propositional domains, but also the indexical terrain during interpretation - the 'connotational significance of signs' (Blommaert and Rampton, 2011:5). This is to say, in a multilingual setting, our focus of study should not only be the literal meaning of a bi/multilingual's switching of code, but more importantly, it should be the indexed social meaning in the discursive code-switching and the social relations in play to shape such a switching.

Later, in his interpretation of Bakhtin's concept of speech-genres in sociolinguistic analysis and discussion, Silverstein (2003) also brings the term of '*indexical order*' to:

...relate the micro-social to the macro-social frames of analysis of any sociolinguistic phenomenon, and to any empirical investigation of the inherently dialectical facts of indexicality. Indexical order is central to analysing how semiotic agents access macro-sociological plane categories and concepts as values in the indexable realm of the micro-contextual. (2003:193).

According to Silverstein, indexical meaning is composed of two aspects: the 'appropriateness-to' (presupposition) the already-established contextual 'parameters' about the propriety of usage; and the 'effectiveness-in' (entailment) referring to ways in which contextual parameters seem to be brought into being (2003:195). He also proposes that 'the mediating factor between pragmatic presupposition and pragmatic entailment is metapragmatic function (Silverstein, 2003:196)'. During the dialectically balancing process of the presupposition and entailment, 'certain standard and various non-standard' forms of language usage are enregistered (Silverstein, 2003:217). Formed by the indexical order, the standard language use in a language community becomes the hegemonic top-and-centre, while switching people from certain groups and categories into an anxiety in front of the

‘standard’. As a consequence of this differentiation of ‘standard’ and ‘non-standard’, ‘index of linguistic insecurity’ (Silverstein, 2003:219) occurs among those groups and categories at the periphery. Here I would like to take the English-Chinese bilingualism in England for an example: the particular indexical order has historically legitimated English as the standard language in the centre, while Chinese being positioned as a non-standard on the periphery. A linguistic insecurity thus is brought to Chinese language and its speakers socially and politically. It is out of this sense of linguistic insecurity the Chinese complementary schools in diasporas have been originated – to protect the ethnic minority language out of the fear of losing it.

More recently, based on Silverstein’s concept of indexical order, Jan Blommaert (2007, 2010), in his interpretation on Bakhtin’s theory, proposes another term called ‘*orders of indexicality*’ to define the ‘stratified and imposed differences in value onto the different modes of semiosis, systematically give preference to some over others, and exclude or disqualify particular modes’(2010:41). According to Blommaert, ‘orders of indexicality’ is a sensitizing concept that should index to important aspects of power and inequality, displaying traces of power and authority. He indicates that ordered indexicalities operate within large stratified complexes in which some forms of semiosis are systematically perceived as valuable, others as less valuable and some are not taken into account at all, while all are subject to rules of access and regulations as to circulation. This means such systemic patterns of indexicality are also systemic patterns of authority, of control, and evaluation, and hence of inclusion and exclusion by real or perceived others (Blommaert, 2010:38-41).

This phenomenon of indexical order, or orders of indexicality, is also demonstrated and discussed by Angela Creese and Adrian Blackledge (2010a) in their research on the nuanced linguistic differences in the superdiverse city of Birmingham. In such a city, some of the

linguistic forms are agreed upon and some others not; subtle distinctions come between groups and individuals. Their findings show that out of certain orders of indexicality within and around the Indian minority community, speakers of the variety ‘Bengali’ are presupposed to be of higher class or caste than speakers of ‘Sylheti’ or ‘Hobiganji’ (Creese and Blackledge, 2010a:565).

In this study, I see ‘orders of indexicality’ as a very useful theoretical and analytical concept. To give one example, in my analysis and discussion on language ideologies in Chapter 4, the local sociolinguistic sign of Cantonese teachers unequivocally requiring ‘*Chinese-only!*’ in their classrooms explicitly portrays their sense of linguistic insecurity within the English-dominant British society. It therefore indexes to an ideology of language as ‘pride’, as with heritage value and in need of protection and maintenance. More than this, the head teacher’s utterance on the school meeting ‘*WE do not need to speak English here (in this school)*’ also indexes to an ethnical enclosure, a cultural and national/ethnical belongingness, as well as an ideal monoglossic ‘enclave’ in relation to ‘pride’.

Now let me return to Bakhtin’s term of speech-genres and the changeable nature of them to introduce another concept in heteroglossia, which is chronotope. According to Bakhtin (1986), different speech-genres give expression to dialogic interactions between ‘the repeatable and the unrepeatable’ (p105) and ‘the given and the new’ (p119-220). He indicates that each speech-genre has its own ‘chronotope’ (spatial-temporal frame) that is a set of reference-points in place and time which constitute the particularity of a way of language use. In this study I use the concept of ‘chronotope’ for my discussion on the connectedness and trajectory of ‘voices’ and discourses in the local multilingual practices in the CCS context.

2.2.3 Chronotope

To understand language and communication in new conditions of the late modern global world, we need to move beyond the traditional sociolinguistic approach with attention to fixed temporal and spatial contexts with fixed groups of social actors and towards a historically-informed perspective across time and space (see Heller, 2002; Coupland, 2003; Blommaert, 2010, 2015a; Block, 2014; for exemplary discussions). Anthropologists such as Appadurai and Marcus (Appadurai, 1996; Marcus, 1995) have suggested that one way to move forward the traditional sociolinguistic approach is to focus on the *flows*— the circulation of objects, people and ideas, and to see the transformation coming out from the circulation. In order to do so, attention only on the separately spatial-temporal context no longer could legitimate our analysis and discussion in social studies. Only when we look at the linkage across time and space can we understand the new relations of meaning, new forms of speech and also the new orders of indexicality in speakers' daily language use at current time. Bakhtin's term of chronotope is readopted for such use.

Chronotope was generated by Bakhtin as an instrument for developing a fundamentally *historical* semiotics (Bakhtin, 1981b:84). It emphasises the historical feature of language use and the inseparability of time and space in human social actions (Bemong and Borghart, 2010:4-5). Jan Blommaert recently (2015a) interprets a chronotope as '*a time-space*' within which time and space being blended in any event in the real world. Describing chronotope as 'invokable chunks of history' (2015a:111), Blommaert argues that the chronotopic organisation of language provides availability of specific contextual universes across time and space for invocation in discursive work at the present. He interprets chronotopes as historically configured tropes pointing us to the fact that specific complexes of 'how-it-was' can be invoked as relevant context in 'how-it-is' discourse. According to Blommaert,

knowledge of such ‘invokable chunks of history’ is a cultural resource and an asset which allows us to construct, for precisely targeted effects, elaborate patterns of different sociocultural materials in our dialogical discourses.

Another interpretation of ‘chronotope’ can be seen in Blackledge and Creese (2014)’s summary of ‘*multivoicedness*’ in their interpretation of heteroglossia. According to Blackledge and Creese, multivoicedness emphasises the salience of chronotopic organisation of language use: there are always sets of socio-historical conditions that make the words uttered in a particular chronotope representing particular voices which are often different than any other voices under any other chronotopes. These voices are also able to *travel* to another chronotope for circulation in another voice and create new meanings. The multivoicedness of words and meanings goes together with Duchêne and Heller (2012)’s idea of focusing on the ‘linkage to understand contemporary phenomena as elements of historical, political economic processes’ (p15).

Moreover, Brigitta Busch, in her recent paper named ‘Linguistic repertoire and *Spracherleben*, the lived experience of language’ (2015), also talks about multivoicedness. In the paper she integrates Gumperz (1964)’s term of ‘*linguistic repertoire*’ in her discussion on the three dimensions of heteroglossia, which are multidiscursivity, linguistic diversity and multivoicedness. With a particular interest in the (more or less negative) effect of the changing linguistic environment on a subject’s linguistic repertoire, Busch proposes three perspectives to describe linguistic repertoire as *a chronotopically layered structure*. The three perspectives are:

- An anthropological or interactional viewpoint, is concerned with how we interact linguistically and socially with one another;

- Drawing on poststructuralism, looks at *how we are constituted as speaking subjects by historical/political discourses*;
- Inspired by phenomenology, investigates the bodily/emotional prerequisites for speaking and experiencing of language.

(Busch, 2015:13 emphasis added)

Based on Bakhtin's view of chronotopes as mutually inclusive and interweaving with one another (Bakhtin, 1981b), Busch proposes that the co-presence of different chronotopes in speech can be transferred to the linguistics repertoire. That is, to look at 'how we are constituted as speaking subjects by historical/political discourses' (as listed in the second perspective above). She explains that in *a chronotopically layered structure* of linguistic repertoire, a speaker does not only position herself in relation to what is immediately present in the here and now. Instead, she also implicitly positions herself in relation to what is absent, operating or resonating in the background. Therefore the other stances or voices which are relevant will be intentionally or unintentionally drawn into presentation at the immediate present. In this way we could not interpret a linguistic repertoire as simply a kind of toolbox from which the speaker picks up the 'right' one to achieve competence. Instead, as Busch argues, the 'multidimensionality of linguistic repertoire' can be understood 'as a heteroglossic realm of constraints and potentialities'; which means 'different languages and ways of speaking come to the fore, then return to the background, they observe each other, keep their distance from each other, intervene or interweave into something new, but in one form or another they are always there' (Busch, 2015:14). A linguistic repertoire reflects the linkage of different socio-historical time-spaces; it reflects the past of the speaker, nuancedly evolves at the present, and projects to the future situations a speaker might face.

In short, the revisit to Bakhtin's chronotope brings us a 'historically-informed perspective' to investigate the trajectory of semiotic signs, voices, stances, values and power shift in the fluid late modernity. It opens new scopes and scales for our discussion of the complex stratification of language ideologies and identities.

In my study, chronotope is drawn upon in various ways. For example, my discussion on the food culture exhibition event called '*The flavour of China*' held in the researched school at the end of 2013-14 academic year (as discussed in chapter 6) is seen as a local event impacted by the 'chronotopically-layered structure'(Busch, 2015). In this school event, a big variety of semiotic signs including a calligraphic exhibition poster on the wall; images and explaining labels in both Chinese and English displayed on the exhibition boards; teenage students' verbal reaction to the head teacher's request of their attendance on the exhibition and teachers' commentary on the exhibition is used in my discussion. They all index to new forms of multilingualism which can only be interpreted chronotopically with the linkage across time and space. Influence from the aesthetically-stylised propaganda for food culture back in China during the past few years, from the recent development of non-official organisations (such as 'the UK Federation of Chinese Schools' in this case)' proficiency in organising transnational socio-cultural events, and of the transnational networking of the researched school in both the local English society and the home country China, etc., becomes salient to my discussion on the local event of 'The Flavour of China' exhibition as a multivoiced cultural discourse. In Chapter 6 I draw all these influence as chronotopically layered structures to interpret the local semiotic sign – a photo taken on the exhibition – together with a field note vignette in section 6.2.1.

By far I have reviewed three main concepts from heteroglossia. I discussed dialogism in relation to the two tropes of 'pride' and 'profit' in late capitalism to explain the ideological

ecology in the CSC. I presented a discussion on indexicality to bring the social, political, and economic forces in my discussion on the meaning of local sociolinguistics signs. I used chronotope to emphasise the salience of a historically-linked perspective to my investigation and discussion on the structure-agency relationships. In the following section, I will talk about heteroglossia as a basic norm in bi/multilingual educational contexts, especially those with migration and language minority involved.

2.2.4 Heteroglossia in bi/multilingual educational settings

Firstly, in order to adequately address issues of bi/multilingualism in education, it is necessary to foreground that linguistic difference in education is a matter of symbolic domination and schools are institutions of social selection (Gumperz 1986; Rampton, 1995; Heller and Martin-Jones, 2001; García and Li, 2014). In a school with bi/multilingualism involved, what language resources are used by whom and how they were used, and the legitimacy and domination behind daily language use are the key norms. In such bi/multilingual schools, the use of different languages acts as, in various ways, a resource for producing, stylising, contesting, in order to maintain, contest or change local power relations. The manifestation and consequences of ‘what interests are at stake and who stand to gain or lose what by privileging certain practices and discourses over others’ become an important focus of studies on bi/multilingualism in education (Heller and Martin-Jones, 2001:8).

Recent two decades have seen an intensification of sociolinguistic work dealing with bilingual and multilingual practises. The renewed interest on heteroglossia has shed a particular light on this work. Bakhtin’s perspective of ‘*language stratification*’ interprets language as both *internally* and *externally stratified* (Bakhtin, 1981a). Bakhtin suggests that

the work of creation and innovation – the everyday dynamic of language, culture and identity – is not only done by the interaction of two semiotic systems (such as the Chinese-English bilingualism), but also inside each semiotic system (such as Chinese). In the course of such complex processes, both semiotic systems *themselves* are inevitably changed and reconfigured, and the bi/multilingual speakers involved in such processes will have fundamentally changed repertoires constructed.

In emphasis on the complexity of bi/multilingualism (also see García, 2007, 2009; Creese and Blackledge, 2010; García and Li, 2014 for exemplary elaboration), recent bilingual and multilingual practices have problematized a ‘neat’ idea of language as a bounded system and bilingualism as a conflation of two monolingualisms – an ideology that values bilingualism only as a way of speaking two separate and homogenous languages. This ideology has been conceptualised as ‘bilingualism through monolingualism’ (Swain, 1983); ‘parallel bilingualism’ (Heller, 1999); or ‘separate bilingualism’ (Creese and Blackledge, 2010b). In contemporary sociolinguistic studies on bi/multilingualism, this ideology of separate bilingualism is remaining as a particular facet; especially in the minority language contexts (see Creese and Blackledge, 2010b for empirical examples).

On the other side, from recent empirical sociolinguistic studies there is another discourse on bilingualism coming out. With the poststructuralist and constructivist understanding of language as resource (Heller, 2007) and a contemporary sociolinguistic focus on the *speaker* and the language in speakers’ *everyday* practice (Gumperz and Hymes, 1972; Bucholtz, 2003; Gal, 2006; García, 2009; Creese and Blackledge, 2010a), a dynamic conceptualisation of bilingualism is widely adopted to go beyond the notion of two autonomous languages, of L1 and L2, and of additive (or subtractive) bilingualism. García (2009) describes the *dynamic bilingualism* as individuals using their entire linguistic repertoire generated with all resources

from their bilingualism to communicate, interact and negotiate meanings under wider constraints. Dynamic bilingualism suggests that the language practices of bilinguals are complex, interrelated and transformative. Dynamic bilingualism takes bilinguals' cognitive processes as inextricably interwoven with their experiences in the context of language activities which is socially constructed and often dynamically negotiate on a moment-by-moment basis. Also because bilinguals' use of languages is constantly evolving under both the socio-historical and local changing flows, there is often co-adoption of language resources transforming into new languaging patterns to meet the communicative needs (García and Li, 2014:15-16).

In their recent prize-winning book 'Translanguaging: Language, Bilingualism, and Education', Ofelia García and Li Wei (2014) argue for taking translanguaging as the *basic norm* of bilingualism. The notion of *translanguaging* is originally coined by Cen Williams in 1994 to refer to pedagogical practice where students are asked to alternate languages for the purposes of receptive or productive use (Baker, 2001). In the recent decade, it has been extended by many scholars in applied linguistics (for example, García, 2007, 2009, 2011; Creese and Blackledge, 2010b; Blackledge and Creese, 2010, 2014; Li, 2011a; Lewis, Jones and Baker, 2012; García and Li, 2014). Baker (2001) defines translanguaging as 'the process of making meaning, shaping experiences, gaining understanding and knowledge through the use of two languages (p288). Lewis, Jones and Baker (2012) further propose that in translanguaging,

both languages are used in a dynamic and functionally integrated manner to organise and mediate mental processes in understanding, speaking, literacy, and, not least, learning. Translanguaging concerns effective communication, function rather than form, cognitive activity, as well as language production (2012:1).

It is the *dynamic and functionally integrated* manner of bilinguals' use of their two sets of linguistic resources that distinguishes translanguaging from simply code-switching. It focuses on the ability of multilingual speakers to shuttle between languages to form their repertoire as an integrated system (Canagarajah, 2011). They are multiple discursive practices in which bilinguals engage in order to make sense of their bilingual world (García, 2009). In translanguaging ideology the speaker is seen at the heart of interaction (García, 2010; Creese and Blackledge, 2010b). All these arguments share a common perspective that translanguaging is the ability of bi/multilinguals to flexibly and dynamically draw resources from their linguistic repertoire to make most meanings for themselves in everyday understanding, speaking, learning and communicating in society.

In bi/multilingual educational settings, a translanguaging perspective calls for better understanding of the linguistic formation and social identities of the bi/multilingual speakers, and for viewing education as a social activity in which efforts are made to manage continuity, and to change and relationships between social groups (Rampton, 1995; Heller, 2007). García (2009, 2010) call for *translanguaging as a pedagogy*, arguing that in the education of multilingual students in the twenty-first century we need to construct new visions of language and bi/multilingualism that are 'more inclusive of differences' (García, 2009:387). She argues for the language-identity-allegiance associations to be opened up for flexibility.

According to this orientation towards flexibility, the separate Chinese-English bilingualism and the 'Chinese-only' pedagogy are facing inevitable challenges in the twenty-first century. In the temporal bilingual contexts with a minority language involved, rather than mainly focusing the abstract notion of heritage which directs to the past lives of people, speakers' everyday use of bilingual resources is deemed as more important, because the daily use of language is 'the most signifying role of human beings – that which gives life

meaning'(García, 2007:519). In chapter 4, I will discuss the local practice of 'translanguaging as a pedagogy' among a particular group of Putonghua teachers for the *usefulness* and 'profit' of Chinese language, rather than mainly heritage and the ethnical 'pride'. Furthermore, in this study, apart from as a pedagogy, translanguaging is also observed and discussed as a normative discourse to construct particular professional identity, and a naturally-occurring discursive practice to negotiate the sense of Chineseness in Chinese diasporic communities. In the context, participants dynamically conduct multi-layered and multi-dimensional translanguaging practices including bilingual translanguaging between English and Chinese, and multilingual translanguaging among three Chinese varieties (Putonghua, Cantonese and Hakka) and English to negotiate language ideologies, teachers' identities and Chineseness (see analyses and discussions in Chapter 4, 5, and 6).

To conclude section 2.2, I see bi/multilingualism in the Chinese diaspora and complementary school is by nature heteroglossic, because 1) it encompasses the dialogism of 'pride' (in terms of heritage-inherence) and 'profit' (in terms of language education for usefulness); 2) it reflects dynamic and complex indexical orders which attribute distinctive meanings and unequal values to different linguistic resources and discourse in the CCS practices; and 3) it manifests the chronotopically linked structure of meanings to understand and interpret the momentary interactions of local agency.

By adopting a heteroglossic lens in this sociolinguistic study, I aim to bring better understandings on social events as meaningful in a more-than-unique way; it helps me presenting and analysing the complexity and stratification of meanings made by tension-filled interactions between different linguistic discourses in the context. A heteroglossic lens enables me to investigate how Chinese migrants use their linguistic repertoires to negotiate language ideologies, identities and the actual dynamic process of doing so. It helps me to

examine the stratificated orders of meaning in my investigation on the local signs and their indexicality towards particular ideologies and identities. It particularly lends a theoretical ground for me to innovatively look at the *intra-Chinese-language* diversity and stratification under certain institutional and global conditions. Last, a heteroglossic lens enlarges the scope and range of social conditions in my analysis and discussion by making the linkage and trajectory of meaning possible. With awareness on the heteroglossic nature of a bi/multilingual social context, considerations over the economic, political, historical and social conditions become fundamentally salient and meaningful in this research. The following section of this chapter is aimed to present a discussion on these conditions, which I take as the context of this study.

2.3 Globalisation, Chinese diaspora and Chinese complementary school

This section of literature review concerns the *context* of this study: the Chinese diasporic community and complementary school in globalisation and superdiversity. It starts with a brief review of globalisation and superdiversity which are the key norms of the current epoch. Then it moves on to an introduction on the Chinese diaspora in Britain and the ethnic identification of Chineseness. The last part of this section focuses on the Chinese complementary school (CCS) with particular interests on language ideologies and teacher identities, based on the previous empirical studies on this specific multilingual context.

Over the past two decades there is a growing awareness that globalisation ‘has altered the face of social, cultural and linguistic diversity in societies all over the world’ (Blommaert and Rampton, 2011:1). A specific discussion on sociolinguistics in globalisation has attracted many scholars’ attention in the field of applied linguistics (see Coupland, 2003; Heller, 2003,

2010; Creese and Blackledge, 2010a; Blommaert, 2010; Blommaert and Rampton 2011; Kramersch, 2012; Hall, 2014; for examples). In the wide range of discussions with various research focuses, globalisation is proved to be ‘the salient *context* for an increasing number of local sociolinguistic experiences’ (Coupland, 2003:466, emphasis added). In this research, I adopt Coupland’s perspective of taking the sociological theory of globalisation as ‘an internal developmental theme in contemporary sociolinguistics’ (2003:465). I see globalisation as a highest level of the multi-layered social environment which plays an essential role in sociolinguistic analysis at late modern time. Especially in the sociolinguistic contexts with migration, diasporic ideologies and identification involved, globalisation becomes a topic not only inevitable but also intrinsic. In the following subsection I first provide a brief review of globalisation and superdiversity.

2.3.1 Globalisation and superdiversity

Theory on globalisation is mature enough in social and cultural studies with a considerable momentum. It has a large group of literature source which includes, for example, Bauman (1992); Beck (1992); Robertson (1992); Beck, Giddens and Lash (1994); and Giddens (2002). Apart from the critique of whether globalisation is a new and real historical phenomenon or merely a shift of analytic perspective asking new questions about old phenomena (Giddens, 2002), there is a general shared perception acknowledging the increasingly *interconnectedness* and *complexity* of the world which is marked by more mobility of both people, ideas and commodities (including language) as well as by socio-economic inequalities (Appadurai, 1996; Castells, 2010).

Globalisation has changed the world into a complex web of cities, towns, neighbourhoods and settlements materially and/or symbolically connected in often unpredictable ways. Globalisation now is a new complex social process in which “time and space are compressed” (Robertson 1992:8). The globalising world grows both unpredictably more heterogeneous and uniformed under the influences of accelerating movements of peoples, messages and goods (Giddens, 1994). During the globalising process, the mobility of people also involves mobility of linguistic resources: as people travel across their original residential boundaries, the practices and attached-values of the language(s) they use change as much as their own as speakers. To highlight the role of globalisation as a key norm of the current changing society in studies on changing language resources, Coupland (2003) points out:

even when our primary concerns are with sociolinguistic issues in particular locales (which is sociolinguistics’ traditional ground), we need to address a range of factors linked to processes of globalisation to account for these local circumstances. To this extent, by opening up to globalisation, sociolinguistics is not confronting a new paradigm that opposes ‘new global’ and ‘old local’ sociolinguistic insights, and prioritises the former. (p466)

The accelerating mobility of people and commodities in our contemporary world has challenged the traditional sociolinguistic focus on a mere locale and required a shift into looking at an individual sociolinguistic event as a part of a process. In the late capitalist cultural economy, the phenomenon of globalisation has created ‘a web of complex relationships that has introduced fundamental disruptive changes in the fabric of society’ (Chun, 1996:137). To investigate any particular point in this complex web, we need to take both the longitude and latitude veins into consideration; we need to look at the socioeconomic layers as well as the chronotopical structures for descriptions of our local foci.

In this study, a large Chinese complementary school in Birmingham, England stands as the local focus. To investigate the local heteroglossia in such a school, a range of factors connected to the processes of globalisation (e.g. the economic growth of P. R. China in the global market) need to be taken into account. The co-presence of chronotopes (e.g. the historical structures and norms of British Chinese diasporas back in the 1960s and the late 1990s) and the interaction among these historical discourses in the here-and-now also need to be included as the part and parcel. In addition, the ‘intensification of world-wide social relations which links distant localities’ (Giddens, 1990:64) which refers to cross-boundary variables also plays crucial roles as part of the context. These variables may include contemporary language policies in China, its dominant political and cultural ideologies relating to Chinese education in overseas settings, or China’s current cultural trends which project influence to the overseas places. All these variables shed particular impact on the structure reformation and language shift in the Chinese diaspora. In short, the interpretive discussion provided in this study intrinsically involves themes like migration, mobility, social inequality and their impact on the local diasporic community in contemporary globalising world. In such a ‘globalisation-sensitive’ sociolinguistic research (Coupland, 2003:466), superdiversity comes into light as a salient part of the context.

Superdiversity, first introduced by Steven Vertovec in the journal of Ethnic and Racial Studies in 2007, now has received considerable attention as a concept for new discussion about contemporary social complexity. It refers to

multidimensional shifts in migration patterns which entail a worldwide diversification of migration channels, differentiations of legal statuses, diverging patterns of gender and age, and variance in migrants’ human capital. (Meissner and Vertovec, 2015:542).

In terms of investigating superdiversity, Vertovec calls for looking at the patterns of what do meaningful communicative interchanges look like, how they are formed, maintained or broken, and how the state or other agencies might promote them (2007). These how and why questions can also be linked together with Heller and Duchêne (2012)'s discussion on language in late capitalism to look at the communicative interchanges in forms of stratification, distinction and transformation; to look at how nation-state and local agencies might produce, maintain, promote or break certain values of language, such as 'pride' and 'profit'.

In the recent paper written by Meissner and Vertovec (2015), Meissner distinguishes superdiversity as a *social context* -- a set of variables about the current (post-1990) conditions, because the theorisation of migration-related diversity is increasingly being seen as *ordinary* and part of people's everyday lives (Meissner and Vertovec, 2015:547). They call for better understandings on 'diversity on the move' or, in other words, to 'move from analysing diversity to analysing diversifications' (Meissner and Vertovec, 2015:550). I see this argument as an important perspective which defines superdiversity as an *ongoing process* of social diversifications rather than simply 'all-broken-down' postmodern fragments. To study such a process, attention should be paid on different levels of diversifications globally and locally with a focus on the day-to-day practices. We need to cognise the conditions and processes surrounding superdiversity, such as 'the locational specificities' in cities impacted differentially by international migration groups, which 'both produce, and are produced by, a range of differential power relations and modes of inequality' (Meissner and Vertovec, 2015:551).

Without any doubt, cities impacted by international migration have contributed to the emergence and changing of Superdiversity. Super-diversifications in major cities have altered

the demography of regions and created new diasporic language realities. Studies on such superdiverse cities bring new themes into the sociolinguistic field. For example, in their paper ‘Towards a sociolinguistics of superdiversity’ (2010a), Creese and Blackledge elaborate a sociolinguistic study on multilingual practices in the minority language communities of four superdiverse British cities. They focus on the ways in which the new diversity becomes the site of negotiations over linguistic recourses. They argue that superdiversity is not only limited to ‘new’ migrants who arrived at the last decade, but includes changing practices and norms in established migration and (non-migration) groups. They point out that ‘superdiversity is not simply in terms of ethnicity or original country; rather there are other social factors come into play which include, *inter alia*, differential immigration statuses, gender, age, economic mobility, social class/caste, and locality and sexuality’ (Creese and Blackledge, 2010a:552).

In such superdiverse neighbourhoods the linguistic diversity brought by international migration may generate complex linguistic repertoires in which language resources nuancedly differ: some of them agreed upon and others not. The linguistic diversity discursively reflects subtle distinctions between groups and individuals with results like speakers of inferior language variety are regarded as inferior. In my case, the Chinese diasporic community in Birmingham stands as one of such superdiverse neighbourhoods as well.

Also because superdiversity in such cities is by nature characterised as an integration of people with very different backgrounds, resources and communicative repertoires, it is likely to pluralise indexical interpretation and introduce significant limits to negotiability. This feature of ‘unevenly ordered indexicality’ impacts on ‘the idea of ‘negotiation’ which suggests a degree of conflict of interests ...within a framework of shared understandings’’ in

directions of successful socialisation of certain linguistic varieties (Blommaert and Rampton, 2011:6). In their paper titled as ‘Language and superdiversity’ (2011), Blommaert and Rampton call for more research on the language and literacy socialisation of individuals in superdiversity, both ‘in and outside formal education’ (2011:14). They talk about the increasing accounts of socialisation in community complementary schools, recognising the inter-generational language socialisation within families. They also indicate that such language socialisation ‘vary in degrees of formalisation as well as in the directions of influence, depending on whether it covers old or new languages, styles, technologies and approaches to interculturality...’(2011:14). In my view, this interpretation of language socialisation as a complex negotiation in community complementary schools echoes with heteroglossia, because it shares the foci on the heterogeneity nature, complex orders of indexicality, as well as the dynamically embedded socio-historical meaning of language socialisation.

In their paper Blommaert and Rampton also mention an idea of ‘robust and well-established orthodoxy’ as the reference of ‘a hegemonic force in public discourse, in bureaucratic and educational policy and practice...’ (2011:3). I see this idea relevant to the trope of ‘pride’, especially in the context of community complementary school – the orthodoxy becomes a part of local interpretation of heritage maintenance and ethnical identity. The commonly seen and heard ‘Chinese-Only!’ ideology in CCSs is a typical example of such kind. Next I will continue my literature review on the context of this research, focusing on another layer of social environment: the Chinese diaspora in England.

2.3.2 The Chinese diasporic community

In this part I present a brief discussion on the Chinese diasporic community in England and the ethnic identification of Chineseness in diasporic settings. I see this discussion providing important knowledge of the socio-historical conditions for understanding the local emergence in a CCS. I start from a short review of the changing theorisation of diaspora, and then the Chinese diaspora in England for particular.

According to Li and Zhu (2013a), diaspora originally means ‘the scattering of people between, through, and across different geographical location’ (p43). For many centuries its main reference was the historical mass dispersions of the Jews, African slaves, and the Chinese Coolies (Clifford, 1994; Li and Zhu, 2013a). It now has meanings in a larger domain that includes like immigrant, expatriate, refugee, guest-worker, exile community, overseas community, ethnic community (Tölölian, 1991:4-5). In cultural studies diaspora remains as an interesting topic to many sociologists. Brah (1996) defines diasporas as ‘the sites of hope and new beginnings’ (p193); Morley (2000) refers diaspora to ‘the victimization, uprooting and displacement of individuals’ (p44); while Clifford (1994) interprets the diasporic consciousness as both negative and positive: it is negative for the racial and economic marginalization and discrimination and positive for the skills of survival and the feeling of global (p309). Tensions between ‘loss’ and ‘hope’, ‘roots’ and ‘routes’ tend to be the key definitional norms of diaspora (Clifford, 1994:308-9).

Nevertheless, diasporas in the 21st century are dramatically changing into intrinsically superdiverse transnational social contexts. Individuals with different migration motivations and post-migration experiences, of different educational and socio-economic backgrounds and statuses join in and then remain at the diasporic contexts. New migrants are intermingled

with long-term settlers with nuanced (re)categorisations. Speakers of different languages, dialects and accents are interacting with each other as part of a diasporic community, creating new hybridity and also conflict, new images of the local diasporic world, as well as new forms of negotiation over social inequality.

David Block (2008) challenges the appropriateness of the metaphor of 'loss' in studies on multilingual, transnational individuals and communities and calls for 'a move away from the excessively emotive and romanticized stances towards language maintenance and language shift'(cited in Li and Zhu, 2013a:44). 'Language as commodity' is called into attention because diaspora experiences and discourses are, as a matter of fact, 'never clear of commodification' (Clifford, 1994:318). Tsgarousianou(2004) suggests to frame diaspora in late modernity in terms of intense and constant interaction at a transnational level, rather than in terms of isolation and solitude. In the same vein, Aihwa Ong (1993) terms 'flexible citizenship' for people who shuffle in transnational movements of capital improvise with striking differences or power and privilege. She explains her term in the speech of a Chinese investor who claims "I can live anywhere in the world, but it must be near an airport" (1993:41). Ong (1999) also proposes to adopt the term 'transnationalism' to go together with identification of the 'flexible citizenship'. More recently, Benton and Gomez (2014) describe transnationalism as 'the links in an age of instant communication and ease of travel between migrants in places of settlement and origin and among diasporans (p1163). With particular interests in Chinese diasporas in Britain, Benton and Gomez (2008, 2014) provide in-depth analyses on transnational phenomena in Chinese diasporas in relation with political and ideological policies in China.

The history of Chinese diaspora in Britain dates back to the 17th century in terms of scattering coolie labours. The first sizeable settlement of Chinese people in Britain was in the early 19th

century, mostly of seamen (Benton and Gomez, 2008; Li and Zhu, 2013a). After the Second World War, many people from the Hong Kong and Southeast coast of mainland China migrated to the UK. The current British Chinese diaspora consists of these early migrants, their descendants, and new immigrants from various areas of China and other regions of the world ever since late 1980s.

It is also important to indicate the significant shift inside the Chinese diaspora in Britain during the recent decade. After the transition of sovereignty of Hong Kong from Britain to China in 1997 and, more importantly, with China's rapid economy growth during the recent two decades and its increasing status on the global economic market, a fast growing number of Chinese migrants from Mainland China coming to the UK has changed the structure of British Chinese diaspora. The previous dominance of Cantonese-speaking group is no longer the mere majority. The neoliberal ideology out from globalisation has seen its pressure on the recent shift among the diversified Chinese diaspora. Blommaert and Rampton (2011) describe this change as 'the balance of demographic, political and material predominance gradually shifting away from the traditional diaspora groups towards new émigrés from the P.R. China...' (p2). New migrants from the Mainland of China speaking *Putonghua* are becoming the new majority. This close link to the P.R. China in Chinese diasporas is also seen in Benton and Gomez (2014)'s discussion on 'transnational networking becoming accepted wisdom in studies on Chinese new migrants and Chinese diasporas' (p1163).

With these wider socio-historical conditions, the heteroglossic Chinese diaspora is facing its new normative features: it is becoming more heterogeneous as well as more unitised with new forms of hegemony generated. 'How Chinese diasporans view themselves' and 'how such perceptions are being negotiated during interactions in and around their local communities' are also changing with new attributions of meaning and values. Here I take this

changing nature of Chinese diaspora in globalisation as my starting point for the following discussion on Chineseness, which comes as one of the main research themes of this study.

Chineseness is an ambiguous term. It implies an ever-evolving process of identification with constant updates of definitions. 20 years ago in 1996, Allen Chun has characterised Chineseness as ‘a *cultural discourse*’ that involves ‘not only symbols of national identity, icons of patriotic fervour..., but also the authority of statements about shared values embodied in language, ethnicity, and custom, as well as shared myths encoded as genres of knowledge, such as history, ideology, and beliefs’ (Chun, 1996:114-115). Chun critiques that this *cultural discourse* ‘galvanizes Chinese identity from what was once kin-centred, dialect groups into a radically new imagined community re-educated in standard Mandarin and the orthodox teachings of Chinese civilization’(1996:124). Different from Chun’s perspective, neo-Confucius scholar Tu Wei-Ming (1991) proposes the idea of ‘cultural China’ which compasses Mainland China, Taiwan, Hong Kong and Singapore; overseas Chinese communities; as well as intellectuals and professionals generally concerned with studying Chinese world, based on a consensus of identification in terms of Confucius cultural essence. Tu’s idea of ‘cultural China’ is criticised by Chun as ‘essentialist idealism’ which in Chun’s point is paradoxical to the fact that cultural discourses are contextualised and localised social constructs. Chun holds a view of seeing the notion of Chineseness ‘suffers less from its intrinsic absence than from the presence of too many discourses, internal as well external’(1996:131). He argues that at the level of discourse (ethnicity as culture), there is much reason to believe that small Chinese communities represent different discursive universes precisely because they are grounded in locally specific contexts of meaning and power, and there is not much basis to renew the consciousness of Chineseness at any other social stratifications.

From my point of view, Chun's argument against Tu's 'cultural China' proposal to some degree serves right to the conditions of current globalising late modern world, because the 'Cultural China' proposal remains romanticised in forms of categorising the heteroglossic consciousness of Chineseness generally under the abstracts of Confucius culture. However, Chun's criticism on whether there is a basis for renewing discussion on Chineseness reaches to another extreme contextualisation of cultural phenomena, at where he freezes the interpretation on Chinese diasporas (and the consciousness of Chineseness) into small *separated* locales. As discussed above in globalisation and superdiversity (in section 3.2.1), the foci on separate locales can no longer answer questions around the current phenomena in globalisation in late modernity. Chineseness is ambiguous, but it does not mean that we do not need to (or cannot) generate new discourses about it.

In fact, at a superdiverse Chinese diasporic community, the Chinese people and Chinese culture have been constantly amalgamating, reconstructing, reinventing, and reinterpreting. The seemingly 'static' Chinese culture has been in a continuous changing process of assigning new meanings about being Chinese. The evolving process of Chineseness and the new meanings constructed during the process provide a significant discourse to our understanding of Chinese migrants' local practices in relation with globalisation and superdiversity. Either a superior Chinese culture myth or any unobservable and unanalyticable locally-frozen mysteries of Chineseness would remain inappropriate and inconvincible in the current superdiverse societies. In pursuit of a new discourse on Chineseness, I take Stuart Hall (1990)'s perspective of emphasising culture identity is less a matter of 'being' than of 'becoming', and of that 'unstable points of identification or suture, they are subject to the continuous play of history, culture, and power rather than grounded in the recovery of a past' (p225).

Chun (1996) has realised the radical changes that globalisation has brought into boundaries of community and place, but he has limited his perspective onto the ‘significant disjunctures between ethnoscaples, mediascaples, technoscaples, finanscaples, and ideoscaples’(p128) with a constraint only on the *difference*. During the past twenty years, the enhanced flow of people, capital, technology, and ideologies with the late capitalist cultural economy, has, in effect, not only differentiated communities and places, but also significantly connected them into tension-filled interactions, with hybridizations and transformations followed up. Chineseness does not only imply boundedness to a given community; neither does it remain stably harmonious among distinctive groups of people. Instead, diasporic Chineseness as a heteroglossic identification is always associated with various levels (individual, communal, ethnical or national) and domains (generations, business, education, economics or politics) of cultural discourses.

In my study, the scope of this discussion on Chineseness goes in and around a major Chinese complementary school (CCS) in the city of Birmingham. In chapter 6, I use data collected from participants from the CCS (including teachers, head teachers, students, and school governors and funders) to provide a discourse on Chineseness, to interpret how inclusion, exclusion, unity and distinction around Chineseness are constructed, circulated, contested, or reproduced in communicative encounters.

2.3.3 The Chinese complementary school (CCS)

Heller and Martin-Jones (2001) define a school as ‘a discursive space in which groups with different interests struggle over access to symbolic and material resources and over ways of organizing that access that privilege some and marginalize others on the basis of criteria of

evaluation that have collective applications and effects' (2001:5). This definition of schools applies to not only the formal educational institutions, but also an informal educational context like a Chinese complementary school.

The Chinese complementary schools (CCSs) are voluntary schools, commonly also referred as Chinese community/supplementary/heritage language schools. As introduced in Chapter 1, these schools usually have been set up by influential individuals (mostly without educational professions) from the local Chinese communities, out of the aim to maintain Chinese languages and culture. These schools often are established in result of anxieties over the potential loss of Chinese language among young generations, because Chinese language symbolizes the Chinese cultural heritage and identity and takes on particular social significance for Chinese people (Zhu and Li, 2014). CCSs are expected, as Heller (2008:260) indicates, to be the 'battle sites' for protecting minority language under the pressure of being assimilated to mainstream majority societies.

Due to historical reasons, most of the early Chinese complementary schools in the UK were originally built up since mid-20 century, by the Chinese migrants moving from Hong Kong, with only Cantonese Chinese as the target language. However, the last two decades have seen a change of hierarchies amongst the varieties of Chinese language used in the Chinese diaspora in Britain (Zhu and Li, 2014). As introduced in Section 2.3.2, because of the economic development in Mainland China, and the increasing population of British Chinese immigrants from Mainland China, *Putonghua* has become the main target language in most of these Chinese schools. This is happening at the expense of the traditional community lingua franca, *Cantonese*, losing its hegemonic currency within the Chinese community. Moreover, in recognition of its usefulness in global economic market, *Putonghua* is now also

taught in some mainstream British schools as a foreign language; apart from being widely used alongside Cantonese in any Chinatowns in large urban centres (Zhu and Li, 2014). All these changes are closely linked to the geopolitics that comes with the growing economic power of the P. R. China.

Nowadays, according to Li (2013), there are around 200 Chinese complementary schools across the UK. On the website of UK Federation of Chinese Schools (UKFCS, which is probably the most influential voluntary organisation regarding Chinese community schools in the UK), there are 74 major Chinese schools across Britain registered as their members. These 74 CCSs share a connection and cooperation with one another for accesses to social networking (e.g. visits back to China or attendances on governmental organised events) or other resources (e.g. curriculums, textbooks or teacher training opportunities). Teachers in these schools usually are bilingual Chinese migrants with or without previous professional experiences in language education. Their personal experiences and attitudes on language and bilingualism may affect their pedagogies variously (He & Xiao, 2008). These schools are usually labelled as being supported by ‘selfless contribution of enthusiastic community volunteers’ with most of the staff working without receiving payments except for a little amount for transportation fee. Previous research evidence seems to suggest that there is limited improvement in the literacy level of Chinese children (Li and Wu, 2010) since the two-hour-a-week routine simply could not play magic to the English-speaking children.

The recent two decades also has witnessed a number of researchers putting their interests in the Chinese complementary schools, both in Europe and North America. A variety of research interests has ranged from analysing the influence of complementary school education on people’s global identity (e.g. He and Xiao 2008); to discussing a particular

pedagogical perspective in this bilingual educational setting (e.g. Li and Wu, 2010; Creese, Wu and Blackledge, 2009; Blackledge and Creese, 2010); and to investigating teachers' and parents' perspectives on the social values and functions of these schools (Arther et al, 2010; Francis et al. 2010). All research has shown that these schools are more than just learning spaces. Apart from the function of mother tongue acquisition, 'Ethnicity emphasis' and 'heritage inheritance' were recognised as the two main features categorising these schools from other Chinese educational contexts (Mau et al. 2009).

However, as discussed above in 2.3.2, the current characteristics of the Chinese diaspora offer us a new context to understand how Chinese multilinguals communicate with each other across time and space in globalisation. The Chinese complementary school (CCS) can not only be viewed as an ethnical enclave casting outside the mainstream education, isolated on rented promises with transient weekly operations. Rather, it has to be observed as dynamic and complex linguistic ecology featured by multilingualism and heteroglossia. Following Bakhtin's view of 'language as stratified diversity' involving value-attached exchanges for negotiations over linguistic capital (1981a, 1981b, 1986), the CCS (like any other linguistic landscapes) is inherently marked by heteroglossia with its language varieties of different classes, groups and generations; its speech genres and embedded orders for values, legitimacy and authenticity; its language shifts and power modification; as well as its historically developing stages. A Chinese complementary school is heteroglossic by nature.

Next, I will move on to talk about this heteroglossic nature of CCS in detail, to address the two research themes in my study which are language ideologies (LIs) and teacher's professional identities (TPIs).

In the CCS context, as shown in previous research reports (e.g. Creese and Wu, 2008; Li and Wu, 2009; Creese and Blackledge, 2011), a heteroglossic ecology of **language ideologies** constitutes many layers and dimensions of forms and meanings. In this kind of schools, a historically dominant ideology positions the Chinese language (Cantonese or Putonghua) as a *heritage* for the young generation to learn and inherit (Archer and Francis, 2007; Blackledge and Creese, 2008). With the emphasis on heritage, a monolingual pedagogy is therefore adopted by inducting ‘Chinese-only!’ policy in the classroom to keep the CCS classroom free from the ‘interference’ from English. Apart from this ‘separate bilingualism’ ideology (see detailed discussion on this term in Blackledge and Creese, 2008, 2010), there are other dimensions and layers of ideologies observed in the CCS context. Next I will discuss the language ideology ecology in a CCS in relation to language as ‘pride’ and ‘profit’, which has been threading through my discussion in 2.2.1 and other parts above.

First, a CCS constitutes the ideology of language as ‘pride’. In such a multilingual setting, a discourse of powerful monolingualism is ‘often taken to be the nature of human life’ (Gal, 2006:15). It manifests in forms of named languages being taken as homogenous expressions of the distinct spirit of a particular group. In this sense, where linguistic practices conform to certain norms and standards, they are effective in legitimizing political arrangement. Blackledge and Creese (2010) point out that a dominant ideology that positioning the majority language (often English at the global level) as the only language of communication in institutional and other public contexts ‘is constantly produced and reproduced’ (p27). Their work on British ethnical minorities has explicitly illustrated the ‘English as pride’ monolingualism in England. In the CCSs, the vast majority of the students – the British-born second or third generation of Chinese migrants – are speaking English as their L1, in order to ‘fit in’ the mainstream English-only ideology and practice. Under such a monolingual

ideology, the minority language associated with an immigrant group (like Chinese) is facing the linguistic insecurity. This English monolingual ideology is ‘a drive towards homogeneity, a drive that potentially marginalizes or excludes those who either refuse, or are unwilling, to conform’ (Blackledge and Creese, 2010:27). This dimension of monolingual homogeneity reconciles with the ‘pride’ ideology in terms of British Chinese people (especially the second generation and later descendants)’s consciousness of their British settlement or citizenship – an identity of being a member of the nation-state of Britain. Being a fluent monolingual speaker of English becomes significant in construction of the ‘pride’ of this type *outside* the minority community.

Apart from this, the monolingual homogeneity also can lead to an opposite direction regarding English-Chinese bilingualism, which is usually demonstrated as ‘a high degree of independence and self-reliance’ (Wang, 1996) of the home country language *within* certain social contexts. In my study, one of the head teacher’s repeated discourses on teacher meetings or on school assemblies states as ‘WE do not need to speak English here.’ This ‘we-’ statement is an explicit indexical sign of claiming for a bounded intro-communal ‘pride’ of Chinese language in relation to a collective Chinese national/ethnic identity.

In the same trope of ‘pride’, there is another dimension of the monolingual ideology at the *internal* level of Chinese language, regarding different varieties and dialects under the umbrella name of ‘Chinese’. In the British Chinese diaspora, while Cantonese being the lingua franca for more than half a century, the hegemonic ‘pride’ over Cantonese had marginalised those who did not have the particular linguistic capital to the periphery – lower classes within the Chinese diaspora). Once this hegemony of Cantonese variety had been broken by the growing power of Putonghua during the recent decade, ‘Speaking Putonghua!’ or ‘You should learn Putonghua.’ became the common discourse indexing to another type of

‘pride’. To (re)construct this ‘new’ pride in daily diasporic interactions, speaking Putonghua became a salient symbol and a compulsory resource for being Chinese. This ideological trend reveals the reason why so many non-Putonghua-speaking parents who originally came from outside Mainland China are now keen to bring their children to Putonghua classes in CCSs to acquire the variety. It also explains why Cantonese teacher Kerry (see chapter 5 for analysis) who has Putonghua fluency can perceive herself with a stronger professional identity compared with her Cantonese-speaking-only colleagues.

Second, a heteroglossic CCS constitutes the ideology of ‘profit’. This is particularly encompassed in the translanguaging ideology and pedagogy. By adopting flexible bilingualism and a translanguaging pedagogy, teachers emphasis the dynamic incorporation among their and students’ linguistic repertoires to make the most meaning. In the complementary school classroom, teachers and pupils use their languages flexibly and creatively to interact with each other, meet the pedagogical goals and negotiate cultural identities. Switching along linguistic resources becomes the most characteristic behaviour of bilingual translanguagers (García, 2007, 2009, 2011; Li, Zhu and Wu, 2009; Creese and Blackledge, 2010b, 2011; García and Li, 2014). These teachers mostly pursue the aim of teaching for direct benefits and ability, such as everyday life communication with relatives back in China or more opportunities to access to the global job market. Students are persuaded to learn the language because ‘it is useful’, rather than because ‘they are Chinese’. In a flexible bilingualism, rather than emphasising ‘speaking Chinese only in the CSC classroom!’ for ethnical identity and belongingness, being realistic to students’ linguistic repertoire and flexible to the social, institutional and classroom conditions becomes the key in the ‘teaching Chinese for profit’ ideology.

For the discussion on language ideologies in this study, I take Heller and Duchêne's perspective of 'rather than accepting ideological positions in which there is competition over languages, perhaps we should be asking instead who benefits and who loses from understanding languages the way we do, what is the stake for whom, and how and why language serves as a terrain for competition' (2007:11). For instance, I provide analysis and discussion on the historically dominant 'Chinese-only' ideology as particular normative perception held by a small group of Cantonese-speaking teachers who have a long settlement in the UK. I discuss how translanguaging is adopted by a group of newly-migrated Putonghua teachers with an explicit emphasis on the usefulness of the variety. I also look at the head teacher's call for homogeneity of Chinese in the school. And I particularly pay attention on the intra-language heteroglossia and its manifestation in school participants' daily life interactions. All these analyses and discussions on language ideologies will be provided in chapter 4.

Next, I will continue the discussion on CCS with another theme: **the Chinese teachers' professional identities** (CTPIs). First of all, epistemologically I adopt Erving Goffman (1959)'s notion of '*presentation of self*' and the highlight of chronotope and stratification from heteroglossia to form my fundamental stance for understanding *identity*. I see Chinese teachers' professional identities in the CSC context are facets of their 'presentation of self' in societies. According to George H. Mead (1934), 'self' is developed through transactions with the environment, which means that the self only makes sense in a social setting where there is a social communication with others. Through this communication with others, one learns to assume the roles of others and monitor one's own actions accordingly. Goffman (1959) similarly conceives identity in terms of the way people strategically *performed* and presented *aspects of themselves* in interactions, and of the way they endeavoured to shape and were

inevitably shaped by the perceptions of other co-participants. In the same vein, Erikson (1968) also emphasises the embedment of identity formation in social contexts and on the stages people pass through. He outlines a *chronological and changing concept of identity* by pointing out that each of these chronological stages has its own characteristics regarding the individual's interaction with his or her environment. Thus, identity is not something one has, but something that one develops during one's whole life.

Apart from these traditional views, there are also more recent accounts on identity. For example, Jørgensen (2010) proposes that users create, construct, and negotiate identities on the basis of a range of resources which can be associated with meaning. He emphasises the performance, construction, enact and production of identities in interaction with others. That is, 'identities arise in interaction among people' (Jørgensen, 2010:4). In short, identities are something emergent in action and are 'shaped from moment to moment in interaction' (Bucholtz and Hall, 2005:591). Similarly, Beijarrd et al. (2004) defines identity as *a relational phenomenon* which occurs in an intersubjective field and can be best characterised as an *ongoing process*, and this is a process of interpreting oneself as a certain kind person being recognised as such in a given context (Gee et al., 2001).

Meanwhile, since not all linguistic resources are equally available to all speakers at all times (Creese et al., 2006); during the ongoing process, some speakers are either unable to negotiate their identities from inextricably powerless positions, and others in powerful positions have no need to do so, some speakers in modern nation-states are using their linguistic skills to negotiate new subject positions (Pavlenko and Blackledge, 2004). Identity in superdiverse contemporary society is by nature a heteroglossic phenomenon related to social stratification and inequality. All of these pragmatic and interactive stances of perceiving identity and more recent discourses on identification as a process align with

Bakhtin's concept of heteroglossia: identity is interactive/dialogic self-world relationship. It is the chronologically changing process during which momentary performances of a complex human are being constructed out of particular reasons and for particular objectives.

To particularly focus on teachers' professional identities in this study, I look at the interweaving relationship between teachers' background, biography, personal practical knowledge and their professional identity, with a particular focus on a teacher's momentary presentation and performance of his or her professional identities in the context of CSC.

Teacher identity emerged as a research area at the late 1980s (Tickle, 2000). It is conceptualised differently by researchers with various investigating topics to pursue diversity of objectives. Tickle (2010) defines teacher identity as:

both broadly accepted images in society about what a teacher should know and do, and what the teachers themselves find important in their professional work and lives based on both their experiences in practice and their personal backgrounds (2010: 423).

Tickle's view basically reflects the 'self-world' dialogical perspective of identity. It emphasises the interactional process during which a teacher develops his or her identity according to the environment. Moreover, teacher identity is also argued as not fixed or unitary, but a complex and dynamic equilibrium where professional self-image is balanced with a variety of roles teachers feel that they have to play (Volkman and Anderson, 1998). During the balancing process, a teacher is often arguing and redefining an identity that is socially legitimated during the interaction of structure and agency. However, since the self-others interaction is always nuanced, fragmented and momentary (Heller, 2003 ; Bucholtz, 2003) with certain conditions, it may often make a teacher not able to reach the balance.

Based on the ‘self-world’ dialogical perspective about identity, I also use the notion of ‘metaphor’ in my discussion to interpret teachers’ perceptions of seeing themselves respectively as ‘service provider’, ‘gardener’ and ‘guide’ in this study. Metaphors in the discussion are seen as ‘vehicles uniquely well-designed to negotiate and make sense of the creative space between what is personal and what becomes public’ (Hunt, 2006:317). Although they might appear to be simplistic, ‘they [metaphors] reveal our educational values, beliefs, and principles; they contain information essential to our growth as professionals’ (Gillis and Johnson, 2002:37). I see that the use of metaphor allows teachers in this study to be descriptive (and interpretative) about their preferred identities in alternate. They use other social roles which usually are characterised as non-educational normed to represent the ways they see themselves as a teacher. The three metaphors presented in Chapter 5, ‘service provider’, ‘gardener’ and ‘guide’, reflect a range of perspectives that Chinese teachers bring to a local interpretation on their professional identities. In 5.2 I provide an analysis on the three metaphors by contextualising three teachers’ emergent linguistic discourses with their profiles, backgrounds, and the socio-historical conditions which shape and form the individual’s use of metaphor.

So far teacher identity in the migration context like a complementary school still remains an area without much literature. Wu, Palmer and Field (2011), in their study on Chinese teachers’ professional identities within a heritage language educational setting in the US, have provided a generalised account of Chinese community school teachers ‘having a weak professional identity but a strong cultural awareness’. Similarly, Archer, Francis and Mau (2010) provide a discussion on Chinese teachers’ perspectives on the diasporic negotiation of ethnicity, identity and culture, in which ‘whether the cultural agenda of preservation and maintenance is successful or not for pupils to feel more Chinese’ is highlighted.

Because of the lack of previous literature on professional identities of CCS teachers, it becomes necessary to look at the slightly wider field of endangered minority languages and their speakers. For instance, Grinevald and Bert (2011:49-52) have categorised speakers in minority language contexts as semi-speakers, fluent speakers, ghost speakers, and new speakers. Among these categories, new speakers are constructed as the desired outcome of language and education policies that aim at sustaining their usage. Likewise, Jaffe (2015b) points out that standardization and institutionalization of minority languages can create new forms and speakers, these new forms of authority and authenticity do not replace traditional criteria but rather, exist alongside them, creating a multiple, complex ideological field. In other words, it is a dynamic interplay and accumulation of interactions between different categories of speakers and the different sociolinguistic authenticities and authorities with which they are associated (Jaffe, 2015b:42). Jaffe proposes a term of '*new-speakerness*' as a social status, identity and stance to define adults who acquire a socially and communicatively consequential level of competence and practice in a minority language (2015b:25-29). I found these concepts of new-speakers and new-speakerness useful in my discussion on Chinese teachers' professional identities, to particularly address the group of translanguaging Putonghua teachers' dynamic use of all resources out from their linguistic repertoires to negotiate their professional identifications from moment to moment. In Chapter 6 I will draw examples from two key participants' translanguaging discourses to talk about their professional identities in relation to new-speakerness.

Different from the discourse of CTPI in terms of new-speakerness, there are also presentations of 'negative' consciousness regarding identifications in diasporic settings. Hall (2014) proposed a notion of '*hypersubjectivity*' to define the identification issue in superdiversity. In this paper Hall presents a discussion on the *anxiety* of 'being nowhere'

among certain migrant groups in neoliberal globalization. This discussion on the ‘anxiety of belonging to nowhere’ echoes with Bakhtin’s description of displacement: if one’s linguistic repertoire does not (completely) ‘fit’ the local world, and that ‘the ideological systems and approaches to the world that were indissolubly connected with these languages contradicted each other and in no way could live in peace and quiet with one another’, one feels displaced (Bakhtin, 1981a:296). In diasporic contexts, anxiety or feelings of being ‘neither here nor there’ exist as one common facet of diaspora identities. Hall (2014) in her article also provides an example of a Korean migrant using *authenticity* as ‘shorthand excuse’ (p263) to negotiate identities in Australia. This adaptation of ‘authentic’ forms of linguistic practices to contest the anxiety of feeling nowhere also becomes highly relevant in my data analysis on the local Chinese complementary school teacher’s professional identity. In Chapter 5 I provide an analysis and discussion on a male teacher’s use of authenticity for his claim of a strong teacher authority.

2.4 Conclusion

Late capitalism (Mandal, 1975) moves us towards finding ways of discovering and describing the complex articulations and processes constructing contemporary social worlds and the life trajectories of social actors. Having its dominant features of the cross-boundary corporation, globalised markets and labour, mass consumption and liquid flows of capital, late capitalism problematizes perspectives of only looking at single moments on single sites (Heller and Duchêne, 2012). In studies on language in society, new paradigm must be sought for investigating mobility, mixing, political and economic dynamics and historical embedding (Blommaert and Rampton, 2011; Heller and Duchêne, 2012). ‘How, where, why and by

whom the social order is quietly reproduced or vociferously changed' (Heller and Martin-Jones, 2001:6) are questions for us to answer in current social science studies. The revisit to Bakhtin's theory of heteroglossia opens up a new spectrum for our seeing and offers a new ground for our analysis and discussion, and therefore helps for answering the above 'how, where, why and who' question in late modern time.

In this study, a heteroglossic lens helps to address the conditions of globalisation and superdiversity and to analyse the features of a CCS in such conditions. Discussions on language ideologies, teachers' professional identities and the ethnical identification of Chineseness in Chapter 4, 5, 6 are all based on interpreting local semiotic signs and forms dialogically, indexically and historically. The cross-boundary connectedness of remote places such as a Chinese complementary school in England to the homeland of China in terms of political and economic impacts, or the chronotopical linkage between different stages of identification of Chineseness, come into light as important components in the discussion on teaching and learning Chinese as a minority language in the British Chinese diasporic context. By combining sociological knowledge, ethnographic approach and linguistic analytical methods, this sociolinguistic investigation on language practices in the CCS context also aims to provide another paradigm of heteroglossia. I will come back to this point in the conclusion chapter.

Chapter 3

METHODOLOGY

3.1 Introduction

In Chapter 2 I provided a review of the literature relating to my study, discussing the theory of heteroglossia together with other useful concepts and previous empirical research which guide, support and influence my study. In this chapter I present the rationale of my research design and my adaptation of research methods, also the description of how I have implemented them to conduct the research. This chapter also outlines how the data has been collected and analysed and discusses the emerging ethical implications.

In this chapter I first present and discuss linguistic ethnography (LE) as a methodological orientation to investigate ideology and identity under the heteroglossic lens. To me heteroglossia means the simultaneous and complex use of various types of semiotic signs and forms to make social meanings in dynamic. From a heteroglossic perspective, the salience of context is emphasised. Which is to say: there are always sets of socio-historical variations that make the words uttered in that particular context and at that certain time distinctive than it would have been in other contexts. Meanwhile, in such a context the various forms of linguistic practice do not have inherent meanings all by their own, but become meaningful in the context of political and cultural interests and intentions, both historically and contemporarily. I believe that with all these features heteroglossia aligns with linguistic

ethnography on the key norm: the focus on complexity in social communication and the situated and particular interpretation of social meanings.

In this linguistic ethnographic (LE) study, I aim to observe and present the social tension between the centripetal and the centrifugal trends of language ideologies in practices among participants, and the process during which participants perform and negotiate identities in tension-filled interactions. In order to investigate these social associations, the context-situated practices have to be observed, analysed and interpreted in relation with wider social structures. By investigating language ideology and identity in and around a Chinese complementary school in the city of Birmingham, I aim to understand how social categories like multilingual communication, education, diaspora, ethnicity and community are being (re)constructed and (re)patterned under global mobility and the shift of linguistic power. I seek to provide an in-depth description and interpretation on a Birmingham Chinese complementary school as an ethnographic case, aiming to enhance public understanding and awareness on the Chinese complementary schooling and the Chinese diasporic community in the UK, as well as to inform and improve the bi-/multilingual educational practices in such schools in terms of teacher training, curriculum design, and public engagement.

The research questions I seek to answer in this study are:

1. What language ideologies are constructed, negotiated, and developed by the adult participants in the Chinese complementary school?
2. How do Chinese language teachers perform and negotiate their professional identities in complementary school teaching practices?
3. How do local multilingual practices reflect the ethnic identification of ‘*Chineseness*’ in and around the Chinese complementary school?

In order to answer these questions, my research design needs to be capable of capturing and interpreting the dynamic and complex sociolinguistic phenomena within and around the CCS. A LE design focusing on the etic-emic dialectic became my choice. I adopted research methods including intensive participant observations, audio-recordings of classroom interactions, interviews, and collections of documents to emically look at the small signs in interactive and narrative discourses; while applying an etic perspective for seeing these signs under socio-historical conditions.

My research compounded a 10-month field work within a well-established large Chinese complementary school in the city of Birmingham during 2013 to 2014, and an extended on-going participant observation on the Birmingham Chinese community around and beyond the school. I have collected a dataset including field notes, audio-recorded classroom interactions, interview narratives and a various range of documentary and photographs. Under the interpretative epistemology and with a LE approach, my data analysis focused on adopting critically-informed ethnographic discourse analysis to capture and understand the small semiotic (including linguistic) signs and forms in the context. Throughout the whole process of conducting the research, an on-going reflexive role of me as the researcher has strengthened my capability to cope with emergent dilemmas and develop the field work into a remarkable learning journey.

This methodology chapter is organised into 7 major sections. Section 3.2 presents the research design and research questions of this study with a rationale. Section 3.3 introduces the context of this study by describing the diverse city of Birmingham, the Chinese diaspora in Birmingham, and the researched school. In section 3.4, 3.5 and 3.6, the whole procedure and outcomes of data collection will be presented in detail following a chronological order of

the exact conduction of field work. Section 3.7 elaborates the data analysis process and analytical tools with relevant examples. In section 3.8 ethical considerations of the study will be discussed with a few examples of ethical dilemmas. At the end a chapter conclusion will be provided in section 3.9.

3.2 Research design

Research design here is viewed as ‘the logic of using the research methods selected’ (Shipman, 1997:11); it refers to ‘the logical sequence that connects the empirical data to a study’s initial research questions, ultimately, to its conclusions’ (Yin, 2009:26). A research design ensures that the evidence obtained are strong enough to answer the initial research question (de Vaus, 2001). The methodological design of a research is usually determined by the theoretical and analytical assumptions on the nature of the interested social phenomena. Heller (2008) argues that the research methodologies are not interchangeable. She points out that for certain research areas and interests it makes much more warrant and validity to use particular types of methodology. In my research, the principle conceptual assumption is oriented towards the nature of language, ideology and identity as evolving social constructs which need to be described and interpreted as social elements formatted by the social and cultural practices (Heller, 2008). My research questions on language ideology and identity in a CCS prompt an interpretative design of linguistic ethnography (LE) with the focus on people and their social communicative actions in a flow of social relationships, conflicts and meaning-making in the immediate locale. A brief rationale for my design is provided next.

3.2.1 A linguistic ethnography

A LE design is to discover the everyday routine and to investigate the patterns that unfold in the daily life. It is to ‘making the familiar strange’ (Heller, 2011) with ‘the role of interpretation as central’ (Copland and Creese, 2015:15). In this section on research design, I provide a rationale for my choice of linguistic ethnography by answering a question of ‘Why and how I employ LE in this study?’. I will answer this question by highlighting four principle features of linguistic ethnography: the interdisciplinarity; the postmodern sensibility; a gaze on globalisation and superdiversity; and an interest in educational multilingualism. I first talk about how the interdisciplinary nature of linguistic ethnography enhances my study.

Interdisciplinarity

Within the well-established tradition of linguistic anthropology, linguistic ethnography stems from Hymes’ call for a new order in linguistic analysis – a call for a contextual-sensitive approach – within interpretive and anthropological traditions in the social science. Gumperz and Hymes (1972) introduced Ethnography of Communication to bridge linguistic studies and anthropology through a shared focus on communication and languages as forms of social action, where linguists’ view of language being the main resource for communication and anthropologists’ understandings of communication as a meaning-making process are integrated (Hymes 1972; Gumperz 1986). During the past two decades in the UK, LE has been demonstrated to be an empirical approach which draws resources from the two disciplines of linguistics and ethnography, to conduct research with ethnographic observation and linguistics analytical tools (see e.g. Rampton et al. 2002; Rampton, 2007, 2010; Creese, 2008, 2010; Tusting and Maybin, 2007 for discussions). These previous discussions provided

remarkable demonstrations of drawing knowledge and analytical tools across disciplinary orientations for interpretations of the complex social world.

More recently, Creese et al. (2015) further clarify the interdisciplinary agenda in LE as ‘not the welding together of two separate disciplines’ but rather, with the ethnographic focus on ‘situatedness and dynamics’, ‘LE lends itself well to an interdisciplinary approach to across disciplines’ to ‘address cultural, social and communicative phenomena to explain complex social issues’ (p268-269). This new agenda of interdisciplinarity is also manifested in Rampton et al. (2015)’s account on LE. They say:

A LE incorporates a set of procedures and a range of methods, emphasises ‘the complexity of contextualisation, the dynamics of dialogue, the multi-layered implications of language functions and the contingency and ideological saturation of meaning’ (p39)

This interdisciplinary agenda brings social variations onto linguistic ethnographic case studies. My research on the CCS community is one of such cases. In the study, I need a linguistic perspective to specialise the local dynamic, an ethnographic exploration for investigating the local dynamic, and also the sociological, historical, and psychological knowledge to understand and interpret the local dynamic. For instance, in order to observe, understand, and interpret the ‘*Chinese-only!*’ bilingual ideology and pedagogy in the researched classroom, I first need to be in the classroom to detect the linguistic signs and forms around the ‘Chinese-only’ ideology and pedagogy. At the same time, the in-depth ethnographic observation enables me to investigate the patterns, structures and conditions of such a linguistic sign. After I have the ethno-linguistic data collected, I need theory and knowledge on Chinese migration group in Britain; the history of Chinese migration and its

political and economic shifting patterns in globalisation; and some psychological knowledge and social experience to understand the ethno-linguistic data around the ‘Chinese-only’ ideology and pedagogy. At last, I need to adopt specific discourse analytical tools to link my data with the theory and knowledge to present my interpretation on the ‘Chinese-only’ phenomena. Interdisciplinarity becomes one of the fundamental norms of this research on different groups of people and their multilingual communication in late modern world.

A postmodern sensibility

Postmodernity turns the interpretation on language from the modern view of being an entity of sign system to as ‘a social-historical formation developed in particular cultural contexts of time and space’ (Copland and Creese, 2015:15). As Heller (2011) explains in her book called ‘Paths to Post-nationalism’, the current challenge is ‘to capture the ways in which things unfold in real time, and the ways in which they sediment into constraints that go far beyond the time and place of specific interactions.’(p400). This new challenge changes research foci in social sciences from the lineal interactions of the macro and micro in separate locales to the dynamic process during which complex meaning are negotiated in interactions across time and space. In terms of sociolinguistic research, a LE with a postmodern sensibility offers frames for coping with such challenge. It offers observation on the fluidity of people and resource, and the situatedness of people’s practices; it keeps the openness to context and data and pays attention to the language speaker’s repertoire and the process of communication; it also requires the researcher’s reflexivity during the process of conducting a research project (see, for example, Blommaert 2010; Creese and Blackledge, 2010; Rampton, 2010; Heller, 2011; Rampton et al., 2015; Copland and Creese, 2015; for discussions on this issue).

In my study on language ideology and identity, the daily communication of CCS participants must be empirically investigated rather than assumed. I do not have a clear set of assumptions about teachers and students' practices in the school. Rather, I enter the school with a set of guiding questions and some background knowledge on the research context, with my ears, eyes and mind wide open to the context and participants. Meanwhile, with the emphasis on the changing process of language use in people's daily life, I focus on 'how language is used by people and what this can tell me about wider social constraints, structures and ideologies (Copland and Creese, 2015:27)'. The postmodern perspective enables me to see the small fragments as the emergence in a changing process of language and culture.

The gaze on globalisation and superdiversity

At postmodern time, globalisation and superdiversity are the basic norms of our contemporary world. In recent sociolinguistic research, Blommaert (2010, 2013b), Creese and Blackledge (2010) and Blommaert and Rampton (2011) present discussions on how we can use LE to investigate and understand the complexity of globalising postmodern life. As discussed in my literature review chapter, global mobility of people and resource over the past twenty years has dramatically changed the patterns of people's daily life. A transformative diversification in relation to global migration is not just in terms of ethnical and countries of origin, but also with respect to the ways people live, talk and communicate. Research on multilingualism is encountering new topics around the 'truncatedness' of multilinguals' repertoires (Blommaert, 2011), the small bits and fragments of language varieties which reflecting the diverse life trajectories and settings.

In my study, the focus on Chinese migrants' situated multilingual practices inevitably, and also intrinsically, reflects the impact of globalisation. How people dynamically draw resources from different Chinese varieties and English to negotiate ideology and identity only can be understood by interpreting the local actions in relation to globalisation. A gaze on globalisation and superdiversity sees the CCS not entirely as an isolated ethnical enclave out of the English mainstream, but instead, as a social context in where cross-boundary forces and influences are connected and interweaved under the influence of global mobility. With its multi-layered ethnographic observation with an etic perspective and the emic analysis on local signs, LE provides a particularly powerful way for me to 'working the local globally and the global locally' (Hornberger, 2006) to link the emic phenomena and the etic conditions in the multilingual educational setting. This is one of the guiding orientations of doing this research.

An interest in educational multilingualism

In the field of research on multilingualism, there is an intellectual shift at late 1970s and early 1980s towards interpretive and ethnographic research and to the close study of interactional processes (Rampton et al., 2015), which highlights the dynamics of multilingual educational practices being an important area in recent sociolinguistic research. This shift is due to the incorporation of theoretical and methodological perspectives from the developing flow of linguistic anthropology. Heller and Martin-Jones (2001) propose that, in the context of multilingual education, linguistic ethnography can show how struggles over authority and legitimation reveal fault-lines and fractures in the wider society. In such contexts, the mobility of people and linguistic resources are dramatically changing the 'territorialised' patterns of language use, in replacement of the 'de-territorialised' forms of language use, or

the combination of both (Blommaert, 2011:4) in complexity. The ethnographic perspective of LE offers particular focus on such complexity in multilingual society. In this study a LE design enables me to investigate a multilingual educational context as intrinsically dynamic and fundamentally cultural, social, political and historical.

Besides, this focus on complexity of LE research on educational multilingualism also requires the researcher's reflexivity. Because of the complex and dynamic features of such contexts, the researcher needs to be able to reflexively cope with the unpredictable contradictions and dilemmas occurred during the fieldwork. A linguistic ethnographer needs to be etically professional and emically observant and understanding to make the reflexivity possible.

So far I have presented a rationale for my choice of research design. I believe that interdisciplinarity, reflexivity, the etic-emic dialectic perspective and the focus on complexity of LE enable me to answer my research questions in most constructive ways. In the following section on my data collection and data analysis process, I will continue the discussion on these norms of LE and demonstrate how they become helpful. First I move on to present the formulation of my research question with a brief rationale.

3.2.2 Research questions

In this section I provide a descriptive account on the process of selecting, changing and affirming my research questions in this LE study. As Martin-Jones points out, using 'critical interpretative approaches to research on language-in-education policy and practice' requires us to 'adopt a reflexive stance at each stage of the research process' (2016:192). This research

process starts from formulating research questions. In empirical interpretative studies, research questions that are formulated at the initial stages of the research design may not be kept as the final decision. 'It is highly likely that ... research questions will be initially underdeveloped and tentative' (Robson, 2002:165) at the beginning of the enquiry and being clarified and changed during the process of study.

Erickson (1986, 1990) indicates that ethnography ought not to be considered as an investigation process lead by a point of view. While paying attention to the importance of preconceived leading questions shaping the research from the outset; he also points out that it is uncertain to the researcher where those initial questions might lead the research. The process of selecting and affirming research questions in ethnographic studies involves considerable uncertainty, ambiguity and intuition, which might drive the research into different directions.

Initially, at the beginning of my doctoral study, my research questions were merely focused on bilingual language ideology in the CCS context with both teachers and parents as the potential participants. I planned to investigate the influence of teachers' and parents' language ideologies on pedagogy in the CCS. However, after I read more about the CCS context, I soon realised that my initial research questions might be paradoxical to the reality. Due to the limited connection between the school and the parents, as well as the time limit of me seeing the parents, getting sufficient access and consent to observe parents turned out to be rather impossible. As a result of being reflexive to the exact context, I rephrased my research questions into mainly focusing on teachers and their language ideologies and professional identities, before I actually started my data collection.

Later, the second time of rewriting my research questions happened after I finished the first stage of field work in the researched school. At the time, from the school-wide classroom observations and ethnographic interviews, I have learned that the most often mentioned topics from teachers were their ‘lack of proficiency in teaching’ and ‘teacher training’. Out of a consideration on the practical implementation of my research, I added ‘teachers’ professional development needs’ onto my research questions, aiming to raise the issue of improving CCS teachers’ teaching proficiency. I designed questionnaire survey to investigate teachers’ perceptions about their ‘professional development needs’ in the school. However, the survey results turned out to be rather plain and straightforward – teachers said that they need professional training but nobody could really indicate the exact ‘needs’ for professional development. The question of asking teachers to ‘tell’ their specific needs turned out to be too much idealised, without making strong sense to the participants. After discussed with my supervisor, I became aware that the theme of teachers’ development should not be ‘a question’ to ‘ask’ teachers, but a research interest around which I have to explore, analyse and interpret by conducting participant observation in teachers’ classrooms and listening to their stories. Following that discussion, I removed ‘teachers’ professional development needs’ from my research questions, believing that I would be able to discuss the topic of ‘teachers’ development needs’ with data around language ideologies and professional identities (see Appendix 1 for the original sets of research questions).

The third set of research questions, which has been listed at the beginning of this chapter in 3.1, was affirmed after I finished my data collection and data analysis. They were rephrased to cover my findings, analyses and discussions. ‘Language ideology’ and ‘identity’ have been maintained as the major research themes. Teachers and other adult school staff are still the focused participants. However, the exact findings demonstrated much more than I have

expected initially: data showed that the concept of ‘identity’ can be expanded from only focusing on teachers’ professional identities to also constituting the ethnical identification of ‘Chineseness’. Chineseness became another important key word coming out from my findings. In addition, the exact field work also expanded my research context from only inside the CCS as a local case, to linking the CCS to the diversified Chinese diaspora in Birmingham and the city of Birmingham, while paying attention on the impact of globalisation. At last, I slightly rendered my three research questions at the writing-up stage to make them more explicit and readable.

Here I would like to refer to a recent book chapter on linguistic ethnography for the following explanation. In their clarification of seven norms of ethnography (Rampton et al., 2015:15-16), Rampton and his colleagues include ‘sensitising concepts, openness to data, and worries about idealisation’ as one of them. In my case, apart from the sensitising concepts of language ideology and identity in CCS context, ‘openness to data’ has brought ‘the identification of Chineseness’ as another important theme for my study. Meanwhile, because of the rapport established between me as the researcher and the research participants during my observation inside the school, I became able to extend my fieldwork further, as an ‘insider’ of the school, to get involved in out-of-school events organised by the local Chinese community. For example, I was invited, as a friend of the head teacher, to take part in the Birmingham Chinese 2014 dinner party celebrating China’s National Day, and to participate in a round-table meeting themed ‘generating a new voice of Chinese people in West Midlands, England’. This involvement consequently brought me more data which I have not expected to collect before entering the field.

My research experience has strongly demonstrated the importance of openness and reflexivity in ethnography. Rampton et al. (2015) point out that ‘the contexts for

communication should be investigated rather than assumed' (p18), which suggests that ethnographers need to be fully aware of the unpredictability of research contexts. As linguistic ethnographers we need to be mindful and reflexive, and always aware that the situated research foci might change. We need to understand that during the investigation some research questions might turn out to be less meaningful to the participants (for example, my previous research question about 'teachers' development needs'); while some other data-driven themes might come to light and make important sense to the participants and context. To cover these unexpected findings new research questions are very often needed. Meanwhile, throughout the whole process of conducting the research, there are always updated assemblages of theories and perspectives which help me formulating new levels of thinking and new insights for data interpretation. During my data analysis and writing-up process, intensive readings of literature significantly contributed to my final set of research questions.

In the following section, I will introduce my research context as by nature a heteroglossic social setting from different layers – the city of Birmingham, the Birmingham Chinese community, and the researched Chinese complementary school. I believe that emphasising the dynamic and complex features of a social context is one of most salient norms of ethnographic studies.

3.3 Research context

The conceptualisation of 'research context' changes (Rampton et al., 2015:24). Rather than taking it as a bounded spatiotemporal setting, a research context now is more conceived as dynamic, interactively accomplished and intrinsic to communication across time and space

(Blommaert, 2010, 2015a; Rampton et al., 2015). This conception corresponds with Gumperz's earlier call for a 'dynamic view on social environments where history, economic forces and interactive processes ... combine to create or to eliminate social distinctions' (1982:29). Gumperz (1982) suggests that research contexts in social science need to be understood as small social conjunctions shaped by all the vertical and horizontal forces in the mechanism of society. In LE, this dynamic view requires researchers to observe and interpret research contexts as multi-layered, multimodal social environments where the trajectory of historical, economic, political forces inform, shape and also are reflected in language users' daily discursive practice. As discussed in my literature review chapter, to understand the CCS as a research context in this study, it is necessary to situate the school in relation to the multi-layered societal structures and conditions of globalisation and superdiversity. My research context is not only a CCS, but a CCS supported by the Chinese community in the superdiverse city of Birmingham and under the influence of globalisation and late modernity.

Recent research also suggests that CCSs are more than just educational and socialising spaces, but also politically important. Li (2006), for instance, states that the Chinese school community in England is constantly evolving due to such factors as population make-up, social-political events and global markets changes. The Chinese complementary schools are seen to constitute an important support mechanism for the diasporic existence of the Chinese community in the UK, maintaining connections with China and Chinese popular culture and communications between generations (Li, 2006; Francis et al., 2009). They are by no means just out-of-mainstream ethnical enclaves for heritage language and cultural identity maintenance, but are intersected social constructs shaped by the linkage, trajectory and interaction of various historical, socioeconomic and political forces. To understand the multilingual practise in the Chinese complementary school, one needs to take 'an ecological,

resource view of indigenous, immigrant, ethnic, and foreign languages as living and evolving in relation to each other and to their environment ...'(Hornberger, 2007:189).

Once accessed to such a research context, one needs to open the gaze to 'a more holistic understanding of what is going on within the local constructions of meaning on the one hand, and the configuring of the school environment by broader linguistics and socio-political process on the other'(Rampton et al., 2015:38). In the following part of this section, I provide a description of the research context of this study. Based on my discussion of globalisation and superdiversity in Chapter 2, I will first introduce the city of Birmingham as a diverse metropolitan, then a brief history of Chinese migration in Birmingham. This will be followed by introducing the exact researched school with some details.

The city of Birmingham

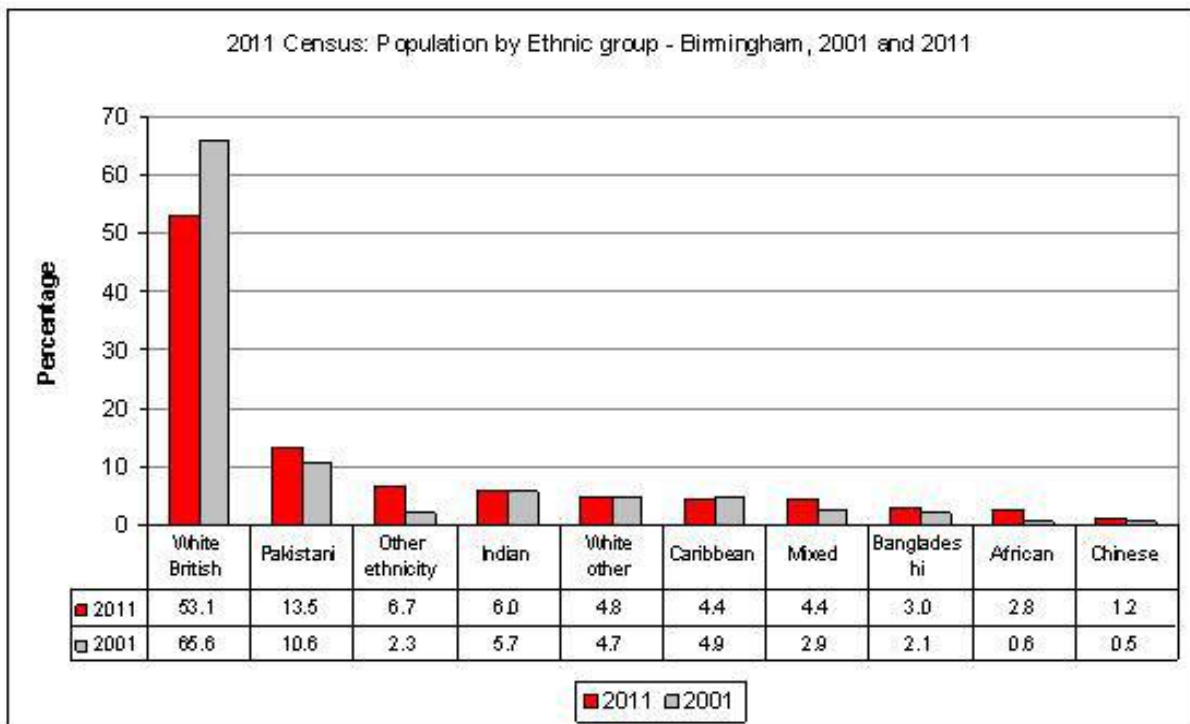
Based on the statistics from the 'Birmingham City Council 2011 Census' (<http://www.birmingham.gov.uk/census>), the 2014 mid-year population estimate states that over 1.1 million (1,101,360) people live in Birmingham. The report shows that Birmingham, as the second biggest city in the UK, is recently being recognised with the following features:

- *It is a youthful city.* 45.7% of Birmingham residents are estimated to be under 30 year old, compared with estimates of 39.4% for England. It is mainly due to students coming to study at the City's universities.
- *It is a growing city.* Since 2004 the population has increased by almost 100,000 (9.9%). This is an average of 0.9% per year. The population increase over the last decade is mainly associated with more births, fewer deaths and international migration.

- *It is a diverse city.* According to the 2011 Census, around 42% of residents in Birmingham were from an ethnic group other than British White, while 22% were born outside of the UK, compared with 14% in England and 11% in the West Midlands region.

Here I would like to particularly talk about the diversity of the city of Birmingham. Birmingham's residents are from a wide range of national, ethnic and religious backgrounds. The following bar chart (Figure 3.1) shows that the largest ethnic group in Birmingham was White British with 570,217 (53.1%). This was stated as lower than the average in England (79.8%). It also declined more than 10% compared with a decade ago. Other large groups include Pakistani (13.5%) and Indian (6.0%) which have grown since 2001, while people defining themselves as Black Caribbean (4.4%) have declined. As displayed on the chart, Chinese was defined as the 10th ethnic group in Birmingham.

Figure 3.1



Source:

<http://www.birmingham.gov.uk/cs/Satellite?c=Page&childpagename=SystemAdmin%2FCFPageLayout&cid=1223096353923&packedargs=website%3D4&pagename=BCC%2FCommon%2FWrapper%2FCFWrapper&rendermode=live>

According to the report, overseas migrants arriving in Birmingham during 1950s to 1980s were mainly from India and Caribbean. More recent decades have seen people migrating from many other parts of the world, including Eastern Europe, Africa, Middle East and East Asia. The statistics also shows that among the 238,313 Birmingham residents who were born outside the UK, there are around 45% arrived during the last decade. This significantly reflects the recent international migration to Birmingham under the global fluidity of people and resource. Steven Vertovec (2006) summarizes that process of superdiversity in globalisation with respect to Britain as follows:

Over the past ten years, the nature of immigration to Britain has brought with it a transformative ‘diversification of diversity’ not just in terms of ethnical and countries of origin, but also with respect to a variety of significant variables that affect where, how, and with whom people live (p1).

This changing nature of immigration in Britain has been diversifying major British cities like Birmingham into superdiverse metropolitans. As discussed in my literature review chapter, superdiversity is not only a mix of different norms and modals of human life; it is more salient to recognise the reconstruction, shift and transformation generated from the diversification of diversity. Jan Blommaert, in his book of ‘A Sociolinguistics of Globalisation’ (2010), also describes the impact of global mobility on the diversification of major urban areas as:

The new migrants typically settle in older immigrant neighbourhoods, which thus develop into a layered immigrant space, where resident (‘old’) immigrants often rent spaces to newer, more temporary or transient groups, and where new segments of the labour market are developed (p7).

Blommaert calls for understanding the complexity of such superdiverse metropolitans. He emphasises the combination of the 'old' and 'new', and the dynamically changing structures of such combination. From the above chart we can see that during the past decade the diversification of Birmingham constitutes transformations within and among different ethnical groups. Take Chinese ethnicity as an example, we see the percentage of Chinese residents has changed from 0.5% to 1.2%, with the number increased from 5,106 in 2001 to 12,712 in 2011 (2011 Census: Ethnic group, Birmingham). Meanwhile, the intra-communal structure of Chinese group in Birmingham also changed dramatically during the past two decades.

The Chinese community in Birmingham

The 'Chinese in Birmingham: A Community Profile' (1996) summarises a brief history of Chinese community in Birmingham before 1997 with three key phases: First, *the pre-war seaman* in late 19th and early 20th centuries who later managed with struggles to settle down as low-class labours. Second, the *Post-war male emigrants* who moved into England under the 1948 British Nationality Act which accorded New Commonwealth citizens the right to live and work in Great Britain. This allowed some of the rice farmers who lost their profits in Hong Kong to obtain the British passport as indigenous citizens of the New Territories. These people came to the UK to work and live freely, until the new restrictive immigration legislation issued in 1962, which required employment vouchers or work permits. Between these two phases, there was a lineage chain pattern constructed among the HK emigrants. The firstly settled seamen provided the second phase emigrants supervision and employment. That chain migration was mainly based on shared dialects, common district of origin or

extended family. This primary immigration of Chinese people to Birmingham with Hong Kong origin with the chain pattern later was ended by the 1971 Immigration Act. The third phase of Chinese migration into Birmingham was defined as *the emigration of wives and families* by the profile. The numbers of wives and children as dependants of the men who has settled here increased in the 1970s. This wave was defined by the 1996 profile report as not simply family reunion but also a necessary step for those Chinese in the catering business to lower their prices, because of the employment of women and children at cheaper – or even free – rates which made considerable savings on labour. This is a brief summary of the Chinese community in Birmingham before 1997 when Hong Kong sovereignty was returned to China.

Since 1997, the structure of Chinese community in Birmingham has dramatically changed.

The ‘2001 Census Topic Report: Cultural Background executive summary’ states:

Three quarters of the Chinese group were born outside the UK. A high proportion of the economically active are self-employed. Many Chinese residents are students, and a high percentage of the group had higher qualifications. A third of those in work are professionals, managers or senior officials; 12% are in sales and customer services. 10% of residents live in communal establishments.

(<http://www.birmingham.gov.uk/census>)

This report clearly states that the origin of Chinese migrants in Birmingham was no longer solely Hong Kong. The three quarters of Birmingham Chinese who were born outside the UK were the new migrants from Mainland China. Among these new migrants, a high percentage of people are professionals with higher qualifications. The group of Chinese who worked in the catering business with little formal education and knowledge of English was no longer the only dominant. This diversified structure of Chinese group was also described in a BBC

article titled as ‘Chinese People in Birmingham: A Brief History’ (authored by David Parker, 8, Oct, 2014) as:

More students and migrants from mainland China have extended their stays, the long-standing presence of Chinese-descended students from Singapore and Malaysia has been consolidated. Restaurants and takeaways remain as visible markers of the Chinese presence, but a British born generation is seeking to make its mark in wider fields.

http://www.bbc.co.uk/birmingham/features/2003/01/chinese_new_year/chinese_birmingham.shtml

Along with the diversification of population in Birmingham Chinese community, different Chinese migrants from various origins and speaking different language varieties have also reconstructed the linguistic ecology within the group. The older generations who originally came from HK and other parts of southern China spoke Cantonese as their mother tongue. There was also a substantial Hakka speaking minority among these earlier migrants groups. Other common varieties among the Chinese in Birmingham include Putonghua (often known in the UK as Mandarin), Shanghainese, Fukienese, Chiao Chow and Toi Shan dialects.

The Chinese in Birmingham also have a strong commitment to maintain their mother tongue (The Chinese in Birmingham: A Community Profile, 1996). Although younger Chinese who are British born or locally brought up may prefer to speak English, their parents (including many professionals) insist on them speaking their mother tongue at home. Chinese parents consider it important to keep up their children’s ability with their mother tongue, which is regarded as an essential link with Chinese culture, a crucial medium of communication in the big family, as well as an asset for their future career. In order to maintain the mother tongue, parents who have time and resources extend their commitment beyond domestic dimension to setting up community language classes or schools for group learning and practice. Currently

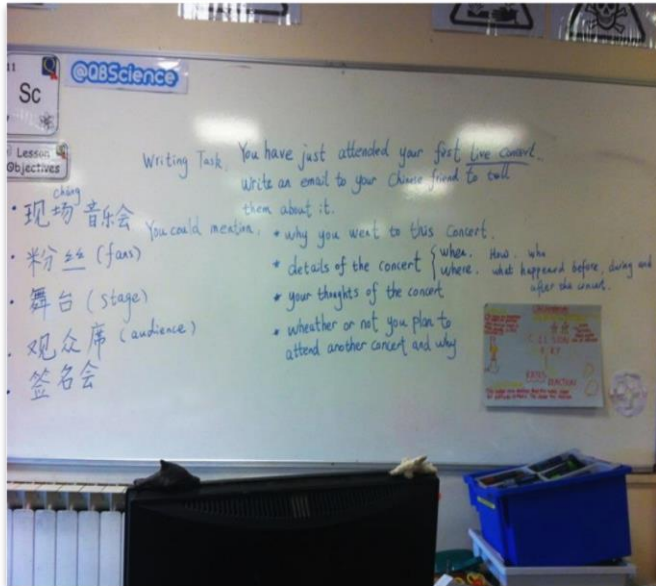
in Birmingham there are three major Chinese language schools respectively established in the 1960s, 1980s and 1990s. For this study, I chose the one with the longest history and both Cantonese and Putonghua as targeted Chinese varieties as my researched case.

The researched Chinese complementary school

The school is established in 1965 by a leading member of one of the influential Chinese communities in Birmingham to teach a small number of children Cantonese. After three generations of development, it has developed into a large Chinese school as a registered charity, with the longest history and the biggest enrolment of students in West Midlands, England. At the time of my field work during 2013-2014 academic year there were 394 registered students studying in 7 Cantonese classes and 18 Putonghua classes at every Sunday afternoon from 1pm to 3pm. The school is managed by two head teachers, Mr Q and Sarah, who were nominated by the previous head teacher and elected by the community board members. During the year of 2013-2014, there were 8 school governors with various social and economic backgrounds being responsible for either the weekly school routine or fund-raising.

Classes run at the school start from 3 reception groups (teaching 5- or 6-year-olds Putonghua or Cantonese speaking) and up to two GCSE classes supporting teenage students preparing their GCSE exam for either Chinese Putonghua or Chinese Cantonese. Teachers working in the school have different backgrounds: some have been living in the UK for decades and working in the school for more than 15 years; some are newly-enrolled master or doctoral students recently graduated from local universities. Below I provide three photos of the school activities: the left above was taken in one of my key participants Ruby's GCSE

Putonghua class; the right above was a reception child doing the colour-in activity on the Chinese Dragon Boat Festival theme day in another key participant Linda's class; and the one below was taken on the school annual ceremony at the end of academic year in June, 2014.



In general, the school is a dynamic social ecology within which four language varieties (English, Putonghua, Cantonese, and Hakka) and different generations and groups of Chinese migrants interact and negotiate all kinds of social meaning. Apart from sharing all the functions of CCS that I have introduced in the introduction chapter, the researched school in

this study demonstrates some particular distinguishable norms. First, due to Mr Q the head teacher's individual social status in the Birmingham Chinese community and his social network back in China, the school has built up a close socio-political connection with both the local society in Birmingham and the Chinese embassy in London. Second, from economic aspect the school also has a close link to the local Chinatown, the two head teachers and most of the school governors share similar economic backgrounds by owning some types of business (e.g. supermarkets, restaurants, shops or farms) within the Chinatown or other areas of the city. Because of these particular connections, the researched school portrays a specific image of CCS in rather different ways from the traditional stereotypes.

The school does not merely teach Chinese languages to young generations and provides a socialising setting for the marginalised Chinese migrants. More importantly, it provides an intersected space allowing different languages, resources, values, and social categories to interact and negotiate ideologies, identities and power relations. It links the home country of China, the Chinese diaspora, and the host city into its daily practice in both externally and internally dynamic ways. This is why I call it a heteroglossic social setting by nature. In this school, I have conducted a 10-month ethnographic fieldwork with ongoing connection maintained afterwards. Next I will move on to present my fieldwork in the school. I start with introducing the procedure of getting access to enter the school and gaining consent at different stages of my fieldwork.

3.4 Access and consent

One of the important stages in the procedure of doing a linguistic ethnographic study is the negotiation of access to the research site and participants. Erickson (1990) emphasises that

without building up trust and rapport with the participants an access into the site is of no use. In this research, my phone talk on the 26th of July, 2013 with the school head teacher, Mr Q, started the procedure of building trust with the research participants. After the half-hour phone talk, an oral willingness to participate in my research from him has been given. That willingness offered primary chance for me to approach the school. It opened up opportunities for me to meet the deputy head teacher Sarah, the school board members, teachers, students and parents to develop good relationship and negotiate further access.

In that early stage of negotiation, I was aware of the importance of ‘presenting self’ in ethnography (Arnesen, 2003). I paid good attention to the way I introduce myself and my research to Mr Q, who I have already familiarised based on information from the school website and other internet resource. During the phone talk I kept flexible to switch between English and Chinese according to his preference: I started my introduction in English and apologized for not being able to speak fluent Cantonese which I knew was his mother tongue; after he asked to talk in Putonghua, the rest of our talk was just completely in Putonghua. In the talk I also adopted the traditional Chinese value of showing elder people (the head teacher is over 70) extra respect in oral communication. I also particularly voiced myself as a balanced role between a doctoral researcher and a junior member of the local Chinese community. This awareness of being flexible to act as either an ‘insider’ or an ‘outsider’, or both, has been proved as very constructive at the early stage of approaching research participants.

After the first telephone contact and giving me the oral commitment for participation, Mr Q arranged a follow-up meeting for me to introduce the details of my fieldwork plan to him and the female mid-aged deputy head teacher, Sarah. He asked to meet at a Chinese tea house in the local Chinatown at one weekday lunchtime. For this meeting, I prepared a set of

documents and faxed them to Mr Q three days in advance as requested. The documents are listed as below:

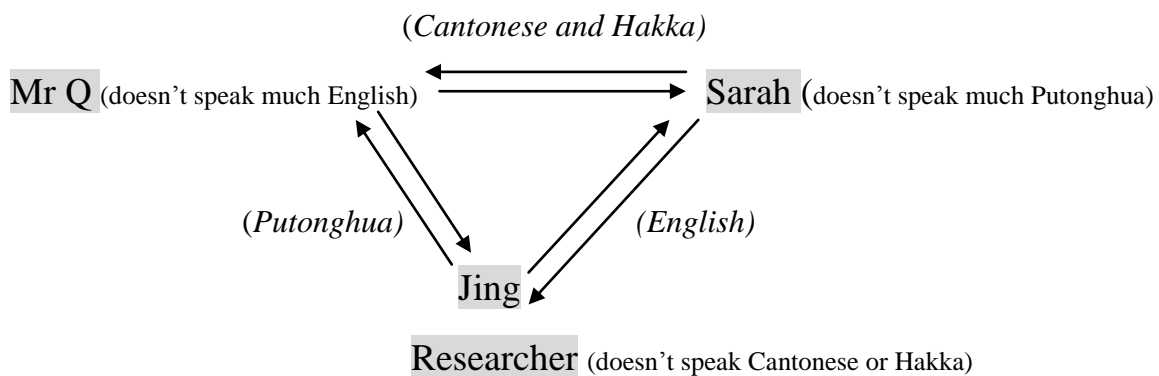
- *A recruitment letter* to the head teacher Mr Q elaborating my project including my research topic and aims, my plan and time schedule of field work in the school, also the school's rights during participating in my research and the potential benefit to the school. The letter was written in simplified Chinese as required by Mr Q on our earlier telephone communication. (attached as appendix 2)
- *A letter of support from my supervisor* introducing me as a doctoral student from the University of Birmingham and my research interest.
- *A copy of my CRB check*

That meeting later became one of the most important moments of my fieldwork procedure where I encountered interesting new experiences, some minor dilemmas and a good deal of self-adjustment. First, the Chinese tea house is a very typical Cantonese-styled dining place with Dim Sum and other food served. The common impression of this kind of place is for friends or families to have relaxing casual time at an afternoon or on a weekend. To me it appeared to be rather an 'informal' place which would not be my first thought of having a meeting to negotiate access with a research partner. In my mind I had questions like 'in what ways could I successfully negotiate with the first-met potential participants and get access to the research site over eating Dim Sum for lunch?', or 'what could I do if the head teacher changed his mind after meeting me?', and 'what if the deputy head disagrees with Mr Q?'. I had to be well prepared. The second small dilemma was our different linguistic repertoires. During the whole meeting four different language varieties were used. Mr Q spoke Cantonese, Hakka and Putonghua with very little English. Sarah the deputy head spoke Cantonese,

Hakka, English and very limited Putonghua. I spoke English and Putonghua. The following figure demonstrates the multilingual repertoires and our ways of communication over the two-hour meeting.

Figure 3.2:

Linguistic resources used on my first meeting with two head teachers



In that day's fieldnote I also commented on the multilingual communication among the three of us and recorded my reflection on the scenario:

... once I noticed that Sarah's Putonghua is very limited, I attempted to speak merely English to make Sarah feeling more comfortable—because most of the opening talk was between me and Mr Q in Putonghua; I didn't want to leave her all alone. However, Mr Q insisted to speak Putonghua with me, he didn't change into English —might because his English is not enough to communicate fluently which I could see from his talk—or because he preferred to speak Putonghua with me to show his language ideology. ... So the whole conversation was mainly between me and Mr Q in Putonghua, and a little bit interaction between me and Sarah in English. They two talked in Cantonese and Hakka from time to time for a short interaction.

(Fieldnote-05/07/2013)

However, this small dilemma did not constrain our communication too much. The two-hour meeting later turned out to be quite productive with a friendly relationship started up. Mr Q

showed great interests in my research and gave his consent for participation. He immediately arranged another time for me to meet all the school teachers on their first teachers' meeting in late August 2013. This experience of mine reflects that at the first stage of negotiation access to research site, being socially and culturally experienced, observant and reflexive is very important. Bucholtz and Hall (2008), in their discussion on doing interviews, point out: 'Details which seem minor were influential in ethnography interviews. For example, appearance can shape interview responses (p416)'. My experience of getting the initial consent from the head teachers testified that all the minor details were crucial to make the negotiation successful. During the two-hour meeting over lunch, the way I dressed, talked, and acted were all influential. I have deliberately formed them following certain hidden rules coming from either Chinese cultural values or socialising modals. I could feel that after that meeting, a good impression of me being an 'appropriate outsider' who can be allowed to 'get inside' has been left to the two head teachers. And this first good impression has made my later approach to all the school teachers and my 10 months of stay at the school possible.

After I gained consent from the head teachers, an opportunity to meet all the school teachers on their pre-academic-year annual meeting was offered to me by Sarah via email. The meeting was held on the rented premises which is a local high school located in one of the Birmingham wards. The meeting was for all the teachers, school board members, and the two head teachers to gather 'as a big family' (head teacher's commentary) and to prepare for the new academic year. It was organised with an agenda including issues like allocations of teachers' classes, enrolments of new students and volunteer teacher assistants, and distribution of textbooks, etc.. It also supplied opportunities for all teachers to bring feedback or comments on the school management. Some senior teachers took the meeting as a time to chat with each other and exchange teaching ideas or concerns, while novices took the chance

to introduce themselves to the settled members. I was given 10 minutes at the end of the meeting to provide a short presentation of my planned fieldwork to all teachers, and to distribute an information letter in three varieties (English, simplified and traditional Chinese) (see appendix 3 for a sample of all three versions) together with the written consent form (attached as appendix 4) for their participation in my first stage school-wide observation.

On that meeting, my hand-written fieldnote captured a few interactions among different groups of teachers, Mr Q and me. These fieldnote vignettes, after being typed into electronic word documents, became very interesting data resource for my interpretation. For example, the interaction between Linda (a newly-enrolled Putonghua teacher who later became one of my key participants) and one of the senior Cantonese teachers. It happened while the Cantonese teacher was introducing herself in Cantonese, Linda suddenly interrupted by speaking in a loud voice '*Speak Putonghua! We don't understand Cantonese!*'. This short interaction and the response from other members on the meeting revealed very important language ideologies and identities. I will talk about this interaction with a field vignette in the section of field note analysis, and also use it as a data extract in chapter 4.

After I got access to the school at the beginning of September 2013, my 10-month fieldwork in the school started. During the fieldwork, I issued another few information letters and consent forms to different participants for different stages and/or types of data collection. These letters and consent forms include:

Field work stage 1

- A second distribution of the information letter and consent form to all 25 teachers (attached as appendix 3 and 4) for my first stage classroom observation with only field note applied (all obtained)

- An brief information letter brought back home by students to their parents informing my research in the school (attached as appendix 5)

Field work stage 2

- Another information letter and consent form to 4 key participants (attached as appendix 6) for the in-depth audio-recorded classroom observations (all obtained)
- An information letter to all the students in the 4 key teachers' classes (attached as appendix 7)
- An information letter and consent form to all parents with child in the 4 key teachers' classrooms (attached as appendix 8) for audio-recording their child' voice (2 parents rejected→ their child's voice deleted from the recording)

Field work stage 3

- A questionnaire survey with a cover letter (attached as appendix 10) to all teachers (1 teacher refused)

During my fieldwork, getting consent became an issue rolling on throughout the whole process. I see this procedure significantly involved the researcher-researched relationship. A signed consent from the participant sometimes unnecessarily guarantees a successful interview, rich narrative data or a filled questionnaire survey returned on time (For example, 3 out of 25 teachers first gave consent to fill the questionnaire, but at the end did not return it to me; also many of my interviews were conducted actively by the participants without a written consent form signed beforehand). This *unpredictability* in the field requires the researcher to be observant and sensitive to the momentary action of the participants, and to be

able to swiftly adjust herself to meet the urgent constraints. I have experienced many small moments when I had to slightly change my plan to make the participants feel more comfortable to be observed or tell me their stories.

For example, in one of my key participants Linda's classroom, the first in-depth observation was planned and scheduled to be audio-recorded. But on that day Linda went to the classroom out of spirits, and told me that she was ill but had to come because the school could not find a supply teacher to cover her up for that session. She was having a bad cold. After we greeted each other, she asked me whether I had to record that teaching session, and said she would be ok if I had to. Although Linda had already given her consent for me to record that session and I already got the recording equipment set, I chose to tell her that if she felt unwell, I would start recording from the next week. So after a short chat with her, I just sat down at the back of the classroom observing with only fieldnotes applied. I could feel Linda was much relieved at the moment. Later, during the break time, as she did not have a volunteer parent being the assistant on that session, I helped Linda escorting her young 5-year-old students to the toilet, and sorting out their homework booklets, so Linda could have a few minutes rest. As a consequence, my first planned in-depth classroom observation session ended up without obtaining any recorded data. However, that immediate adjustment helped me to establish a friendly relationship with Linda and her young students. And thanks to the good relationship, the following few sessions of recorded observation in Linda's class were conducted very successfully. At the time I completed my 4-week in-depth observation in her class, Linda said to me 'you are welcome to my class at any time and do feel free to ask me any questions and use my words in your writing'. Later when I went back to her for the recorded interview, she shared many of her stories about both her teaching in the school

and her personal life. I see this friendly and trustable relationship with participants as a fundamental condition for successful ethnographic investigations.

3.5 Research participants

As mentioned above, Linda was one of the 4 key teachers for my recorded classroom observations. There were another three key teachers, Ruby, Steve, and Paul, who also generously gave their consent to participate in the recorded classroom observations. In this section I will focus on introducing the participants in my study. Before I move to highlight the 4 key participants, I would like to talk about the whole school as my research case and all the school members as participants. All of the participants' names appear in this study are pseudonyms.

3.5.1 The school as a holistic research case

After the meeting with Mr Q and Sarah at the Chinese tea house and gained their consent, I started to view Mr Q and Sarah as my first two research participants from the research field. I always paid good attention to what and how they interacted with me (both at the school and via email) and other school members. I took detailed notes during and after meetings with them at school and via email. After I entered the school, all the school members I got to meet or talk with became my observation participants. I took all opportunities to approach the volunteer teacher assistants, young students and their parents for informal ethnographic interviews.

Meanwhile, some of the school members – like three of the eight school governors and some of the adult students (mainly Hongkongnese or local English Whites learning Putonghua in the adult certificate class) have actively approached me for a short chat. During my field work the 2 head teachers, 25 teachers, 394 students, 8 school governors and parents were all potential participants for my research. I met them, talked with them, and observed them constantly during my stay at the school.

In my data analysis chapters (Chapter 4, 5, and 6), some of the data extracts are from these school-wide observations, other than focusing on the 4 key teachers. I introduce these individual participants separately together with the respective data analyses. For example, I will introduce one of my interviewees, Kerry, who has been working in the school for nearly 15 years as a Cantonese teacher, in the discussion on ‘how Putonghua becomes a resource for Cantonese teacher to construct stronger professional identity in the context’ in chapter 5. In Chapter 6 some of the school governors and funders will also be introduced when I analyse and discuss the data collected from a round-table meeting organised by the head teacher Mr Q.

3.5.2 Four teachers as key participants

In this section I focus on introducing four teachers who were my key participants for recorded classroom observations. The analytical points about the four key participants will be made in the later analytical chapters. In this section I provide an introduction on these four teachers’ to help the readers understand the design of the research, the stories of the individual participants, and the application of analytical tools. First I present a table as a summary of these four teachers’ profiles.

Table 3.1

Profiles of four key participants in the audio-recorded in-depth classroom observation stage

| | | 4 Key Teachers | | | |
|---|------------------------------|---|--|--|---|
| | | Ruby | Linda | Steve | Paul |
| Age | | ■ | ■ | ■ | ■ |
| Gender | | Female | Female | Male | Male |
| Teaching situation at the time of my fieldwork | Teaching level | Putonghua GCSE class | Putonghua Reception class | Putonghua class 3 | Cantonese class 4 |
| | Number of students | 4 | 19 | 13 | 14 |
| | Age group of students | 13-15 | 5-7 | 9-13 | 11-14 |
| Highest educational qualification | | Master Degree in Accounting, Achieved in the UK | MA in Applied Linguistics, Achieved in the UK | PhD in Physics, Achieved in the UK | Bachelor Degree in Engineering, Achieved in Hong Kong |
| Years of being in the UK | | 19 years | 13 years | 22 years | 6 years |
| Years of Chinese language teaching | | 15 years | 2 years | 14 years | 3 years |
| Other social roles | | Full time job ■■■■■; Mother of two children | Small business owner; Mother of three children | No full-time job; Father of two children | Part-time job ■■■■■; ■■■■■; ■■■■■; Father of three college-student children |
| Language repertoire | English | Fluently used | Fluently used | Fluently used | Limitedly used for oral communication |
| | Putonghua | Mother tongue | Mother tongue | Mother tongue | For basic oral communication |
| | Cantonese | Fluently used | None | None | Mother tongue |

Information listed in the table was from a questionnaire survey issued to all school teachers and ethnographic interviews. These four teachers were selected to cover a variety of backgrounds, a range of teaching practices and student age groups. At the end of my first stage of fieldwork, based on the outcomes of my school-wide classroom observation, I had selected a group of six potential teachers (4 Putonghua teachers and 2 Cantonese teachers) who I considered as ‘representatives’ of all twenty five teachers, and to whom I explained the aim and schedule of my recorded classroom observation. It finally came out with Ruby, Linda, Steve and Paul as the four who were most willing to take part in. Next I will start with introducing Ruby as the first key participant.

3.5.2.1 Ruby

In 1995, Ruby came to Britain together with her newly-married husband. During the past 19 years, Ruby has personally developed a lot. She first achieved her master degree in accounting in 1999, and then smoothly got a job at a local Chinese bank branch in Birmingham. On her position as a bank accountant, she self-learnt Cantonese with support from her Cantonese-speaking manager, to communicate with her Cantonese clients who took the vast majority of account holders at the time. After more than a decade of hardworking, Ruby has settled down as a member of the bank managing team.

Apart from her busy full time job, she is also a mother of two children, a part time traditional Chinese dance teacher and a Putonghua language teacher. Her dance class has become one of the most popular traditional dance classes within Birmingham Chinese community. She and her pupils have been invited to perform at local Chinese New Year celebrations every year. She speaks fluent English, Putonghua and Cantonese. After nearly two decades of being a

Chinese migrant in England, Ruby has found her social position in the wider English society and within the Chinese community. As a successful representative of the ‘new migrants’ who came from Mainland China two decades ago, Ruby’s experience tells a distinguishable story which reflects historical, cultural and social changes of Chinese communities in the UK. Her story dramatically differs from stories of earlier Chinese immigrants who made their sojourn half a century before Ruby.

In the researched school Ruby is the most senior Putonghua teacher. She joined in the school originally in 1999 to teach Chinese dance class to a couple of girls at the time. Six years later, in 2005, the school authority decided to start a Putonghua class apart from Cantonese ones. For the purpose to secure a success of igniting the first Putonghua class, the head teacher at the time decided to invite Ruby to be the first Putonghua teacher, to teach a small group of children aged from five to seven. With a background of graduating from a teacher training college in China, her genuine enthusiasm on language teaching to young children, and six years of experience of teaching a dance class in the same school, Ruby soon became a very successful Putonghua teacher in the local community. This success and popularity has been maintained during the past decade. Now Ruby is considered as a trusty, skilful and responsible teacher by the school authority, students and parents.

During the period of my field work, Ruby was teaching the highest level class with only 4 teenage students attending every Sunday afternoon. Her class was particularly set up to support bilingual Chinese teenagers to achieve good results from GCSE Putonghua Chinese examination. As she always said to her students, Chinese children and youths who came up to the level of GCSE at a Chinese school were usually the best and most persistent students among peers. Many of other students quitted half way for all kinds of reason.

From my observation in her class, I saw Ruby running her lessons with a very explicit purpose: to prepare for the GCSE exam. The very small class size enabled her to arrange a big amount of one to one practice with students. As a supplement to the one-to-one practice, at the end of every session she managed to introduce and discuss a short chapter from a simplified version of *Xi-You-Ji (Journal to the West)*, one of four most famous and popular Chinese traditional novels), for cultural immersion purpose and speaking practice. In her classroom Ruby very often emphasised the importance of learning Putonghua as a *useful* tool. During the five weeks of my observation in her class, I have never heard Ruby saying ‘you have to learn Chinese as you are ethnically Chinese’; instead, she often said to her students: ‘...once you go back to Malaysia or Singapore, you will need to use Putonghua(Mandarin) to communicate with your relatives...’. Unlike most of the Cantonese teachers who firmly emphasised national and cultural identities together with language as heritage, Ruby put more effort on convincing her student to acknowledge the *usefulness* of Putonghua in their real lives.

In the researched school, Cantonese teachers and Putonghua teachers were generally divided into two mini communities. There was an explicitly recognisable *we* and *they* distinction in most of teachers’ discourses. Cantonese teachers avoid communicating with Putonghua teachers mostly because their Putonghua was not good enough for them to confidently start an interaction; Putonghua teachers avoid communicating with their Cantonese colleagues mostly because they did not understand any Cantonese, neither did they see the necessity to make the effort learning Cantonese. This group distinction was also demonstrated in Ruby’s interaction with different teachers. She acted as a ‘close friend’ to many Putonghua teachers, but only a ‘friendly colleague’ to Cantonese teachers.

In Ruby's interview narratives, the word 'contribution' has been emphasised many times. She indicated that every teacher should have a genuine enthusiasm on contributing towards Chinese teaching, especially in the setting of complementary school. She did not believe a teacher without real passion on teaching and genuine affection on children can be a good teacher in such an informal educational setting. Also due to the informality of the context, in the CCS there was no assessment on teachers' teaching quality, how teachers teach in the class completely rely on their own ability and style, or more specifically, their preparation for that particular session. To Ruby, all of the preparation and extra working time at home are part of this contribution.

In my data analysis Chapter 4 and 5, I use several data samples from Ruby's classroom interaction with students and interview narratives to demonstrate the negotiation of language ideology and teacher identity. Her flexible translanguaging communication and emphasis on the 'usefulness' of Putonghua became a very important finding in this study.

3.5.2.2 Linda

Linda immigrated to the UK in 2001 to pursue her MA degree in one of the universities in West Midlands. Shortly after her study she got married with a non-Chinese man and started to work for companies. 8 years ago, after her first child was born, she switched into running her own small business to keep her time flexible for the commitment of being a mother. Now she is a mum of three young children and a self-employed retailer. During the past 13 years, the majority of Linda's time and effort has been put on her mixed family and her three children. She set up behaving rules for her children, educated them at home in her particular ways, also 'always won the battles of arguing with her husband over issues about educating

their children' (from ethnographic interview). She impressed people with her passion, frankness, curiosity and strong self-confidence.

Linda started her teaching at the researched school on September, 2012, as one of the new teachers enrolled by Mr Q. During my stay at the school, she had been always one of the most willing participants to share her ideas and opinions, as well as to tell many small stories about her own life. She was the first one who actively came to chat with me on my first meeting with all teachers, while all the other teachers were still being cautious with taking part in a research project. During my field work at the school, Linda was teaching one of the three reception classes with nineteen children aged from five to seven years old. Based on a set of textbooks named "You Er Han Yu (*Putonghua for Early Years*)", Linda managed to organize her classroom activities and tasks mainly out of her own resources. She brought Chinese story books from home to read to her students in class; she printed out or purchased particular handcraft materials to use in her teaching at special occasions (e.g. Chinese New Year, the Dragon Boat Festival); she also occasionally brought some small awards (like badges or stickers) to encourage good behaviours in her class.

In her classroom, Linda usually talked in a very loud voice to grab her young students' attention. She often gave direct comments and praises in short utterances with her loud voice (e.g. 'Well done!', 'Good hand-writing', 'Stop that, that's silly!', or 'I don't like that behaviour.', etc.). She cuddled her students at break time, chatted with them, helped the youngest ones packing up their book bags, and tidied up the litters under desks after lessons. Generally she acted as a mother of the young children in many ways. Meanwhile, she directly required parents to support their children with their homework at home and gave feedback to parents every week. Unlike some of the other teachers, she has rather frequent contacts with the parents of her students.

On her teaching sessions, Linda usually followed a certain sequence of tasks:

Table 3.2:

Key teacher Linda's classroom routine

| Order of tasks | Classroom Activities |
|-----------------------|---|
| 1 | Homework review |
| 2 | Introduce new learning target (a new topic with relevant words. e.g. "my family" with "dad, mum, brother, sister, baby" in Chinese) |
| 3 | Repetitive exercise of the new topic and words (asking students to make phrases or sentences with these new words) |
| 4 | Writing exercise of these new characters |
| 5 | Chinese story book reading |
| 6 | End of session: packing-up, tidying up |

By doing so, her students all knew what to do at different times. Some became very excited and concentrated at writing exercise time as they knew there were potential praise and small awards if they did a good job. But on the other side, some students started packing their bags at story time with big noise, because they also knew that was nearly home time.

In her teaching, Linda used both Putonghua and English as her classroom languages. Usually she started off the lesson and introduced the learning target merely in Chinese. As soon as the in-class speaking or writing practice began, she usually switched into using both languages freely to carry out the pedagogical targets, depending on her students' Chinese abilities. She spoke only Putonghua to children with higher Putonghua ability, asking them slightly more

complicated questions based on the target topic. To those with very limited Chinese, she spoke English to explain the task and to encourage and praise them.

During my observation in her classroom, I did not hear Linda asking students to only speak Chinese or mentioning the ‘Speak Chinese because you are Chinese’ ideology at any time. At most she would ask students ‘How do we say this in Chinese?’; and if this question ended up with puzzled faces or silence, she would just tell the Chinese meaning and try to explain more with a few example phrases. She drew resources from both Putonghua and English freely to carry out her teaching activities, in the easiest and most efficient ways for herself and her students. Apart from translanguaging for pedagogical purposes, she also applied the two languages in a discursive mixed way to negotiate her authority and power as a teacher in class.

Linda did not link the Chinese language learning together with cultural identity that much in her teaching. She showed strong awareness that her young students were taking English as their first language, they identified themselves as British rather than Chinese. In order to deal with this reality, she indicated that Chinese learning must be based on interests. Due to this consideration, she did not attempt to simply link heritage language learning together with national identity or cultural belongingness to evoke motivation on learning the language. Instead, she tried hard to make her lessons interesting and fun for her pupils.

If we draw Linda’s ideology on bilingualism for a contrast with those of the Cantonese teachers in the school, a significant distinction will come to sight. Instead of fighting against the loss of cultural identity and endeavouring to maintain the heritage belongingness, Linda chose, probably passively, to accept it. She chose to view ‘this loss of cultural identity’ as inevitable reality due to young children’s migration background. Without the substantial link

between heritage language and cultural identity, Chinese language teaching and learning itself becomes an issue related to interest and utility.

Out of the classroom, Linda acted as a confident individual who often organized discussion with the other two teachers teaching the same level. She shared the test papers she prepared for her class with the other two. She arranged activities for her pupils to do together with their peers from the other two classes at the end of each term. For instance, watching a Chinese cartoon, or playing group games together. She adopted a flexible perspective about bilingualism, considering English, rather than Chinese, as the mother tongue to the British-born Chinese children. At the same time, she was also the one who shouted out ‘Speak Putonghua!’ to one of the Cantonese teachers on the first teachers meeting. Analysis and discussion on this act will be provided in chapter 5.

3.5.2.3 Steve

Steve came to Birmingham 20 years ago to pursue his PhD degree. At that time Chinese academic migrants in England was a very small minority. Living within the small Chinese group, Steve spent years to achieve his doctoral degree and later had his girlfriend coming from China to join him in 1997. They then had their small family and children. After a few years, they received their unlimited residence permit and settled down in England. After his PhD, Steve firstly worked as a researcher in a academic setting for a couple of years, which was followed by running his own small business for another few years. In recent years he has not worked with a full-time job.

Steve came to teach in the researched school 15 years ago as one of the early Putonghua teachers. With his high educational qualification, he was warmly welcomed by the head

teacher at the time and then started teaching elder children Putonghua lessons. During the past 15 years, most of the original teachers left, but Steve remained as one of the very few senior teachers in the school.

Because the institutional ideology for teacher enrolment and class allocation in the school strongly emphasised the educational qualifications of teachers, with his PhD degree Steve has been all the time considered as one of most ‘respectable senior teachers’ by the head teacher and other teaching staff. In the head teacher’s eyes, these respectable senior teachers, unlike new comers without a high academic degree (who usually were assigned to lower year levels), were the reliable and capable teachers to teach higher level classes. Due to this reason, Steve has been all the time teaching Putonghua Book 3, 4 or 5 with elder students at least over 9 years old. When other teachers talked about him, they all addressed him as ‘our senior Teacher S’. Some parents also treated him as a respectable and trustworthy senior teacher.

However, during my observation in Steve’s class, his teaching practice turned out to be rather different from what I have observed from other ‘senior Putonghua teachers’ like, for example, Ruby. All of seven sessions I have observed on in his class were completed in an exactly same routine, following a pattern like this:

- Read the new text together
- Learn new characters one by one with meaning explanation and phrase making
- Do some exercise by asking students to tell the meanings of new characters or make phrases individually (with rarely positive comments on students’ correct answers, but strong negative and sarcastic comments on students’ incorrect answers)
- Loads of extra information randomly inserted in classroom discourse (e.g. teacher’s own childhood experience)

By following the above routine of teaching, Steve put his class in silence at most of time. His students seldom actively uttered any words. Most of them just sat there, being quiet, without paying much attention to Steve's talk. Once they were named to answer questions, they mostly either kept silent or said 'I don't know'.

Meanwhile, in his class Steve claimed very strong teacher authority by setting up unique classroom routines. At the beginning of each session, he asked students to all stand up and greet him together. The interaction below shows the way they did it:

T: 同学们好 [*Good afternoon, students*].

Ss (all stand up and speak together loudly): 老师好 [*Good afternoon, teacher*]!

T: 请坐 [*sit down please*].

(Classroom audio-recording)

This greeting interaction between Steve and his students happened on every session in his class. He was the only teacher who asked for this greeting routine across the whole school. When I asked him for the reason of doing so, he replied: 'Well, this is a school; in a school we have teachers and students. This relationship needs to be clarified clearly. Students have to learn how to treat their teacher properly. Some of our traditional values cannot be lost' (Translated interview transcript). He held a very strong identity of being a teacher, and claimed for respect from students by training them to follow the routine. At first, the students were puzzled about the meaning of 'this weird requirement' (from fieldnote on his students' chatting during break) and reluctant to do so. In chapter 5 I will analyse and discuss this greeting act in detail to talk about Steve's negotiation over a strong teacher identity.

Unlike most of the Cantonese teachers and some of the Putonghua teachers who viewed themselves as *helper* or *guide* to students in this particular educational context, Steve viewed himself *the professional* in the school. Out of classroom, he tended to talk with me during break time, giving a lot of commentary on the school management, the head teachers, other teachers, or parents. Most of the commentary was criticism on other school members. In chapter 4 and 5, I will draw a few data extracts from Steve's classroom interactive discourse and interview narrative to address the topic of language ideology and his negotiation on teacher's professional identity. In Chapter 4, I analyse Steve's use of '*gardener*' as a metaphor to express his own perception of being a Chinese teacher in the CCS. In Chapter 5, I draw examples from his classroom interaction to discuss how a CCS teacher like him negotiates professional identity under the name of 'authenticity'.

3.5.2.4 Paul

Paul is the only Cantonese-speaking key participant in my in-depth classroom observation. Because most of the Cantonese teachers in the school could not speak fluent Putonghua or English (some had no resource of Putonghua at all), also due to my very limited Cantonese, I could only choose the Cantonese-speaking key participant from those who had basic English or Putonghua ability for communication. Also out of the consideration to have two males and two females as key participants, Paul turned out to be the one who met all the criteria with most willingness.

Immigrating to the UK from Hong Kong in 2008 was not an easy decision for Paul to make. Before he came to England, he had done his undergraduate education and worked in an engineering field in Hong Kong for decades. He has worked as an electricity engineer in

companies and a training tutor in the same field for many years. In 2007, Paul's wife proposed to migrate to Britain for their three teenage children's higher education, because they could only afford one of the kids to go to a decent university in Hong Kong, but saw much more flexible opportunities in the UK. After nearly a year of negotiation and preparation, the whole family moved over here to England and settled down in Birmingham. His children later successively took relevant exams and went to different universities in London or Birmingham.

In our interviews, Paul emphasised quite a few times that his immigration to England was 'one hundred percent because of children'. If there was not the need for affordable better higher education for his children, he would definitely prefer to stay in Hong Kong, carrying on his own job in the familiar surroundings. He mentioned that his immigration was more or less 'a willing sacrifice'. He took the final decision of migrating into England as a compromise of his own career to his children's future. Later he felt very proud that all his three children successfully went to excellent universities.

When I asked him whether he had tried to seek for a job in the engineering field in England, he replied 'well, you know, at my age, it is not easy to get a job here, especially I don't have the certificates required to work in local English companies. Plus the cultural difference, and my English is not that good, I suppose the local people would not like to hire a foreigner who has little understanding on their culture and language. I am not sure that I would be able to cope with it. ... I am too old to learn those things from the beginning (translated interview transcript)'. As a result of this thought, instead of trying to find a job in the engineering field, Paul chose to get involved in one of the local Chinese associations in Birmingham. For a long time he has been working there four days a week as a care support worker, which was mainly

a volunteer job with very little payment. Three years ago, he started teaching Cantonese in the researched school as his second part time job.

In the school, Paul is viewed as a very quiet elder teacher. He did not interact with other teachers that much, especially with those who teach Putonghua. With a smile always wearing on his face, he said: ‘my Putonghua is not that good, and everybody is so busy, just don’t have the time to really chat with other teachers’. Although he would not actively start a conversation with other people in the school, he was always very friendly to everybody who came to him for any enquiries or help. He gave highly positive comments on the school management. To him, running such a school for Chinese language and cultural maintenance is a great contribution to Chinese diaspora in the UK. Paul always said that he felt honoured to teach in the school and took Cantonese teaching as a very meaningful job to do. Apart from teaching with the textbooks provided by the school, Paul also selected a range of most classic Chinese poems as extra teaching materials to use in his class. He believes that learning those poems was an effective way to increase students’ sense of cultural awareness. At every annual assembly Paul organized his students to chant a selected famous poem on the stage as a part of the school performance, which was highly valued by the school authority and parents.

Paul had been teaching level 4 Cantonese to teenage students ever since he joined the school. During the year of my observation in the school, he had fourteen students aged from eleven to fifteen. Like all the other six Cantonese teachers in the school, Paul’s classroom teaching was exclusively guided by the ‘*Chinese-only*’ separate bilingual ideology and conducted with very traditional collective teaching methods. The students in his class, also like those in other Cantonese teachers’ class, were mostly polite and cooperative; they followed Paul’s classroom instruction and teaching routines at most of the time.

In Paul's classroom teaching, his use of English was reduced to only a few phrases to praise students, such as 'well done', 'excellent', or 'good try'. 'Chinese-only' is an explicit ideology and also the weekly practice in his teaching.

Partially as a consequence of this 'Chinese-only' (in Paul's case it refers to Cantonese Chinese) classroom rule, students in Paul's class used (or tried to use) Cantonese as the first language to communicate with Paul in session. When he named students individually to answer a question, most of them would answer in Cantonese. Some students would say sorry if they could not answer the question only in Cantonese; some others would ask how to say something in Cantonese before uttering their answer. Generally, students in Paul's class appeared to accept this Cantonese-only practice for teaching and learning the language. One of the boys in his class once said: 'In Chinese school we have to use Chinese, this is why we are here (from field notes)'. Most of the time Paul carried out his teaching tasks with his student's cooperation: they read texts loudly, did group discussion in Cantonese with attention, completed and handed in their homework every week.

By saying the above it doesn't mean that use of English is not exist in Paul's class. In fact, his students' use of English in classroom interactions reveals interesting phenomenon around identity and power negotiation. The following interaction is a typical sample of Paul's classroom interaction with students. It was collected when Paul was doing a dictation at the beginning of a session. He read out some characters, asking students to write them down. Once they finished, the dictation work would be collected as a small assessment for the week. Paul said the words one by one in a slow pace, suddenly one of the boys shouted out:

Boy 5: Oh! MAN---! Slow DOWN!

Paul: (2.0) 我已经很慢了。好吧，再慢一些 [*I've been already very slow. Ok then, I'll slow down more*].

(From audio-recorded interactive data)

During my entire observation in the school, this was the only time I heard a student calling his teacher 'Man!' in a loud voice face to face, followed by a strong request of 'slow down!'. Boy 5 was the eldest student in the class who very often missed sessions. Basically the dictation was too difficult for him to follow because he had not learned those words. Paul did not react to Boy 5's shouting or the way he had been addressed; he simply gave a short response by agreeing to slow down more, and then continued the dictation. In chapter 4 and 5 I will draw data collected from Paul's practices to discuss the language shift from Cantonese to Putonghua and teachers' professional identities.

In the whole procedure of communicating with my participants during the field work, I always reminded myself that I was not only a researcher who went there to collect data; instead, I wanted to be identified as a friend, or an 'insider' from some sense. I might not contribute to the school or to the teachers' weekly teaching practice directly, but I wanted to offer a friendly and trustful ear for my participants' achievement, concerns, worries or anger. As Erickson (2008) points out, Ethnographic field work is not only a matter of spending time with participants, but most importantly to build an equal relationship with people in order to get closer to them. Inadequate closeness with the participants definitely would confine ethnographers' comprehension of the field. And this closeness sometimes depends on how the researcher positions herself or himself in the field.

For instance, during my observation in Steve's classroom, I used to feel upset with many of his comments on students which I took as disturbingly inappropriate. In my original hand-

written fieldnotes I scribbled down a big amount of criticism on his classroom discourse. I could not help judging him from a parent's stance: How could he say those mean words to the young children? How angry and sad the parents would be if they knew their children were treated in that way? However, after a few times of discussion with my supervisor regarding this issue, I started trying to understand Steve's classroom practice, to at least appreciate his openness of sharing that many of his personal life stories with me during break times. I tried to comprehend the 'inappropriateness' in his practice and tried to bring them into my interpretation in relation with wider conditions.

3.6 Data collection

The data collection in this linguistic ethnographic study was a long, complex journey which involved ethnics, access, feasibility, and relationships in the field. Participant observation with field notes and audio-recording was employed as the central data collection mode. In this section, I present the procedure of my data collection which constitutes three stages in a 10-month field work in the researched CCS. I also introduce an extended data collection which has been done on an out-of-school meeting after the 10-month field work. The exact methods applied for data collection include ethnographic school-wide observations, audio-recorded in-depth classroom observations, ethnographic interviews, semi-structured interviews, a small scale questionnaire survey, and the collection of documentations and photographs. I start the section with a summarized table which displays the entire dataset I have collected from the research field.

Table 3.3:

Summary of data

| Type of data sources | Participants involved | Amount |
|--|---|---|
| School wide observation | <p>All of the 25 teachers in the school</p> <p>Head teachers and school governors</p> <p>Students and parents</p> | <p><u>50 minutes</u> in each teacher's class</p> <p><u>17 weeks</u> in total of observation around the school</p> |
| In-depth audio-recorded classroom observation | <p>4 key teachers:</p> <p>Ruby Linda Steve Paul</p> <p>Students in their classes</p> | <p><u>24 hours</u> audio-recordings of classroom interaction (6 hours in each teacher's class)</p> <p>In total <u>2 hours</u> out-of-classroom audio recordings</p> |
| | <p>1 extra teacher:</p> <p>May (F, ■ full-time Chinese language teacher from a local college, she runs the adult certificate class in the researched school every Sunday)</p> <p><i>*At the end of my field work, May was recommended by Sarah the deputy head teacher to be observed as 'the most professional one' in the school.</i></p> | <p><u>2.5 hours</u> of classroom interaction audio recordings</p> |
| Field notes | <p>Head teachers</p> <p>All teachers</p> <p>Students</p> <p>Some of the parents</p> | <p><u>32,027 words</u> in total</p> |
| | | |

| | | |
|---|---|--|
| Field work record with notes | Head teachers, teachers and students | <u>6,272 words</u> in total |
| Ethnographic or semi-structured Interviews | All 4 key teachers; 15 school staff other than the key participants; The head teacher; 4 students [redacted] [redacted] [redacted] [redacted] [redacted] | <u>5,947 words</u> of interview notes <u>7.5 hours</u> of interview audio-recordings in total |
| Questionnaire survey | 21 teachers | |
| Documents | | <u>1 set</u> of School handbook for teachers <u>1 set</u> of school handbook for students <u>2 Sample textbooks</u> <u>5 Samples</u> of students' homework <u>4 Samples</u> of school examination papers |
| Photographs | From 3 out of the 4 Key teachers and their students (Steve refused photographing in his class) Students attending on the school event (exhibition of Chinese traditional food) All participants on the School annual ceremony | <u>95</u> in total |

| | | |
|---|---|-----------------------------------|
| | The 2014 Birmingham Chinese community dinner party in celebration of China's National Day | |
| Extra audio-recording data on an out-of-school round-table meeting | 17 attendants including the head teachers, 5 school governors and other Birmingham Chinese migrants | <u>2 hours</u> of audio-recording |

In the following parts of this section, I will introduce the procedure, the outcomes and my reflections of data collection. I first talk about the three phases of my field work within the school in 3.6.1; then I highlight the importance of field note and a research progress record in my study in 3.6.2; and this is followed by an account on how and why I collect the questionnaire data and relevant documents and photos. At the final part I present a description and discussion on the extended data collections out of the school in 3.6.4.

3.6.1 Three phases of field work in the school

For my fieldwork in the school I have scheduled three stages. The first stage was constituted by 17 weeks of school-wide observation aiming to get familiar with school members and conduct a one-session observation in each of the 25 teachers' classroom. The second stage was another 17-week period during which I did in-depth classroom observation with audio-recordings. The four teachers, Ruby, Linda, Steve, Paul and their students were observed as key participants at this stage. The third stage was conducted throughout the summer term in 2014 for audio-recorded interviews and ethnographic interviews with teachers and other

school members. Table 3.4 is the exact time schedule I followed during the 10-month stay within the school.

Table 3.4:

Three Phases of field work in the school

| | |
|-------------------------------------|--|
| Phase1: (15/9/2013—5/1/2014) | 17 weeks of observation around the school (field notes) |
| Phase2: (12/1/2014—4/5/2014) | 17 weeks of in-depth classroom observation focusing on 4 key teachers' teaching practices in their classes (audio-recording, photographs and field notes) |
| Phase3: (11/5/2014-6/7/2014) | 9 weeks of interview with teachers, head teachers, and school governors (field notes and/or audio-recording) |

Throughout the whole procedure of these three phases, I adopted a 'reflective gaze' on the 'contradictions of people's everyday life' to make the familiar Chinese complementary school very interesting again (Erickson, 1990:121). With the triangulation of data collection methods, I was able to 'cross-check information collected from different sources' and to increase 'the validity of my findings' (Watson-Gegeo, 1988:584). For example, in my participation on the school exhibition event named 'The Flavour of China', audio-recording, photos and descriptive field notes were all employed to bring a valid and interesting interpretation of the event in my discussion in chapter 7. Next I will talk about these three phases respectively with descriptive details.

3.6.1.1 School-wide observation

At the school-wide observation phase, I have undertaken the following tasks:

- Classroom observations with all 25 teachers involved, 50 minutes in each class (field notes applied)
- Ethnographic interviews with 2 head teachers and 2 school governors
- School documentary investigation and collection (e.g. a school handbook to teachers, a school handbook for students, and textbook samples)
- Participation and observation in other school group events (e.g. one school board meeting in the office; one interview for enrolling a new teacher conducted by the head teacher)

This first phase of fieldwork the school enabled me to get familiarised with the school, to learn the school's history and current situation, to develop trust with teachers, school governors, students and parents, and to hear their perceptions about learning and teaching Chinese varieties in such a setting. As Copland and Creese (2015) indicate, in a linguistic ethnography we 'never start from a completely clean slate and will always bring ourselves into what we observe while simultaneously retaining an open orientation to what we see' (p38). Throughout the first four months, I was keeping this 'open orientation' to what I see, hear and experience in the research context. I took the construction and negotiation of language ideologies and identities as my 'particular prior interests' (Hymes, 1980), while remain reflexive and open to record and document the social complexity (Blommaert, 2007; Rampton et al., 2015).

Similar to what I have discussed in section 3.4 regarding access and consent, being reflexive became the most crucial element during my school-wide observation. I came across all different moments of interacting with participants with various personalities, backgrounds, beliefs and language repertoires. I met teachers with high enthusiasm on my research and genuine willingness to talk; I also encountered many vigilant faces with a quick glance at me in the corridor. I was positioned by some participants as an academic researcher with professional knowledge; I also was expected to be a teacher assistant and help out when it was needed. Some small ethical dilemmas also occurred during this phase. For example, at the moment when I found out that my initial way to approach individual teachers was actually disapproved by the school authority, how could I adjust my perception and research plan to meet participants' needs but also with sufficient considerations on ethics? That experience of mine attested what Tusting and Maybin (2007) affirm: 'the researcher is inevitably part of, and shapes, the research that is being produced' (p578). In section 3.8 I will elaborate this point as one of the ethical dilemmas in my field work.

3.6.1.2 Audio-recorded observation in four key teachers' classrooms

The second phase was focused on audio-recorded in-depth classroom observations in 4 key teachers' classrooms. During the second stage, I have conducted:

- 6 hours of audio-recording in each key participant's class with field notes
- Ethnographic interviews with some students at break times with field notes
- Questionnaire survey to all 25 teachers with 21 copies returned
- 59 photographs taken in key teacher's classroom

- Observation on one school event called ‘The Flavour of China’ which was an exhibition of Chinese food culture (audio-recording and field notes applied, 21 photos taken)

Three weeks before I commenced my audio-recorded observation, an information letter and a written consent (attached as Appendix 6) were given to the four key participants to read and sign, based on an oral commitment given by them earlier. At the same time, the information letter and a parent consent form (attached as Appendix 7) were also sent to parents or guardians of children in key teachers’ classes. On the parent consent form I indicated that it would be assumed as agreed for me to record the child’s voice if the consent was not returned within two weeks. In Linda’s case, two children’ parents returned their forms without giving the consent. Consequently their child’s voice has been deleted from my recording. In the other three key participants’ classes, there was no parent or students rejecting to be audio-recorded, all consents were obtained before I went to each classroom.

For the in-depth classroom observation, I started from Linda’s class as she was enthusiastically inviting me to her classroom first. It was followed by Ruby’s class, Paul’s class and then Steve’s class. For the audio-recording, I used two sets of recording equipment, one is a small-sized audio-recording pen which I asked four key participants to wear during their teaching sessions, and the other one is a highly sensitive audio-recorder which I put on one of the desks close to students or in the centre of classroom. Usually I arrived at the school half an hour earlier than the open time, had a chat with parents or teachers in front of the school gate, then went to the classroom 10 minutes before the lesson started, got ready with my recording equipment and notebook. Sometimes I had a short chat with the class teacher

and students. Once the session started, I sat at the back of the classroom, observing and taking notes.

Interestingly, in all four key teachers' classes, they sometimes asked me questions regarding various issues. It turned out to be either a confirmation on their explanation to students, or a request for my answer to their students' question, or even a kind of borrowing 'authority' from me to discipline their students' behaviour. In Paul's class, for instance, for a few times he said to his students in Cantonese Chinese: 'you see, Miss Huang is in our class today, you should have behaved in a better way to show respect'. Every time when I was 'cued' to talk in the session, I tried to keep my talk as short as possible to minimise the disruption of my presence in the class. During break times, I would either help the teacher with some small issues or write my field notes. At the end of each session, I would have another short chat with the teacher, and helped her/him with things like tidying-up or giving out students' homework, etc.. Teachers were aware and agreed for my recorders being all the time on through the whole 2-hour session. This allowed me to capture some very interesting interactions during the break time from which I have extracted very interesting data samples. Apart from the in-depth classroom observation, at the second phase I also conducted a questionnaire survey among all 25 teachers. I will introduce this questionnaire survey with details in section 3.6.3.

Moreover, nearly at the end of the second phase, in early April 2014, I also participated in a school exhibition event titled as 'The Flavour of China'. It was organised by the UK Federations of Chinese Schools (UKFCS) with support from the Chinese government and the Chinese embassy in London. The event was aimed to present Chinese food culture with professionally-produced exhibition boards to the Chinese diaspora in Britain. The researched school was selected to be the site in the city of Birmingham. Data collected from this event is

used in Chapter 7 for analysis and discussion on ‘the CCS as an intersected community’. In the following part of this section I move on to introduce the third phase of my fieldwork.

3.6.1.3 Audio-recorded interviews and ethnographic interviews

During the summer term of 2014, I undertook my third phase of field work in the school.

That phase of data collection was mainly focused on interviews which included:

- Multiple audio-recorded interviews with 4 key teachers
- One audio-recorded interview with Mr Q
- Informal interviews with other school teachers and school governors
- Informal interviews with 4 students with all different backgrounds

In total I have collected 7.5 hours of audio-recording and 17 pages of interview notes. The interviews I have done during the 9 weeks were basically ‘semi-structured interviews’ and ‘informal ethnographic interviews’ (Richards, 2003). Semi-structured interviews with four key participants were all audio-recorded, while the informal interviews with other school participants, such as teachers other than the key participants, some students or parents, were noted and/or recorded.

In semi-structured interviews, I have designed a set of ‘guide questions’ (Blommaert and Dong, 2010) for me to keep the main topic while meanwhile being flexible to divert from some listed questions and pursue topics that arose in the course of talk (Richard, 2003). For example, in my interview with the key participants, around the topic of ‘ask for the teacher’s view on the use of Chinese-English bilingualism in their teaching’, I did the interviews with different sets of prompt questions. In Ruby and Linda’s case it was developed into a set of

sub-questions in relation to their use of translanguaging; while in Paul and Kerry's case it was diverted into another set of supporting questions about their 'Chinese-only' practices in classroom. A sample of interview schedule is attached as appendix 9.

The time length and conducting way (including venues and languages used) for each semi-structured interview also differed. With Ruby I did a one-hour non-stop interview with recording in the corridor outside her classroom, while her 4 students were taking a mock GCSE test. With Paul I did 2 half-hour semi-structured interviews in two weeks after her teaching sessions. With Steve the recorded interview was divided into 3 short talks with around 20 minutes for each time because he did not like to sit down for a long talk. As for Linda, my first recorded interview with her had to be stopped after five minutes because of an unexpected interruption by another reception class teacher. Because that teacher wanted to discuss the exam results of three Putonghua reception classes with Linda, I had to rearrange the time and venue with Linda for the interview. Later we did a 40-minute recorded talk while her students were watching a Chinese cartoon film together with another class. In the interview with Paul, I kept my questions in easy understanding Putonghua out of considerations of his linguistic repertoire; we also encountered some moments when he got stuck with Putonghua so I tried to understand some phrases in Cantonese. With Linda and Ruby, during the interviews we turned to naturally translanguage between English and Putonghua in a flowing communication.

In the CCS, teachers only were in the school every Sunday afternoon between 1pm to 3pm, and at most of time they had to use this two hours on their teaching. Although I have offered to meet outside the school based on their convenience, all interviewee preferred to meet and talk at the school. Because of these reasons, the last few weeks of the 2014 academic year became the most possible time for my interviews. At the time, most of the classes were either

doing the annual examination or on the post-exam flexible sessions, so teachers were able to arrange some time for the interview.

Meanwhile, apart from the semi-structured interviews with key teachers, I also conducted multiple informal ethnographic interviews with some teachers other than the key participants, 2 school governors, and 4 students. None of these ethnographic interviewed was planned in my fieldwork schedule. Instead, all the very interesting talks between me and these school participants were casually happened around the school. For example, my informal interview with one student from the adult certificate class, the 62-year-old Mr He originally coming from HK, was completely out of my expectation. It happened after I finished the last classroom observation in his teacher May's class. In the long corridor from the classroom to the school gate, I was walking in the crowd, and then I noticed that Mr He was approaching me with a smile on his face, showing willingness to talk with me. I warmly opened up a conversation by greeting him, and then my recorder captured a 10-minute long conversation in English between us. Mr He provided a short but very interesting account on his migration history and his enthusiasm on learning Putonghua. In fluent English he commented on the language shift from Cantonese to Putonghua among Chinese diaspora in England, he even addressed the changing status of P.R.C's economics in global market to explain the language shift. That was absolutely a nice surprise on that day. My informal interviews with other students and the school governors were similar with the scenario in Mr He's case.

Thrope (2012) appeals to applying a 'postmodern sensibility' in doing ethnographic interviews, he calls for attention on 'the affective, sensuous, relational, embodied and socio-spatial dimensions of each interview event' (p52). My experience of conducting interviews with key participants has testified the importance of the sensibility on such dimensions. My rapport with Linda and Ruby, the trust on me from Paul and Steve, and the specific practical

modals of a CCS, all shaped my interview data collections, either with enhancement or constriction. This requirement on sensibility in doing interviews once again brings an ethnographer's reflexivity under the spotlight.

The sensibility and reflexivity on complex dimensions of each interview event become essential in the interviewer's 'co-constructed talk' (Seale, 1998) with the interviewee. How the interviewer presents her-/himself in the co-constructed talk directly and significantly affects the outcomes of an ethnographic interview. Small details which appear to be minor, for instance, the researcher's appearance, gestures or tones, are all influential in ethnography interviews and may change the interview responses (Bucholtz and Hall, 2008). With the sensibility and reflexivity, linguistic ethnographers need to focus on how to integrate the role of a 'professional stranger' (Agar, 2008) and the role of a 'friend-like listener' (Copland and Creese, 2015:33). To achieve this, we need to be the 'professional Stranger' on the etic perspective with theoretical knowledge and methodological skills to observe, analyse and interpret what we hear from the interview. At the same time, we also need to be a 'friend-like listener' at the emic domain to 'understand the social world from the interviewee's perspective' (Copland and Creese, 2015:33). It is all about managing to reach a balance of the researcher's etic and emic roles in ethnographic studies, which is intrinsically featured with challenges and sometimes contradictions.

Because of these features of ethnographic studies, I perceive the entire 10-month field work and data collection in my researched school, and the interviews I have done with school members as a profoundly educative journey. My own repertoire and social identities have been changed after the field work. For instance, I became able to understand much more Cantonese; my understandings on Chinese migrants with HK origin have been greatly developed; and my confidence for socialising with people with different backgrounds as well

as for being a social science researcher has also grown significantly. My discussion on the researcher's role in ethnography will be continued in the following sections regarding field notes.

3.6.2 Field notes and research progress record

Blommaert and Dong (2010:37) point out that field notes provide us with invaluable information, 'not only about what we witnessed in the field, but even more importantly about how we witnessed it'. This view is in conformity with what Hymes claimed: 'how something is said is part of what is said' (1972:59). In their recent book on linguistic ethnography, Copland and Creese (2015) point out:

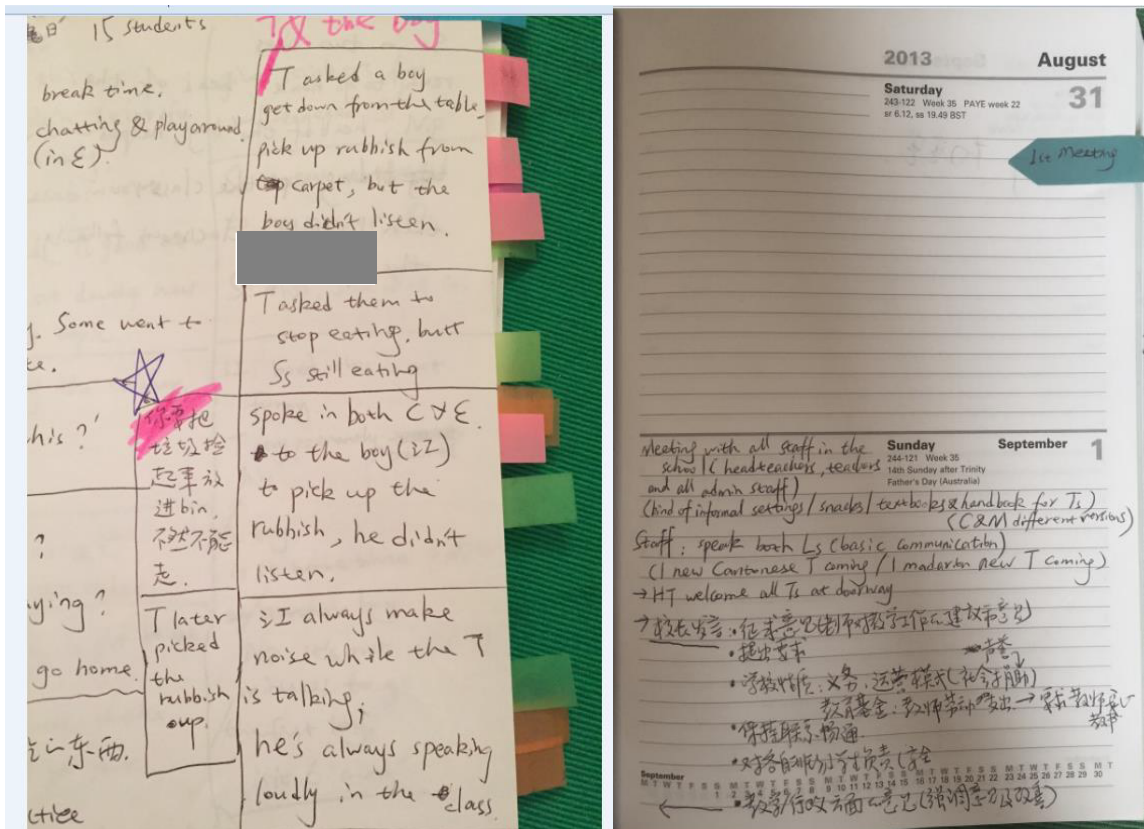
Field notes have a special place within ethnography because of their role in documenting complexity in participant observation and recording the ethnographer's partialities. In writing field notes, we keep observation open, choosing to describe what appears significant to our participants. ...in field notes we also record our emotions, feelings, values and beliefs (p38)

In the writing of field notes, the researcher's interests, values, beliefs, social experiences all shape the field notes into 'written accounts that filter research participants' experiences and concerns through the person and perspective of the ethnographer' (Creese et al., 2015:269). The field notes in ethnography are not neutral documenting accounts but are *filtered* written discourse structured by the ethnographer and his/her perspectives. They are appealed to be taken as 'primordial' writing (Emerson et al.,1995:16) for data analysis throughout the research course of making the everyday complexity visible (Erickson, 1990).

In my study, I have used two A4-sized notebooks to hand write my original field notes during all the three phases of my field work. These real time hand-written notes later have been

typed into a 134-page (32,027 words) word document. At the same time, I also recorded my whole field work into a 23-page document which I called 'Field Work Progress Record'. Below I provide two samples of my original hand-written field notes and a sample of my Field Work Progress Record for further explanation.

As seen, these original hand-written field notes were bilingual in Chinese and English and remained 'personal and messy' (Emerson et al., 1995: ix). To catch up with the pace of teachers' classroom activities, in these notes there were lots of unfinished sentences with abbreviations, and signs and symbols only understandable to me.



These original notes are sources of data which record interactions among participants; describe the real complex dynamic of school practice. These scribbled notes later were polished and typed into descriptive accounts, and then extracted into 'analytic vignettes'

(Erickson, 1990) to be presented in my analysis and discussion chapters. For example, in chapter 7, for my analysis around the school exhibition event of ‘The Flavour of China’, my filed note vignette offers an important description for the discussion on the audio-recorded and photograph data. Without the field note vignette, the validity of my discussion on the photograph data would be highly reduced. In this study, my systematic and detailed field notes serve as same import as my audio-recorded interactive data. I take Creese’s argument to view field notes are ‘personal, academic and political’ (2011:43). I argue that the ‘openness’ in ethnographic field work and field note writing does not imply that the field notes are unstructured. Following a ‘general to specific’ structure, my field notes describe and interpret the general societal and institutional conditions as well as the particular individuals, routines, interactions and linguistic signs.

Next I provide a sample of my Field Work Progress Record together with a sample of field notes to demonstrate how I documented, described and commented on a key moment at the beginning of my field work – when I encountered the first dilemma regarding access and ethics. I aim to use this example to argue for seeing field notes in ethnographic research same important, meaningful and valid as recorded data.

The moment was right after I started my field work in the school. During my first week (started on 2 September 2013) in the school, I walked around and talked with a few teachers, and then did my first two 50-minute observations in two teachers’ classes, thinking I should minimise my disruption to the school’s weekly routine by approaching individual teachers all on my own. In order to make my communication with individual teachers more efficient, I asked Sarah the deputy head for a name and contact list of all teachers, planning to ask them individually to arrange the time for my first-round observation in each of their classes. The

following field note was written after I received two emails from Sarah in one day: the first one was to give me the name and contact list, and the second was asking me *not* to use it.

Field note sample: 29/09/2013

29/09/2013: head teacher's arrangement for my CO

Teacher observed: K and Y

8

Today I went to the school earlier to negotiate with the head teachers based on our email contact. I thought that is Sarah who would come to discuss with me about the issues, but actually that was Mr. Q dealing with all the decision-making issues.

Sarah first apologized for the confusion brought by the 'teacher contact list' thing—she sent me a teacher contact list in reaction to my request first, and later asked me to not contact teachers without the school's authorisation. She whispered to me 'I got told off by the head teacher...,' 'but it is completely ok if you ask the teachers for their contact individually', she said.

Then she asked me to talk to Mr Q for a further discussion. Up to then, I understood that Mr Q was the person who would like to be in charge of any issues relevant with my study in the school. **I kind of made a mistake by not asking him before I went to teachers' classrooms last Sunday.** ---and good job I have telephoned him before today's session, respectfully asking for a meeting with him, we arranged to meet at 3rd of October!

So I went to him, noticed that he had a black suitcase with passcode lock, all the documentation from me are in that case. This slightly surprised me--seems he takes my work in their school very seriously, he thinks it is very important! He took out a name list of teachers and kindly explained to me: ***

- He would like to arrange me to observe 2 teachers each Sunday
- He thinks all of the teachers will take part in my first stage of CO.
- He will go the classrooms together with me to introduce me to the teachers. Any other issues I am interested in, I just communicate with teachers later on.

I could see Mr Q is trying to be helpful, more than what I have expected. I mentioned about that I haven't got all the consents returned from teachers yet.

I said: 'would those teachers who haven't answered me think I am giving them a kind of pressure, if I go to their rooms together with you, the head teacher, and do the observation directly without their consent? If any of them don't want to be observed, they will feel like being forced'.

He replied: 'don't worry, they won't be unwilling to take part in, this is a research, a meaningful research, all of them will (shall) take part in. I will talk to them.'

I said again that according to our ethical requirements for doing a research, I do need to make sure all participants are fully willing to take part in, rather than feeling being forced.

9

Mr Q insisted: 'all of the teachers will be happy to take part in, it is a good thing, they don't have reason to not participate.' 'I will talk to them, and tell them all of the teachers are going to take part in this study, it is nothing to do with forcing or against any of them. They will agree.' He then told me the names and room numbers of the 2 Ts in whose classes I would do my CO today.

So I expressed my appreciation, and promised that I would come to him first every Sunday, let him arrange 2 teachers for my CO. Then he asked Mrs Ke -one of the 2 ts for today- to come over and introduced me to her in a quite formal way, Mrs Ke said '*Shi jing, Shi jing*'. We had a little chat.

Then I waited in the hall for the class to begin, and wrote some notes of our discussion.

At 1:35,

Table 3.5:

A sample of field work progress record

| Field Work Progress Record | | | |
|--|---|---|--|
| 15/05/2013 - 30/07/2014 | | | |
| Text in black : real-time notes | | | |
| Text in red : 1 st reflective reading (during field work) | | | |
| Text in blue : 2 nd reflective reading (end of field work, July 2014) | | | |
| Text in Green : 3 rd reflective reading (during data analysis, August 2014 – March 2015) | | | |
| Time | Events | Progress | Notes |
| ... | | | |
| ... | | | |
| 3/10/2013 12-2pm **Another important moment of negotiation with Mr Q the HT | Informal meeting with Mr Q in the same Chinese Tea house. He really prefers meeting in a dining setting! During the meeting I kind of felt he's treating me like a 'grandchild' in a way (he's 72, similar age with my grandfather!) —sounds weird to people without similar cultural background I know. But I did feel that he likes talking with me in a kind of relaxing way. Maybe 'elder people's loneliness?' | Very productive discussion with him over the following issues: --my exact work plan at following steps (no possibilities of being supply teacher or TA) --his support/ arrangement for my first-phase classroom observation --His expectation from me after I finish my study in the school (a brief report) --a rapport rebuilt after 'my mistake' | I asked to audio-record our talk, he declined, saying that he might said different things at different occasions, so preferred not to be recorded. He said: you can take as much note as you can, that's absolutely fine. I assume he's taking my recording as the same as 'media interviews' (too formal!). As he said before, he's very careful with being recorded in any public meetings he's attended during the last few decades). I didn't try to persuade him any further; he needs more time to trust me for recording his voice. Before this meeting I also emailed Sarah the deputy head inviting her to come as well, but she didn't turn up. Mr Q seems really prefer ONLY himself being in charge of things relevant to my research. We have a very nice talk over lunch. I apologized for not asking him before I went the first 2 teachers' classroom, and explained that I would not be able to be a supply teacher or TA during my |

| | | | |
|-----|--|--|---|
| | <p>He asked me to order some food that I like. I said I've already had my lunch, but he insisted, saying I'd better to have some together with him. At the end I did order a few Dim Sum.</p> <p>So the whole meeting was carried out while he's having his lunch, and I was like a 'good listener' to all his talk, behaving as 'a younger-generation friend' I suppose..</p> | | <p>stay in the school (which Sarah had asked me for in the previous week). I showed him again my fieldwork schedule and elaborated the three phases.</p> <p>He explained why he preferred to 'arrange' 2teachers/week for my first stage:</p> <p>Mainly because the informality of the school, he's unsure about whether teachers would participate, and also his concerns on what teachers and parents would say if I was unauthorisedly walking around the school.</p> <p>He wants everything happening in the school to be manageable. As for my stay, at least at the beginning of my presence in the school, he wants to make an arrangement — his authority</p> <p>He also emphasised again his strong support to my research, and he wanted to make sure my field work being successful.</p> <p>*Rather a complex mix of reasons indeed!</p> <p>Then he told me a lot of his personal stories- earlier years education in Mainland China, later life in HK and hardworking and achievements in England, his belief and attitude on Chinese migrants getting involved in the British politics, his connections back in China, etc.</p> <p>See field note (29/09/2013) for relevant descriptions on this key negotiation moment in the school</p> |
| ... | | | |

These two data samples are all about the issue of how I accessed to teachers' classrooms for my first-phase school-wide observation. As seen from the content, in the field notes I described what happened around the issue on that particular day in the school. I captured small details such as Sarah's whispering and Mr Q's briefcase. I also recalled my interaction with Mr Q about my ethical consideration and his 'reassurance'. I used different colours to highlight major discourses from different participants and myself. In the Progress Record sample, I documented the data, venue, event, exact progress and multiple reflexive notes.

As displayed in Table 3.5, I used four colours to indicate different stages of my reflexive notes and comments. During writing these notes, my awareness on the situated interaction and conflicts has been greatly developed. Because of these notes, when I looked back to the field work at data-analysis and writing-up stages, I had a rich and detailed account for generating meaningful themes, in relation with my audio-recorded data and other semiotic data. This experience of mine explicitly demonstrated what Martin-Jones (2016) indicates: '...rereading of early filed notes can also provide researchers with a means of taking stock of how their relationships with those participating in their research are developing and how their understandings of the participants' practices, beliefs and values are developing over time.' (p192). The three post-fieldwork rereading (as coded as red, blue and green in Table 3.5) played very important role for my developing understanding on my communication with Mr Q the head teacher. They also vividly revealed Mr Q's beliefs and values, and the institutional language policy in *his* school. In Section 3.8 I will come back to the moment documented in the above field note extracts for a discussion on the ethical dilemma.

3.6.3 Questionnaire and document collection

During my fieldwork I also conducted a questionnaire survey (see appendix 10 for a sample) to all 25 teachers. The aim of the survey was to get the basic profiles of teachers and their perceptions about teaching Chinese in the CCS. The questionnaire was written in easily understandable English offering teachers flexible options to fill it with either English, simplified Chinese, or traditional Chinese. Before the questionnaire was distributed to all teachers, I had conducted a pilot with two teacher assistants who were studying in the local universities at the time. Based on their feedback and comments, changes were made for a final copy of the survey. At last there were twenty one copies returned from teachers within the time limit. One male Putonghua teacher claimed no interests in filling the survey; another three Putonghua teachers did not return the survey within the required period of four weeks. The questionnaire data provided useful biographical information of the participants, as well as interesting commentaries which reflected their language ideologies and teacher identities.

Apart from the questionnaire survey, I also collected sample textbooks, the school handbooks for teachers and students, a few samples of homework and exam papers from Linda and Ruby's classes, and some photographs in Ruby, Linda and Paul's classes and on a few other school events. I use one textbook sample from Paul's class, one photo from the school event, and one photo of a school plaque for my discussion in chapter 7. All photos were taken under permission from the key teachers and/or the head teacher. I avoid using photos exposing individual identities in this thesis.

3.6.4 Participant observation of school events out of the school site

After the planned 10-month field work within the school, I did a brief report to each of the actively-involved participants individually, informing them of the completion of my field work and thanking them for all their support. I offered them opportunities to request a transcription of data collected from their own individual practices. I also provided a two-page report in Chinese as required by Mr Q and Sarah to put in their 50th annual memorisation magazine. I exchanged contacts with all participants who liked to stay in touch with me. This contact list includes most of the teachers, some students, a few parents, and 2 school governors. At the end of July 2014, I had an end-of-fieldwork meeting with Mr Q and Sarah at the school, formally thanked them for all their support for my research and offered them further research reports when I have them ready. At that moment I personally perceived that the rapport established between me and the school possibly would cease after I left the school. However, in September of 2014, I received an email from Sarah inviting me to take part in the Birmingham Chinese Dinner Party in celebration of China's National Day which is on the 1st of October. The dinner party was an annual gathering for the leading members from different local Chinese communities in Birmingham and West Midlands to socialise for networking. This annual gathering carries an explicit political norm with the 2014 Mayor of Birmingham and representative officers from the Chinese embassy attended. As one of the most influential members of Chinese migration group in Birmingham, Mr Q invited 10 people from his friendship circle to attend the 2014 party with him. When I heard this invitation from Sarah, I was quite surprised. I did not expect the close relationship between me and the school could be extended outside the school site.

Later at the party I have witnessed an extremely interesting and rich social ecology with a huge range of social categories and groups of people involved. Lion dance, Chinese traditional dancing and singing, speeches from the Mayor and the counsellor from Chinese embassy, fund-raising for charity were followed by a two-hour group dinner and talk. I was deeply impressed by the dynamic interactions among attendants including the successful Chinatown businessmen, those who have socio-political recognitions, the head teachers and governors from the other two CCSs, the leading persons of diversified Chinese groups and associations across West Midlands. All these people were interacting together within the 4-hour party time and brought me a refreshing image of Chinese community, something completely new and dynamic to me. At that moment I was exclaiming in my mind: how different this scenario is compared with what people (including me) have usually perceived about Chinese migrant group in Birmingham! Although I have not been able to collect any recorded data from this dinner party to use in my discussion, my attendance on the event provided me valuable experience and empirical knowledge about the changing norms of Birmingham Chinese community. It greatly helped me to understand and interpret the data collected from a following meeting, which I am going to introduce next.

In March 2015, I received another email from Sarah inviting me to attend a meeting organised by Mr Q with a group of Chinese migrants attended for a theme discussion on ‘generating the new voice of Chinese group in West Midlands’. In the email Sarah said: ‘Mr Q particularly asked me to invite you to the meeting as his trustable friend with professional knowledge on the topic.’ This invitation once again surprised me because I did not identify myself as someone who was professional and entitled enough to give them advice on the meeting. I expressed appreciation to the invitation and agreed to attend. This round-table meeting with 17 people attended later became a very meaningful out-of-school participant

observation opportunity for my research. With the 2.5-hour audio-recording I was enabled to generate a data analysis and discussion on the identification changing process of *Chineseness* together with other data sources. In the second part of Chapter 7, I provide an elaboration of this changing discourse on Chineseness.

3.7 Data analysis

In linguistic ethnography, data analysis contains different stages and multiple levels, at each point it requires more detailed attention using increasingly sophisticated theoretical and analytical tools (Rampton et al., 2015; Copland and Creese, 2015). Linguistic ethnographers incorporate actions of presenting participants' accounts of their own behaviour and social organization (emic analysis) and resorting data to interpretative frameworks (etic analysis). On one aspect, this systematic and intensive analysis on language and communication 'shed light on small (but consequential) aspects of social practice, taking the ethnography into smaller and more focused spaces and drawing analytic attention to fine detail' (Snell, Shaw and Copland, 2015:8).

On another aspect, meaningful analytical themes and categories across different speech events and different groups of participants also emerge gradually as themes during my data analysis. Under this etic-emic analytical dialectic, different types of data - audio-recordings of interactions, field notes, field work progress record, interview transcripts, policy documents, letters or photographs are brought together for understanding the complexity of multilingual practice in the researched school. The emergence of interpretive themes during data analysis is a particular norm of ethnographic studies. For example, at the beginning of this research, I did not anticipate an interpretive theme on 'the changing identification of

Chineseness' in relation with globalisation, hegemony, monoglossia and heteroglossia. Instead, this theme emerged as my extended interest in language ideology and identity during my data analysis.

In interpretative studies, the etic-emic dialectic is viewed as a 'standard of objectivity which can function as an alternative to the objectivity of positivist epistemology' (Usher, 1996:22). In LE interpretation this dialectic analysis legitimatises the objective subjectivity. Guided by this etic-emic dialectic perspective, I adopt the '*ethnographically-informed discourse analysis*' (Copland and Creese, 2015:86) together with the *criticality* from CDA (Fairclough, 2013) as the overarching analytical orientation for my data analysis in this study. This analytical orientation emphasises the *reflexivity* of interpreting language use in communication by drawing wider contexts into critical analyses and discussions on micro phenomena. In the following parts of this section, I will elaborate the process of my data analysis with examples and a rationale.

3.7.1 Preparation for data analysis

Before the conduction of data analysis, I did the following preparation:

- First, I read through my 25-page Fieldwork Progress Record with some notes added.
- Second, I gathered all my hand-written field notes, typed them into an electronic version in English. This job took me a whole month because there were a lot of Chinese hand-written notes needed to be translated while typing. I managed to keep my translation as accurate as possible. At the end of this task, I had produced 134 pages (32,027 words in total, as listed in Table 3.3) of typed field notes which I stored on my personal laptop with passcode and also on a secured hard drive.

- Third, I listened to all my classroom observation audio-recordings (28.5 hours in total, as listed in Table 3.3) for multiple times, sorted them out into separate folders under individual participants' names. These data were also stored on passcode secured devices.
- Fourth, I listened to all the interview audio-recordings (7.5 hours in total) twice with my hand written interviews notes. While listening I took reflexive notes and marked the most interesting interview parts. Then I edited the large audio files into small separate files under each interviewee's names. This step was followed by typing the hand-written interview notes into 17 pages (5,947 words) of word documents. On the notes I described the interview processes with reflexive commentary. At last I attached these notes respectively with the interview audio files under individual participants' names.
- Fifth, I sorted out all the documents and photos into different folders, labelling them under participants' names or the time and venue of school events.

Due the huge amount of classroom observation audio-recordings (28.5 hours in total) I did not transcribe all the classroom interactions. Instead, I listened to them for at least four times individually during the whole process of data analysis. Based on my research interests in ideology and identity and a list of interesting points emerged from field notes, I focused on particular fragments in these audio-recordings which appeared to be highly relevant to my research interests, and then cut them into short audio data pieces for the detailed bi/multilingual transcriptions. After the electrification, transcription, translation and first open coding of datasets, I started data analysis with case studies on the four key participants. The whole procedure is introduced below.

3.7.2 Data analysis procedure

3.7.2.1 The mini case studies

The whole data analysis was a dynamic and complex procedure. I first looked at each key teacher as a mini case to start the emic analysis – to focus on participants’ own interpretations on his/her practices. Bearing in mind my research interests on language ideology and identity and my research questions, I looked at all types of data - the audio-recordings in each key teacher’s classroom, my interviews with each of them, my field notes on observations in each of their classrooms, and the profiles showed in their questionnaire survey results – to understand and interpret Ruby, Linda, Steve and Paul as individual social actors.

This stage of data analysis helped me to generate an original list of discussion themes with some data abstracts (Appendix 11 shows the original list of themes coming from these mini case studies). The few data extracts I used in the introduction on key participants (section 3.5.2 in this chapter) are all generated from these mini case studies. I read field notes relevant to each key teacher and her/his practices, using colour coding to highlight the interesting signs, patterns, moments and routines, etc.. I listened to the classroom recordings, transcribed and translated fragments. I then listened to the interview recording case by case, transcribed and translated narratives relevant to the research themes.

To summarise, I see this ‘*starting from people*’ as the most important norm in LE data analysis, because it brings the emic analyses ‘from within and to participants’ (Jacobs and Slembrouck, 2010). These case study reports later became important accounts for my writing of analysis and discussion chapters.

3.7.2.2 Field notes analysis

After completed the mini case studies on Ruby, Linda, Steve and Paul, I moved onto analyses on field note data. I adopt Hornberger's view of seeing field notes as descriptions of 'the units, criteria, and patterning of a community' (1995:238). By doing the thematic analysis on this rich descriptive and interpretative account, I aim to explore and settle with sole ideas which I wish to develop further and feel ready to 'begin tentatively talking about findings' (Copland and Creese, 2015:44). Based on the interesting themes emerged from my mini case studies, and with the research topics in mind, I started reading and coding my field note data, while, at the same time, cross-referring to the literature. I did another round of intensive reading of literature, which was profoundly inspiring, constructive and helpful. I read interdisciplinarily across philosophy, sociology, sociolinguistics, history, and psychology together with recent empirical research, to enhance my sensibility of what is important to the context and participants as well as to the researched field, from both emic and etic perspectives. As Copland and Creese (2015) indicate,

this theoretically informed analysis moves researchers 'from a descriptive analysis of a context you know well to an engagement with other theoretical frameworks used by a wider community of scholars. In other words, theory lifts description to explanation through evaluating data through the lens of existing frameworks' (p45).

In my field note analysis, this *theoretically informed analysis* was proved to be very useful. Next I provide an example field note data analysis to explain the exact way of analysing my field note vignettes.

Field note sample (31/08/2013)

1, Speak Putonghua!

At self-introduction time, when one of the Cantonese teachers introduced herself in Cantonese, a Putonghua teacher uttered 'don't understand, speak Putonghua!' in Putonghua with a half-joking half serious tone.

Most of the Putonghua teachers laughed. The Cantonese teacher responded – in very struggling Putonghua: 'don't know how to speak Guoyu (Putonghua, mandarin Chinese) la!' She said this with a half joking half offended voice, blushed. After a few seconds of pause, she uttered another short sentence in Cantonese, and then finished her self-introduction. The other entire Cantonese teacher kept quiet during the interaction.

After this Cantonese teacher (she was the second one to do self- introduction), some of the other Cantonese teachers chose to introduce themselves in Cantonese, some did it in Putonghua- most of the Cantonese teachers have very little resource of Putonghua, they all used very simple sentences with a strong accent. Most just said their name and the class they are teaching with a short greeting of to the others.

At the end, another young Cantonese teacher ---a new one---introduced herself in Putonghua, her Putonghua is very good.

I was very surprised by the shouting out of 'Speak Putonghua!'. That was definitely something I haven't expected on a teacher meeting at the first day of new academic year. I also noticed the nuanced atmosphere after this utterance, the laughter from Putonghua teachers, and the group silence of Cantonese teachers, also the reaction of the head teacher. This experience on the first teacher meeting was very interesting to me. I scribbled a few lines of notes on my note book, and typed a fieldnote in detail after the meeting.

2, head teacher's speech

The vignette is about the speech event of Linda shouting out 'Speak Putonghua!' to a Cantonese teacher who was introducing herself in Cantonese on the annual teacher meeting. This field note first was scribbled down in my real-time field notebook on that meeting. Then I typed it into a field note word text at the preparation stage for my data analysis. At the time of writing the mini case study report, I selected this fragment as an important vignette to demonstrate Linda's professional identity.

Later, at the stage of theoretically informed analysis on field notes, I found this field vignette not only meaningful to the discussion on Linda's professional identity; more importantly, it vividly reveals the tension-filled interactions between the centripetal and centrifugal forces within the CCS. I became able to understand it as a local interaction indexing to specific meanings at the global level. So I analysed this vignette again.

As shown in the screenshot of this data sample (on previous page), I used different colours to distinguish discourses from different participants and highlighted the key utterances and actions of each key interactor. I also emphasised some details in the real-time scenario. At the end, I commented on what I observed on the meeting starting with 'I was very surprised...'
(grey highlighted part). This particular type of accounts in field note, as argued by Creese et al. (2015), can be viewed as 'metacommentary' (p272) which offers an analytical tool for understanding the 'idiosyncratic accumulation of experiences and expressions' which make up individuals' communicative repertoires (quoted phrase from Rymes (2014), cited in Creese et al. 2015:271).

In this analysis, Linda's utterance of 'Speak Putonghua!' became not only an 'impertinent' interruption on other's talk on a meeting; it became an important sociolinguistic sign which indexes to an ideology of Putonghua as the dominant language variety in the multilingual context of CCS. In Chapter 5, I will use this field note vignette again to present one dimension of the discussion on the heteroglossic complexity of language ideologies in the CCS. I draw wider conditions including globalisation, China's economic growth and its changing status on the global market, language shift in Chinese diaspora, and the institutional context within the school, to analyse and interpret this data.

3.7.2.3 Analysis on interview data

Baker (2001) argues for theorising interviews as ‘discursive practice’ and to use linguistic analysis to deconstruct the interview event to show how meaning is constructed on a turn-by-turn basis. Erickson (1992) also calls for a microanalysis on recorded interview data. This microanalysis entails repeated listening of the recording, asking questions such as ‘how the interview turn-taking is constructed?’ or ‘why this happens now?’. Apart from looking for what is said by the interviewee, it is also important to look at how the interview was carried out during the conversation between the interviewer and interviewee (Rapley, 2001). In working with my interview data, I adopted two dimensions of analysis to look at ‘what is said?’ and ‘how it is said?’.

First, I analysed the interaction between me and the interviewee. I looked at how the turn-takings were done in our talks, I understood each speaking turn as relating to what was going to be told by the interviewee. I saw the interview interaction as a sequence of ‘socially constructed discourse’ (Blommaert 2005) which helps me to understand the interviewee’s identity as well as my own positionality in the context.

Second, I applied thematic narrative analysis to detect the small stories, opinions and commentaries from the interviewees around research themes. For example, from my mini case studies and field note analysis, the theme of ‘language shift from Cantonese to Putonghua’ has appeared as significant to my participants and the context; when I came to interview data analysis, I tried to see if there were any narrative data relating to the theme. And I did find Paul’s interesting comments on the language shift, this narrative data later is used in Chapter 4 in the discussion on language ideologies in CCS. I also found an interesting narrative from Kerry, another Cantonese teacher, as highly relevant to the theme of language

shift. I use her narratives in discussions on the impact of language shift (in Chapter 4) and the influence of her Putonghua proficiency on her strong professional identity (in chapter 5).

I see these two dimensions of data analysis on interview discourses as a triangulation in data analysis. It provided new interesting evidences for some of the emerged themes; it also testified some other sub-themes and proved them less relevant to the meanings that participants really are making in the context.

3.7.2.4 Analysis on other semiotic data

(Rampton et al., 2015:24) indicates that in LE research ‘the linguistic forms become just one among a large array of semiotic resources available for the local production and interpretation of meaning’. I adopted this point of view to inform my data collection during field work. As shown in Table 3.3, I have collected a variety of documentations and photographs as part of my dataset. For example, the following sample is one of the photographs I have taken on the school event of ‘The Flavour of China’ exhibition. The photos later greatly enriched my description and interpretation on that event in Chapter 6. By using the photos together with audio-recording data and the field note vignette, the Chinese food culture exhibition became a very interesting local event pointing to specific social, cultural, economic and political meanings across time and space. I show one of the photos taken on the exhibition here as a sample.

Photo taken on the school exhibition event of 'The Flavour of China' in April, 2014



Based on the four stages of data analysis described above, I produced three chapters of thematic data analysis and discussion supported by data samples extracted during the analytical process. In each of the analysis and discussion chapters, I allocated data extracts under different themes and sub-themes to generate a multi-layered interpretation on the heteroglossic local practice in and around the CCS.

3.8 Ethical considerations

In this section I will discuss a few issues regarding the ethical consideration in this study. I first give a brief introduction on the process of ethic clearance I have conducted, then move

onto discuss a few issues occurring throughout my field work as ethical dilemmas. I describe the scenarios and provide rationales for my immediate response and some reflexive accounts to discuss other possibilities.

Before I commenced the research I went through the University of Birmingham's ethical clearance procedure, obtained the Criminal Records Bureau (now the Disclosure and Barring Service) check. At the time of negotiating access and consent, I provided the DBS document to the school authority. As introduced in the section of access and consent in 3.4, I distributed information letters at all three stages of fieldwork to relevant groups of school members. I managed to obtain consents before I undertook classroom observations and interviews, in coordination with the institutional policies.

Even though, there were still many issues that I had to consistently clarify, explain, adjust or if necessary, refuse, to keep this project meeting the ethical criteria as much as possible. For example, the clarification of research aims required my persistent explanation. My interests in language ideology and identity appeared rather 'opaque' to some of the school participants who seemed to expect 'assessment' or at least 'help' on their pedagogical practices, because I appeared to be a 'knowledgeable' researcher from the professional area of education. Some teachers were so eager to hear my opinions they would spend the whole break time asking me all kinds of questions about their teaching. Some others, on the contrary, were very cautious with my note taking, I did work hard to letting them (and many students) know that my note-taking was nothing to do with the purpose of inspection or judgement. Among these many moments and scenarios, I particularly want to talk about the following three issues as they appeared to be the most contradictory or repeatedly happened dilemmas.

Dilemma of getting consent

In section 3.6.2 I used two samples from my field note data and fieldwork progress record to elaborate the field note collection. Here I would like to go back to those two samples, as they documented a contradictory moment regarding getting consent. At that moment, I just commenced my first stage of fieldwork; I was excited and eager to unfold my ‘finely scheduled’ fieldwork independently by strictly following the ‘standard’ for conducting a research. However, the standard I perceived later contradicted with the perceptions that the school head teachers had. Instead of giving me a contact list of all teachers and letting me approaching them individually to confirm their consents for participating in the 50-minute classroom observation, Mr Q the head teacher decided to *arrange* that for me. As described in the field note sample in section 3.6.2, he insisted to schedule my first stage school-wide classroom observation, and escort me to each class and introduce me to the teachers individually. He used a name list of teachers and ticked two every Sunday afternoon for me to observe.

Although I have expressed my concerns about the consent issue by explaining repeatedly that I need to gain every individual teacher’s permission before I enter his/her classroom for observation, and I was worried that his arrangement and escort might make teachers feeling being ‘pressed’; he insisted his arrangement. In the fieldwork progress record sample in section 3.6.2, I noted the reasons for his insistence on the arrangement. Eventually, this dilemma reached to a solution of me accepting his arrangement and we two having an informal meeting in the Chinese teahouse. On that meeting, a further negotiation was conducted between us. He assured me with giving full support and consent to my second and third stages of fieldwork, which could be my entirely independent work in and around the school. It just needed to be after his ‘arrangement’ at the beginning.

From this dilemma I have seen that consent in ethnographic studies is ‘not a one-off bounded event’, and during the course of the project there are always ‘grey areas which needed contemplation’ (Copland and Creese 2015:65). I see this stage of me being escorted by the head teacher to teachers’ classrooms for observation as one of such grey areas.

This kind of dilemma happened many times in other situations. For another example: a teenage student’s homework sample shown to me by the teacher without asking permission from the student. It happened in Ruby’s GCSE class on one session of my in-depth observation. Before Ruby handed out students’ marked homework (which was a creative writing task in Chinese on ‘my family’ that week), she handed over one copy to me, saying ‘Have a look at this writing, how nice it is! Our (a 14-year-old girl’s name) is always the best in this group.’ Without much thinking, I accepted her offer and started having a read of the writing. However, seconds later when I looked back at Ruby ready to give compliments on her student, I noticed that the girl who wrote the piece was staring at me cautiously. I suddenly realised that I have done something inappropriate. I did not have the girl’s consent to look at her homework which was all about her family. So I closed the booklet and handed back to the girl and said sorry. Later at the break time, I apologised again to the student, and gave her some compliments on her Chinese writing. From this small event the ambiguity of obtaining consent raises contemplation as well.

What parts of the story to tell?

A crucial consideration in conducting language research is ethical representation of the voices of the researched. Heller (2011) describes the need to find our own researcher voice, to reflect on this, and take responsibility for what we say. During my fieldwork, I have heard so

many intimate stories from the participants, witnessed so many moments revealing their unprofessional or even morally problematic practices, heard such a big amount of their comments on other school members in rather negative ways, and sometimes I commented on other school members in my talks with them as well. There was also so much judgemental emotion scribbled down in my hand-written notebooks during in-depth classroom observations. Sometimes I had to hold back hard to avoid myself giving too much strong compliments to good teaching, and any criticism on teachers' problematic response to young students. The range of stories I have heard, seen and experienced was huge. So what parts of the story to tell?

This question became a dilemma especially when I was doing mini case study on one of the key participant, Steve. I strongly disagreed with most of, if not all of, his classroom pedagogy, his teacher talk, and his attitudes towards students, parents and other school staff. I especially disliked his ironic tone when he talked to his students. However, do I only emphasise these sides of his story? I discussed this issue with my supervisor a few times, the advice from her was try to understand his perspective and place his practice as part of the context of CCS. Later I did try to understand, I referred to further literature to analyse, explain and interpret Steve's ideologies and identities.

Nevertheless, up to now I am still concerned about the parts of his story I told in this thesis and considered the ethical dilemma behind this issue. I'm not reporting the exact practice in his classroom; it seems to be ethically wrong in terms of his students' rights, because nobody knows how badly the group of young students were de-motivated in his class more clearly than I do. Holding the bad fact back seems to be contradictory with common ethic. On the other hand, I concern about the potential exposure of Steve's identity in the school and wider community. It would not be too difficult for people from the school to recognise him if they

read my thesis, which potentially will be ethically injustice to Steve as an individual. To this dilemma I have not found a satisfactory solution.

The balance of being an insider and/or an outsider

Pike (1967) defined etic as referring to an outsider's account and observations that do not have the personal and/or lived experience of the people and context of study; whereas emic refers to an insider's perception and an account of lived experience for the group being studied. This etic-emic dialectic becomes a very useful analytical perspective in my study. However, there are often dilemmas rising from this insider/outsider dialectic. In my study, there were many moments that I had to take big effort to balance between these two.

Take one example, the round-table meeting I was invited to attend. What role did the head teacher expect me to be? What was my role in other attendants' eyes? In what ways should I position myself on the meeting? How would I balance all these (highly likely contradictive) perspectives to perform properly on the meeting, as one in the team as well as managing to observe and collect data for my research? These became real challenges at the moment, and also a wonderful experience for me to reflexively learn from. What I have undertaken at the time was trying to be observant and reflexive. I adjusted my own performance momentarily between the role of an 'insider' and the role of an 'outsider' accordingly. I gave a short speech to introduce a few of my ideas about how to run the committee successfully in polite and modest way when the head teacher 'cued' me to talk. I greeted and talked to the guests sitting next to me in friendly way, while showing respect to the elder generation of Chinese migrants who sat on the other side of the table. I apologized for my lack of ability to speak Cantonese and thanked for the immediate Cantonese-English translation offered by the guest

sitting next to me. At the same time, I also tried to observe all the guests as a researcher, the way they talk to each other, their multilingual utterances in the group chat and for individual speech. I tried to take as much detail as possible in my mind of how different generations of guests interacted with one another. After the meeting, I wrote to the head teacher formally to thank him for inviting me to the meeting. Nevertheless, I would not claim that I have reached a perfect balance of being both a member of the group and a researcher; in my later reflections I have realised that there were certain small moments that I could have acted in different (and probably better) ways.

3.9 Conclusion

In their argument on ethnography becomes an invaluable resource in social science research, Ben Rampton and his colleagues state:

With post-structuralist critiques of essentialism firmly in place, it is conceptually now rather hard to justify any project that sets out to analyse particular peoples, groups and communities. Rather, the challenge is to understand how these group identities get constructed in culture, discourse and ideology, and how humans come to inhabit these social categories in ways that are both similar and different(Rampton et al., 2015:20).

This study on the Chinese complementary school and the Chinese community in Birmingham with foci on language ideology and identity turns out to be one of research projects Rampton et al. categorise above. The nature of this research project prompts and also requires a reflexive approach to allow observations and interpretations focusing on the complexity of everyday life. With a theoretical and methodological emphasis on *people*, LE offers both broad portrait and specific tools, both vertical dimensions and horizontal layers for researching particular people, groups and communities in late modernity. In LE research, a

high tolerance of ambiguity is required to fully present the heteroglossic complexity of the real world problems.

This study adopts heteroglossia as the epistemology to view the complex world around the CCS. Copland and Creese (2015), in their recent book on linguistic ethnography, convincingly point out: a heteroglossic analysis understands linguistic diversity not merely as the co-existence of discrete linguistic systems, but as participation in an historical flow of social relationships, struggles and meanings (2015:49-50). By applying this heteroglossic lens in analysis and discussion on the dynamic and complexity, this study contributes to the further development of LE theoretically and methodologically. In this LE study, the researcher's role has been recognised as essential in the investigation and interpretation. As (Copland and Creese, 2015:61) indicate, making the researcher's voice both descriptive and analytical in discussion is crucial to the generation of knowledge. My experience of doing this LE research in the Chinese complementary school and community provides an example of making the researcher's voice a part of the heteroglossic interpretation on the community. More importantly, this voice of the researcher is not only in the domain of researching the context, it also becomes socially and politically part of the researched community in direction to public engagement. Take the 'Creating a new voice of Chinese community in West Midlands' meeting for example, among all the other voices of the settled Chinatown business owners, the newly-established socio-political Chinese figures, the cultural heritage maintainers; the researcher's voice is recognised and presented as a part of the heteroglossia of '*Chinese voice*'. With this researcher's voice reaching to the everyday practice in the researched community, public engagement becomes the next promising task. Later in the

conclusion chapter, I will extend this discuss on the contribution of my research to the field of LE and the Chinese diasporic practice further.

Next I will use three chapters to present thematic data analyses and discussions. In chapter 4 I talk about the different language ideologies (re)constructed by the adult school participants including teachers and head teachers in negotiating pride and profit. In chapter 5 I present an analysis and discussion on Chinese teachers' professional identities in relation with the changing structure of Chinese diaspora, the shifting power balance of different varieties used in the context, and the individual participant's trajectory experiences. Chapter 6 goes beyond the school site to look at practices around the Chinese complementary schooling. In Chapter 6 I talk about the social, economic and political intersections in the researched school as a constructed new space, and the current evolving dynamic of the ethnic identification of Chineseness in and around the CCS. I first start with language ideologies in the Chinese complementary school.

Chapter 4

LANGUAGE IDEOLOGIES IN THE CCS

4.1 Introduction

In this study, language ideologies are epistemologically viewed as changeable social constructs which can only be observed and analysed in relation with other social, cultural and historical factors in a specific context at a certain time (Woolard 1998; Blackledge 2005; Heller 2007; Makoni & Pennycook 2007; García 2010). Language ideologies are articulated by means of discourses produced by a speaker through interaction with other social actors to reveal the ‘nature, function and symbolic value of language’ (Sergeant, 2009:346), and to tie language *per se* with other cultural and political structures or factors, such as globalization, migration, social mobility and inequality. Language ideologies are understood to ‘predispose speakers to interpret particular instances of discourse in certain ways, ... contingent social interactions are the empirical location in which broader theories and social patterns exist and get transformed’ (Wortham 2001:257).

With the emphasis on ‘seeing the local globally and the global locally’ (Hornberger, 2006), this LE case study observes and describes how teachers’ language ideologies about bilingualism (Chinese-English) and multilingualism (the different Chinese varieties in

relation to English) are reflected in, and also shaping, their classroom practices. It draws elements and influence from wider conditions of globalisation and superdiversity to interpret what and how language ideologies are presented by participants in a CCS context.

In this chapter, I propose that within the context of a CCS with both Cantonese and Putonghua as target Chinese varieties, a heteroglossic ecology of language ideologies is presented by adult school participants in their contextualised linguistic interactions with others. Within such an ecology different language ideologies around English-Chinese bilingualism and Chinese varieties coexist and interplay in discursive ways around power negotiation following historically-informed ‘orders of indexicality’ (Blommaert 2010). I also draw on the wider discourse of ‘language as ‘pride’ and ‘profit’ (Heller and Duchêne, 2012) to elaborate the ideological tensions which are simultaneously in play forming the heteroglossic ecology. As introduced in chapter 2, Heller and Duchêne propose these two intertwined ideological tropes of ‘pride’ and ‘profit’ as key terms to justify the importance of linguistic varieties and to understand people’s certain uses of varieties in their everyday lives. In this study, ‘Separate bilingualism’, ‘translanguaging’, ‘a hegemonic standardisation of Putonghua’, and ‘a preferred school-wide monolingualism for ethnicity’ are all seen as dynamically constructed in relation to the discourse of language as ‘pride’ and/or ‘profit’, among different school members in different social settings. The two ideological tropes, as explained in chapter 2, are not opposite dichotomous dual phenomena. Rather, they are ‘co-constitutive discursive tropes’ (Heller and Duchêne, 2012:16). This chapter aims to provide the dialogism of these two tropes as interweaving ideologies manifested in the CCS.

The chapter constitutes 3 main sections respectively focusing on different layers of school practices around the theme of language ideology. In section 4.2 I first provide an analysis and

discussion on language ideologies in terms of the English-Chinese bilingualism. I draw classroom interactive data and narrative data to present the distinctive language attitude of ‘separate bilingualism’ tightly aligned with ‘heritage’ and a ‘Chinese-only’ pedagogy among the group of Cantonese teachers, and the flexible translanguaging between English and Chinese(Putonghua) with a focus on the ‘usefulness’ of the language variety among a group of Putonghua teachers. In section 4.3 I move onto analysing language ideologies at the *intra-Chinese* layer between the two Chinese varieties, Cantonese and Putonghua, in relation with English. I talk about the changing language attitudes manifested in CCS members’ daily practice and a hegemonic standardisation of using Putonghua in the context. Section 4.4 focuses on discussing a particular monolingual perception of ‘Chinese-only’ monolingualism within the researched school in relation with a homogenized collective ethnicity. At last, a conclusion is provided to draw together all main arguments in this chapter for a final remark. I now start with language ideologies around Chinese-English bilingualism.

4.2 Language ideologies around bilingualism: Chinese and English

This section focuses on one layer of the heteroglossic ecology of language ideologies observed in the researched school: the Chinese-English bilingualism. Based on the school-wide observations in and out of classroom, a specific grouping pattern has been found in data analysis around this subtheme. In the researched school, all of the 8 Cantonese teachers tend to strongly persist with the ‘Chinese-only’ ideology and pedagogy in their teaching practices, whereas the 17 Putonghua teachers more or less share a rather flexible attitude towards the use of English in their classroom. This grouping pattern also can be seen from teachers’ perceptions on the aims of CCS language education. Cantonese teachers assign a strong sense

of heritage identity into their teaching, while Putonghua teachers mention both the cultural inheritance and the usefulness of Chinese language, with a particular emphasis on the latter. In the following part of this section various data extracts will be presented to demonstrate these findings.

4.2.1 ‘*Chinese only*’ and translanguaging

One of the most directly manifested ideologies in the school is the *Chinese-only* belief and classroom practice presented by particularly Cantonese teachers. All of the 8 Cantonese teachers mostly use and strongly legitimize Cantonese Chinese in their classroom interactions. Students are explicitly required to only use Cantonese in session. The following sentence in Extract 4.1 is a typical classroom utterance coming from all 8 Cantonese teachers’ classroom talk.

Extract 4.1:

‘要讲中文啦 [*Do speak Chinese la!*]

(Field notes on classroom observation)

This general call for speaking Chinese is explained by one of the key interview informants, Kerry, who has been teaching Cantonese in the school for 11 years. The following narrative is extracted from the second round of semi-structured interview with Kerry, which brings a typical voice from Cantonese teachers in the school:

Extract 4.2:

Kerry: 我就是得要求他们只说中文，因为这是中文学校嘛。而且他们除了在中文学校每周上两个小时的课，也没有别的机会练习中文。

[I just have to ask them (students) to only speak Chinese in class, because this is a Chinese school. Plus they don't have other chances to practice their Chinese except for this two-hour session in Chinese school every Sunday.]

(Audio-recorded interview data)

Before the discussion on language ideologies around bilingualism, here I insert a short note to clarify teachers' naming practices of different Chinese varieties. In the CCS context, both Cantonese and Putonghua teachers adopt the umbrella term 中文 [*Chinese*] to refer their own variety in their local speech. Only when these two varieties are brought together in interaction, respective terms accordingly emerge as 粤语/广东话 [*Cantonese*] and 普通话 [*Putonghua*] for distinction.

In Kerry's narrative, the classroom is viewed as the *only place* for her English-speaking students to use and practice Chinese (Cantonese) via a particular approach of *using only Chinese* in class. A few facets and layers of meaning are embedded in this narrative discourse. First, under Kerry's pronounced requirement of using Chinese only, the classroom is constructed into a relatively closed and separate space to teach and learn Chinese *in Chinese* for better achievement among students. Chinese here, according to Kerry's perception, is proposed to be taught and learned as an 'autonomous language' (García and Li, 2014:11) away from the interference of English. With such a 'separate bilingualism' (Creese and Blackledge, 2011) ideology, a clear linguistic boundary is set up for the teaching, learning, and maintenance of Cantonese Chinese as a heritage language. Cantonese Chinese *per se* and the practice of only using Cantonese Chinese signify 'the protection and replication of

Chinese culture in the fear of losing it between generations' (Zhou and Li 2003; Chow 2004; Francis, Archer and Mau 2010). As the local context of these practices, CCS provides the only place for passing on Chinese to their English-speaking students. Speak Chinese in such classrooms is definitely associated with the negotiation of pride – the pride to maintain, protect and inherit a sense of belongingness to the particular Chinese culture in Cantonese-speaking regions in China, like Hong Kong.

In this study, the local request of '*Chinese-only*' is not just seen as a micro-level classroom demand but an index pointing to broader meanings in relation with wider social factors and structures. Kerry's link of *only use Chinese* and *Chinese complementary school being the only space* has to be seen as 'the local' and to be discussed 'globally' (Hornberger 2006). Why Kerry is claiming this? What historical voices and discourses are embedded in Kerry's call? And what wider social constraints are integrated in Kerry's narrative? These questions all need to be answered in relation with the migration history and a long period of marginalized social status of Cantonese Chinese migrants in the host English-dominant society. Data from my questionnaire survey shows that, all of the 8 Cantonese teachers in the school have a rather long migration history in Britain (with the longest of 35 years and the shortest of 8 years). The following table (on next page) gives a brief summarised profile of this group of teachers.

Table 4.1:

Brief profiles of all 8 Cantonese teachers in the researched school

| | Age and Gender | Educational Qualification | Years of staying in the UK | Language repertoire | Other societal role |
|------------------|-----------------------|----------------------------------|-----------------------------------|---|--|
| Teacher 1 | 50-55, F | Secondary school in HK | 20 | Cantonese, Basic English, Very little Putonghua | housewife |
| Teacher 2 | 50-55, M | A level | 35 | Cantonese, Good English and Putonghua | School chef |
| Teacher 3 | 35-39, F | Secondary school | 11 | Cantonese, Basic English and Putonghua | housewife |
| Teacher 4 | 50-55, F | PhD | 24 | Cantonese, Basic English and Putonghua | housewife |
| Teacher 5 | 55+, F | High school in HK | 10 | Cantonese, Basic English, Good Putonghua | housewife |
| Teacher 6 | 35-39, F | College certificate | 8 | Cantonese, Basic English, Good Putonghua | housewife |
| Teacher 7 | 55+, M | College certificate | 8 | Cantonese, Basic English and Putonghua | Part-time job in local Chinese community |
| Teacher 8 | 50-55, F | High school in HK | 10 | Cantonese only | Housewife |

(Based on questionnaire data collected on November, 2013)

The long histories of migration experiences in the ‘highly stratified and classed British society’ (Block, 2014) without a full-time job and a fluent use of English have limited their access to wider social achievement. Field note data from interviews shows that the meaning

of working at CCS as a volunteer teacher becomes far more than just a part-time job to this group of Cantonese teachers. For them this job is to protect the mother tongue (Cantonese) from disappearing among the young generation. In my description of one of the key participants, Paul, in chapter 3, I have introduced Paul's high evaluation of teaching Cantonese in the CCS as a meaningful contribution. Here I give a narrative example from my interview with Paul for further discussion on the 'Chinese-only' ideology and practice.

Extract 4.3:

Three reasons given by Paul to explain his 'Chinese-only' classroom discourse:

- These kids they don't really use Cantonese outside this 2-hour weekend learning session, this Chinese school is the *only place* for them to practice the language, so I have to ask them to only use Cantonese for the very basic practice;
- Some students they can speak Cantonese quite well, but if the teacher speaks English, they would just choose to use English as the easy way, and then it will make no sense for them to come and learn here. I just need to slightly push them a bit, to be responsible;
- My own English is not that good, you know. Sometimes they will laugh at my English pronunciation (chuckles). Well, I know I have a strong accent which sounds quite funny (laughs again). So from some sense I prefer to avoid using English in the classroom.

(From translated interview transcripts)

These three reasons from Paul are shared by the other seven Cantonese teachers as well. For these Cantonese Chinese teachers, the 'Chinese-only!' ideology in a CCS classroom is pivotal for the pursuance of passing on the language and culture to their English speaking students, in the fear of losing them. From Kerry's perception, this pursuance of inheritance can be only brought into action in the *only place* of a Cantonese classroom, and it has to be

undertaken in separation with English, to bring the ‘only 2 hours a week of using Cantonese (field note on classroom observation)’ into action. Failure of maximising students’ use of Cantonese in this 2-hour lesson means being ‘an irresponsible teacher’, and consequently a failure in the mission of passing on both the mother tongue. The ‘Chinese-only’ separate bilingualism is valued as the ‘right’ (field note on ethnographic interview with Kerry) thing to do in the CCS, to prevent the loss of Chinese language among your generations; and more importantly to maintain the pride of the mother tongue.

However, this sense of taking Chinese(Cantonese) as ‘pride’ and the Chinese-only pedagogy as the ‘right’ thing to do in the classroom does not have its significant influence among the group of Putonghua teachers. On the contrary, the 17 Putonghua teachers showed much more tolerance and flexibility to the mixed use of English in their classrooms. They very often mix English and Chinese for better communication with students, and to carry out teaching tasks and negotiate identities. Findings from the school-wide observation show that, some Putonghua teachers have clearly arranged code-switching among English and Putonghua – they start the lesson with a short warm-up chat with students in only English and then switch into mostly Chinese to conduct the teaching session; some tend to use English as the dominant classroom language to construct fluid communication with their teenage English-speaking students with a close teacher-students relationship accompanied; some others have a naturally mixed up use of words, phrases and sentences from both English and Chinese without specific patterns. The following data extract from an audio-recorded classroom interaction gives a good example of the flexibly mixed up use of bilingual resources.

Extract 4.4:

T: Now, 孩子们 [*children*], who can 到白板这里来 [*come to the whiteboard*] write this new word for me?

Pupils (all responding in loud voice): 我 [*Me*]! 我 [*Me*]! I can! Me!

T: 好的 [*all-right*], 好的 [*all right*], 我看看哈 [*let me see*], Lucy 你先来 [*you first*].

(The girl called Lucy hopped to the whiteboard and carefully copied teacher's writing of the new word on the whiteboard)

T: Well-done! 真棒 [*excellent*]! let's give Lucy a round of clap. (Clapped her hands and thumbed-up to Lucy)

(Kids all clapped)

好 [*Right*], Lucy, 你可以写你的名字 [*you can write your name*] on the happy side.... 现在我们来看看谁还会把 [*now let's see who else can write*] new words 写得棒棒的 [*excellently*], and then 把你的名字写到 [*write your name on the*] happy side?

Pupils (all put hands up and shouting eagerly): 我 [*Me*]! 我 [*Me*]! 我会 [*I can*]!

(Audio-recorded classroom interactional data)

At the time of my field work, this Putonghua teacher (**T** in Extract 4.3) had been teaching in the school for 5 years apart from her full-time Chinese teaching job in a mainstream college. Students in her class are aged from 6 to 8 with a range of difference language resources and cultural backgrounds. Some students are from newly-migrated Chinese families from the Mainland with fluent speaking of Putonghua, some are British-born second generation originally from Mainland China, Taiwan, or Hong Kong with very little knowledge on Chinese literacy (and/or speech), and some others are from English-Chinese mixed families with hardly any resource to Chinese.

In this class, **T** introduces the most fundamental linguistic knowledge of Chinese language based on the simplified characters with Pinyin system for Pronunciation, e.g. basic strokes for Chinese characters, the sounds of Roman alphabets in Pin-Yin system, and some very basic vocabulary around everyday life themes, like *my family* (with 爸爸 [baba, *Dad*], 妈妈 [mama, *Mum*], etc. included) or *food* (with names of different food included).

On the lesson from which the above extract was taken, **T** firstly drew a big happy face on one side of the white board. During the session she asked children to practice writing the newly learnt characters on the whiteboard. To those who wrote correctly, a chance of writing their Chinese name under the big happy face was given. At the end of session, those with name under the happy face got a well-done sticker. In order to keep all students motivated and engaged, **T** gave opportunity to every child to do something individually so they can put their name on the happy side. Children took writing their names with teacher's pen on the white board under the happy face as an exciting praise and achievement.

In this data extract, **T** translanguages between Chinese and English with both inter-sentence and intra-sentence mixed use of the two codes to complete a task of supporting students' writing practice of the new words. Apart from her flexible use of bilingual resources, she also adopts other semiotic signs, such as the graphical big happy face on the whiteboard as a happy side indexing compliment and praise, her and students' clapping and her thumb-up for the little girl's good handwriting. All of these semiotic resources are drawn into the interaction to create a relaxing and motivating style for teaching and learning.

It is also noticeable that in such a relaxed classroom with flexible use of both languages, children who originally have no recourse of the targeted language tend to be more willing to imitate the teacher and their peers. They endeavour to speak more Chinese to manifest their

improvement and engagement. Evidence for this can be seen at the second time of pupils' yell, it was merely Putonghua of '我[Me]! 我[Me]! 我会[I can]!' instead of both '我[Me]! 我[Me]!' and 'I can! Me!' in their first response.

This translanguaging ideology and pedagogy is also presented in one of the key participants, Linda's classroom teaching. The following interactional segment comes from my in-depth observation in her class at the second term of the field work year. At that time Linda was teaching 19 students (aged from 5 to 7) Putonghua at the level of reception. Linda's reception teaching also focuses on the most basic spoken forms and a little amount of literacy of Putonghua. On the session from which this extract is taken, Linda was teaching pupils a question-answer pattern of '-你喜欢吃什么...? -我喜欢吃... [-What do you like to eat? -I like to eat.../I like eating...]' and a few relevant nouns to use in the sentence. In the following interaction, Linda was asking one of her students, a boy called Sam (who was born in England with English as his L1 and some Cantonese as the family language) to practice the new sentences. She asked the question; Sam was expected to answer the question by adding something he likes to eat at the end of the sentence.

Extract 4.5:

Linda: 现在我们来练习一下这个句子好不好 [*now let's practice this sentence, ok?*] (2.0)

Sam, 你来试一下 [*you have a go*]. I ask first: 你-喜-欢-吃-什-么-水-果 [*what-type- of- fruit- do- you- like- to-eat*], Sam?

Sam: (...) 我[ɿ], 我[ɿ], 我-喜---欢---吃[*I--like—to---eat-*], 吃[*eat*], 吃[*eat*], 嗯[*um*] (...)

Linda: 中文不会说就用英语说 [*Say it in English if you don't know how to say it in Chinese*]! =

Sam: = I like eating pear!

Linda: 哦~[Ohhh], 你喜欢吃梨啊[*you like to eat pear a*]. 梨[*pear*], pear, 梨[*pear*].

Sam: Yehh! 我-喜-欢-吃-梨[*I- like- eating- pear*]!

(Audio-recorded classroom interactional data)

Linda's flexible attitude and her explicit instruction towards mixing English with Chinese is shown in the sentence '中文不会说就用英语说 [Say it in English if you don't know how to say in Chinese]!'. This flexible attitude allows 6-year-old Sam jumping out from the struggle of searching the non-existent Chinese word in his mind for pear, swiftly taking over the turn, and gasping out his favourite fruit in English 'I like eating pear!'. After Sam is freed to use English to tell the meaning, Linda repeated Sam's sentence in Putonghua for pedagogical aim. She emphasised the word '梨 [pear]' three times in both Chinese Putonghua and English, which stimulates a full sentence in Chinese from Sam after his short gleeful exclamation: 'Yehh! 我-喜-欢-吃-梨 [I- like- eating- pear]!'. Here in Linda and Sam's interaction, communication and meaning making come to the first place instead of focusing on the connection between language and ethnic identity. For Linda, both English and Putonghua are linguistic resources to draw upon dynamically for helping Sam with his practice of new sentence structure in Putonghua. The important thing is not learning Putonghua *in* Putonghua, but learning Putonghua with whatever linguistic resources teachers and students can draw from, to make the learning successful.

In addition, another voice illustrating the above translanguaging ideology and practice is also heard from Ruby, from her statement on her general stance about the mixed use of English and Chinese:

Extract 4.6:

Ruby: 不可能不让他们说英语啊，那不现实。英语实际上是他们的第一语言嘛。而且有些学生中文基础很薄，都不怎么会说，上课时肯定是中文英语都会用到。很自然的事儿。

[It's impossible to restrain them from using English, that's not realistic. English is actually their first language. Plus some students' Chinese is barely enough for very basic communication, I definitely need to use both English and Chinese in my class. It's a natural thing]

(Audio-recorded interview data)

Think realistically here plays a critical role in this translanguaging ideology held by Ruby. In Ruby's narrative, it is important to be *realistic* to young students' use of English as their L1. In order to teach this young generation of Chinese migrants who live in the UK with English as their L1, the emphasis on 'you have to learn Chinese because you are ethnically Chinese' and the 'Chinese-only' attitude seem to be unrealistic. Instead, Ruby and some other Putonghua teachers mix English and Putonghua dynamically in their classrooms to instruct, translate, explain, clarify, discipline; to give praise, comment and feedback; to build positive teacher-students relationship; to negotiate identities; or just simply do it as a *natural thing* without thinking that much.

To historically and socially examine this flexible attitude towards bilingualism, a contextual investigation on teachers' backgrounds and histories as well as the wider social factors needs to be done. Via analysing the above interactive and narrative data together with a set of questionnaire data on teachers' personal profiles, backgrounds, it is found that the translanguaging bilingual ideology and practice are generally manifested in a particular group of Putonghua teachers who share a range of common experience and backgrounds.

For example, they have been educated in both China and Britain with proficiency on both languages. They usually achieved a first university degree in China and then moved to the UK for a Master and/or Doctoral degree; they have migrated into the UK during recent two decades, mostly after 2000, with a rather smooth settlement in the local society. Some, like Ruby and Linda, after achieving their higher education in England, they managed to settle down in the UK with a job. For instance, holding a teaching or researching post in higher educational contexts, being professionals in other managing or technological fields, or being self-employment providing services in relation with globalising skills or intercultural communication and training.

These features of their migration histories and post-migration settlements empower them to the membership of the *middle-class elites* in the Chinese diasporic community (see Block 2014, Lytra 2013, for discussions on middle class elites in migration groups). This elite membership not only distinguishes them from earlier Cantonese-speaking migrants who usually constrained/were constrained in a rather isolated social space within the Chinatowns, it also formulates their ideologies around bilingualism towards flexibility and translanguaging. Directed by the flexible translanguaging ideology, a dynamic classroom bilingualism is created in these Putonghua teachers' CCS practices. Additionally, the translanguaging ideology and pedagogy also creates new features to Chinese teachers' language repertoires, bringing a new norm to the CCS in more distinguishable direction of diversification.

The finding around this topic shows the opposite to what Li, Juffermans, Kroon and Blommaert (2012) found in their study on Chinese teaching in a Netherlands Chinese complementary school as 'older generation of teachers' (who have been teaching Cantonese for a long time) tended to have relaxed and tolerate attitude while the 'new arrivals from the Mainland China emphasis on rigour, discipline, and monolingual teaching (p41). In this study,

separate and flexible bilingualism are demonstrated in practices from converse groups of teachers. It is shown that while Cantonese teachers who have relatively longer migration history (with the longest of 35 years) tend to deploy a historically-shaped monolingual ideology around bilingualism, some of new Chinese migrants who teach Putonghua in the school display a rather relaxed and flexible attitude towards English-Chinese bilingualism.

Nevertheless, I would like to point out that analyses in this section are in no circumstances to position Cantonese teachers' bilingualism attitude as inferior to the translanguaging ideology performed among the group of elite Putonghua teachers. These two distinctive ideologies and pedagogies need to be seen as legitimate and meaningful to certain groups of CCS participants based on the historical and socio-political conditions, which have been discussed in chapter 2 and 3 as the multi-layered context of this research. In the next section I will carry on talking about the local patterned practice around language ideology. I try to present how CCS teachers perceive the meaning of teaching Chinese as a minority language in the UK.

4.2.2 Heritage and utility

Associated with the analysis and discussion in 4.2.1 which address language ideologies with the question of 'how do Chinese teachers see Chinese-English bilingualism and Chinese language teaching?', this section aims to answer another question: 'what do they teach Chinese language for?' To start my analysis around teachers' belief of Chinese being a *heritage* in this part, I first refer to a short statement from Li Wei (2011b) to indicate a general phenomenon in minority community schooling. By drawing discussion from Francis, Archer and Mau's research article on Chinese complementary school (2009), Li Wei summarises that under the *Chinese only* ideology, the ethnic language *per se* is not treated as

‘a live issue in everyday life’ but ‘as heritage, a cultural relic that can be learned and memorialised’(Li, 2011b:373). This ideology tied to heritage is shown to be another dominant language ideology among Cantonese teachers in my study. Instead of accepting that Chinese is an everyday social construct being dynamically used in interactions among different groups of Chinese speakers, some Cantonese teachers selectively emphasise the symbolic value of the variety. Chinese (Cantonese) thus is viewed much more as an indexical icon for a cultural and ethnic heritage which has to be passed onto the next generation for memorialisation.

Paul, one of the key participants, provides a typical account for this ideology. At the time of my fieldwork, Paul had been teaching in the researched school for nearly 3 years. As shown in the introduction on key participants in chapter 3, Paul thanks the school for giving him the opportunity to contribute to the Chinese community. For many times he has modestly indicated ‘actually I cannot be called as a teacher, I’m only trying to help and guide these students to know more about Chinese culture (field notes on informal break-time interview)’. He has his clear membership in the ‘Chinese only’ teaching group, usually a short ‘very good’ was heard as the only English phrase uttered by Paul in his classroom.

Out of the enthusiasm of *guiding* students to know more about Chinese culture, one of Paul’s typical cultural-immersion teaching practices is bringing Chinese classic poems into his classroom. His students read, recite and perform Chinese ancient poems in classroom, at school assembly and on the school’s 50th anniversary ceremony. Paul collects, evaluates, selects and then prints well-known pieces of classic Chinese poems to use as teaching materials in his class. In every teaching session he spares the last 15-20 minutes to work on the poems with his students. He repeatedly explains the meaning, reads together with students, corrects students’ pronunciation word by word and then sentence by sentence, until the whole

class has learnt the poem. Later at the second round of my recorded interview with him, Paul provided the following narrative:

Extract 4.7:

Paul: 呵呵，有的学生就不想背诗嘛，就问我:老师，我们为什么要学中文，要背古诗啊?! 呵呵，我就说，因为你是中国人嘛! 就算你在英国生活，平时只说英语，也还是中国人，你的根源在中国，在香港嘛。

[Hehe, some of my students they don't want to recite the poems. They ask me: teacher, why we have to learn Chinese, and memorize these classic poems ah?! Hehe, I just tell them, because you're Chinese ma! Even you are living in Britain and only speak English in your daily life, you are still Chinese. Your root is in China, in Hong Kong ma.]

(Audio-recorded interview data)

For Paul, making his students fully aware that their *root* is in China and Hong Kong by learning classic poems is important, because they are Chinese. To Paul, this '*being Chinese*' is something very valuable, something worthwhile to be emphasised and protected. As one of the resources, Chinese classic poems, are viewed as 'carrying all the beauty of Chinese language, and more importantly, Chinese traditional virtue in simple and stylish ways (field notes on classroom observation in Paul's class)'. To Paul, they are significant icons for passing on the awareness of 'being Chinese'. More importantly, because this valuable heritage has been marginalised onto a vulnerable status in his English-speaking students' identity practices, Paul needs to repeatedly ask, claim and emphasise it in his teaching. This narrative from Paul contextualises what Creese and Blackledge (2010) argue in their discussion on multilingualism and minority communities in the UK:

‘For multilingual speakers of languages with lower status, however, language issues may still be salient as people attempt to negotiate identities, often from relatively powerless positions’ (2010:552)

Out of the worry of losing the *heritage* among the young Chinese generation who live in the UK and speak English as L1, the older generation(s) among which Paul belongs to, at their socially powerless positions, tend to emphasize this heritage in the constructed space of the CCS classroom. This emphasis on *heritage* needs to be linked together with the *Chinese-only* ideology analysed in section 4.2.1. Teaching and learning Cantonese in the ‘only’ space of a CCS is tied with heritage maintenance and an ethnically-Chinese identity. For Paul and his Cantonese colleagues, Cantonese is an iconic sign indexing to a root of being HongKongnese or Cantonese Chinese. By saying ‘it is only allowed to speak Chinese here’, Cantonese teachers are reaching their aims for heritage protection. They perceive their use of Cantonese in the 2-hour/each week session as being *responsible* to both students and their transmitting mission over the heritage language, no matter how much struggle and conflict in class is brought by this separate bilingualism ideology.

Conversely, there are striking evidences in this research showing how most of the Putonghua teachers display an ideology focusing on ‘*teaching Chinese for usefulness*’ in their classroom practice. Ruby, one of the key participants, brings a representative voice from this group:

Extract 4.8:

Ruby: 如果你不学中文，等你放假回中国或者新加坡，你就没办法跟你爷爷奶奶，你叔叔阿姨，还有表兄弟姐妹聊天了啊。

[If you don't learn Chinese, you will not be able to talk to your grandparents, your uncles, aunties, and your cousins in China or Singapore when you go back for holiday].

(Narrative data from audio-recorded classroom interaction)

In Ruby's view, Chinese is a resource for communication and exchange, which students will need to use to making meanings in various social contexts. No matter how big or small the context is, whether it is with Chinese-only-speakers from their big family, or with other Chinese speakers in wider social units. The communicative and exchange values of Putonghua are emphasised instead of the ethnically-oriented symbolic value.

Meanwhile, an interface with China is also illustrated in Ruby's utility-focusing practice. In the globalising world, benefited from easy accesses to internet, air travelling, and a rich variety of social networking tools across geopolitical boundaries, Chinese migrants in the diaspora tend to elevate their connection with people, resources and practices back in China. The local teaching and learning practices in a Chinese complementary school also are connected with the mobility of people, markets and resources. Teaching Chinese in a CCS in such a globalising world consequently carry a language commodification (Heller, 2010) in direction of pursuing profit. 'Being able to communicate with relatives in China', together with other ideas such as being able to find a high-income job in China or being freely mobile between Britain and China, are some of the means to obtain profit.

In addition, this ideology with emphasis on usefulness and profit does not only address issues of cross-boundary connection and communication, it also has the embodiment in Chinese young migrants' local practice in the host British society. Another narrative data collected from Ruby's classroom is shown in Extract 4.8 as evidence.

Extract 4.9:

Ruby: 学习中文读和写也很有用啊，学会了基础的五千个字，你就可以读很多中文书了。
有很多中文故事和古典小说都很好看哦。再说了，你马上考 GCSE 也要考写作的。

[Learning Chinese literacy is also very useful. If you learnt the basic five thousands characters, you will be able to read many Chinese books. There are many Chinese story books and classic novels are fascinating. Besides, in the coming GCSE exams there is the part of composition, you have to write].

(Narrative data from audio-recorded classroom interaction)

To Ruby and other teachers in the same alignment, students should learn Putonghua because it is *useful* to talk with close relatives in China, to appreciate Chinese literature, also to have good scores in GCSE. Chinese (Putonghua) is not only linked back to the home country; it is also highly relevant and useful in students' present lives.

This discussion on the usefulness of Chinese language needs to be linked to previous analysis on translanguaging in section 4.2.1. With the emphasis on the usefulness of learning Chinese language in diasporic context, CCS Putonghua teachers' translanguaging practice can also be seen as a means of pursuing 'profit'. The dynamic mixed use of English and Chinese in classroom is taken as a *profitable way* which can be linked to the flows of educated elite Chinese students whose combination of Putonghua and English indexes money, high levels of education and global mobility. When the ethnical 'pride' of 'Chinese-only' which affiliates Chinese language with separate bilingualism and heritage maintenance being more or less released, 'language as profit' becomes the dominant ideology among the group of Putonghua teachers in ways of shaping their flexible bilingual attitude and pedagogy.

In chapter 5 I will also talk about this link of 'Chinese Putonghua as profit' and teachers' professional identities by drawing Kerry's narrative of how her Putonghua proficiency can

benefit her for a strong teacher identity. Next I carry on my analysis and discussion on language ideologies in relation to language shift from another layer of the heteroglossia in CCS, the *intra-Chinese* stratification.

4.3 Language ideologies around two Chinese varieties: Cantonese and Putonghua

To start this section, it is important to review the meaning of globalization in relation with its cross-boundary impact on various social structures, for example, the economic growth in China and its transnational impact on Chinese diasporic communities in Britain. Jinling Li, Kasper Juffermans, Sjaak Kroon and Jan Blommaert, in their discussion on Chinese teaching in the Netherlands context, provide a convincing statement on the *connectiveness* between globalization, economic growth in Mainland China (People's Republic of China, as PRC in the quote) and the Chinese diasporas:

If we understand current globalization processes as the compression of time and space through increased flow 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. (Li et al., 2012:41)

In this statement, the mobility of people and social elements is pointed out as the key feature of globalization. In such a connected world with fast flow of social elements, the economic development in China easily projects its influence over to the diasporic contexts, in one way resulting in the shifting ideologies around different Chinese varieties and the value attached to each of them. New structures and features of the Chinese diaspora are being

(re)constructed, while newly generated attitudes and beliefs about different Chinese varieties and the relations among them are being negotiated and legitimized.

Over time in the past two decades, new centres of viewing, teaching and learning Chinese are replacing the old ones. Geographically, regions of Guangdong, Fujian, Hong Kong and Taiwan used to be the dominant centres in the Chinese diaspora in Britain, now it changed into Beijing, Shanghai together with many other Mainland cities and areas increasingly determining the destination of Chinese language in diasporic groups. Putonghua, as the official language legitimated in 1950s by Chinese government in Beijing, is being actively promoted to be a new centre. In overseas Chinese communities, Putonghua is ‘fast gaining currency as a new Chinese lingua franca’ (Li, 2011b:377) which breaks the three decades of Cantonese-dominant status (from 1960s to late 1990s) and thus changes the ecology of Chinese language in British Chinese diaspora. In the following part I will draw small sociolinguistic signs to elaborate these changes, starting from the power shift between the two main varieties.

4.3.1 ‘*It is different now*’— Facing the change

‘*It is different now.*’ is a sentence repeatedly heard from both Cantonese and Putonghua teachers during my fieldwork. ‘It is different now, Putonghua is becoming more important and useful, it is taking the place that Cantonese used to have’, many Cantonese teachers said so. Seeking the answer to a question like ‘how do teachers think about this shift of power and the changing structure of inequality among Chinese varieties?’ becomes one interpretative point of language ideologies in the context.

First, it is observed that in the school Putonghua teachers mostly are enthusiastically taking this change as an advantage to help them with upward social mobility in and out of the CCS. Cantonese teachers, on the other hand, do not necessarily share the same enthusiasm, but are reacting to the shift in more complicated ways. Among the Cantonese-speaking participants in this study, some are eager to learn Putonghua from the very beginning with big efforts; some are keeping quiet but bringing their own children into Putonghua classes to learn the variety that they themselves do not speak; some others are saying ‘I am too old to learn a new language, just leave it’ (from field notes on school-wide observation). Behind this ‘*It is different now*’ local discourse, teachers are all responding to an ongoing power shift around the shift between the two Chinese varieties. This language shift has been explained by Yeng Seng and Lim Seok Lai (2010) as:

Due to the emergence of China as an economic powerhouse, Mandarin, as the officially recognised standard language of mainland..., and the Lingua franca of the overseas educated Chinese diaspora, is widely believed to be the most likely candidate among the world’s languages to gain the status of a language second only to English. (2010: 14)

Speaking of Hong Kong in particular, Yeng Seng and Seok Lai state that, after 1997, whilst Cantonese still remains the official language for day-to-day communication, for the vast majority of people, Putonghua is gradually gaining its strength, both in terms of the number of speakers and its social status. In the globalising world with high mobility these language shifts in Mainland China and Hong Kong have their cross-boundary impact projecting into the Chinese diaspora in England. The popularity of Putonghua (as Mandarin in the quote) is rapidly increased over a discursive decline of Cantonese. The following two extracts of narrative data from Paul and Mr Q the head teacher illustrate this change.

Extract 4.10:

Paul: It is for sure that we all need to learn Mandarin/Putonghua as the most powerful Chinese variety now. I am very glad I have learned some Mandarin at my early years from some Taiwanese friends, even though I am still not that confident with my Mandarin because of my strong accent. Some of the people from Hong Kong at my age, they don't speak any Mandarin, and they don't have enough motivation to learn it now, they said it is a bit too late to learn a new language (chuckles). I think actually it is because they haven't really accepted the change from Cantonese to Putonghua'.

(Translated interview transcript)

Extract 4.11:

Mr Q: [Now the situation is completely different. Just talk about our school, before 1999, for more than 30 years, we only had a few Cantonese classes. In 1999 we started our first Putonghua Class, then rapidly developed into 17 classes at present. More and more Chinese migrants originally from Hong Kong now want their children to learn Putonghua, rather than Cantonese. Every academic year we have a much smaller group of Cantonese students. It's also not easy to enrol Cantonese teachers, especially teachers with high educational qualification and personal dispositions, much harder now. In addition, we have to buy textbooks and other materials for Cantonese teaching ourselves, while textbook for Putonghua classes are free from the Chinese government. Putonghua classes are relatively much easier to arrange and run]

(Translated interview transcript)

Mr Q's narrative tells a brief history of the school during the past 50 years. It also sketches a bigger image of CCSs in the UK since early 1960s. For decades these schools have exclusively focused on Cantonese, at the expense of other Chinese varieties and dialects spoken by the earliest immigrant population. For example, the dialect of Hakka, which used

to be the main Chinese variety spoken by earlier migrants within family units at 1950s-70s, was later taken over by Cantonese. In 1960s, Cantonese became the Chinese variety for use in Chinese restaurants and other businesses beyond the immediate family unit, and then has shed its light on complementary schooling during the following three decades. However, the language shift started from late 1990s once again changed the linguistic hierarchies among Chinese varieties, into a direction of Putonghua gaining more power over Cantonese. More Cantonese speakers in the diasporic context start to learn and use Putonghua (see Li 2007; Li and Wu 2010 for more details). This wider language shift is explicitly illustrated in the above narrative data provided by Mr Q. Because Putonghua is becoming the variety with particular values in terms of profit, the ‘pride’ of Cantonese speakers (including the head teacher) to protect their mother tongue and to maintain the particular cultural heritage associated with Cantonese is more or less being released.

Because ‘it is different now’, Paul points out that ‘we all need to learn Mandarin/Putonghua as the most powerful Chinese variety now’ in his interview. As a member of the ‘we’ indicated in his narrative which refers to the Cantonese-speaking migrants, Paul also gave his own perception about how the ‘we’(Cantonese-speaking migrants) react to the changing linguistic ecology in Chinese diaspora: ‘some of them haven’t really accepted the change from Cantonese to Putonghua’. The reconstructed hierarchy among the two Chinese varieties obviously is having its impact on the local practice. The point lies on whether this changed hierarchy is being contested, or celebrated.

In the following section, I use another key participant, Linda’s ‘Speak Putonghua!’ speech act on a teacher meeting as evidence to talk about such a power shift from Cantonese to

Putonghua. I will analyse a field note vignette which includes an interactional discourse among Linda, Cantonese-speaking teacher Y, and some other attendants on the meeting. I aim to demonstrate and discuss the hegemonic standardization towards Putonghua in the local context.

4.3.2 ‘*Speak Putonghua!*’ – Hegemony of standard Chinese variety

As discussed in previous sections of this chapter, the economic growth in P.R.China and the increasing socioeconomic legitimacy of Putonghua are shedding influence onto the Chinese diasporas. The hegemonic standardization towards Putonghua in language policy and planning within China (see Wang, 2005 for detailed discussion) also sees its impact in the researched Chinese complementary school in Birmingham. Here I provide a field note vignette as a data sample to illustrate this hegemony. In chapter 3 I have already talked about this local speech event of key teacher Linda shouting out ‘Speak Putonghua!’ to a Cantonese teacher on the annual teacher meeting in the school.

Extract 4.12:

It was the first teacher meeting held in the school at the beginning of 2013/14 academic year. It was also my first time to meet the school members other than two head teachers. On the meeting there were 23 teachers, 2 head teachers, and 4 school administrative staff attended. The meeting was organized in a formal way with circulated meeting agenda, posters and photos of previous school events, and an opening speech from the head teacher, Mr Q.

Following a short coffee chat with teachers, Mr Q did his speech, all in Putonghua. At the beginning of his speech, he said to all teachers: “...since we are a Chinese school, also because the majority of us here are Putonghua speakers, let’s all speak Putonghua to

make it easier. I believe that even though some of our Cantonese teachers don't speak much Putonghua, they have no problems with understanding it."

On the second part of the meeting, all teachers were asked to do a self-introduction. 15 Putonghua teachers were asked by the head teacher to do it first. Then it was Cantonese teachers' turn.

Another Cantonese teachers before **Teacher Y** did it shortly in Putonghua. I could feel that she was struggling with Putonghua pronunciation.

Then it came to Teacher Y's table, she introduced herself in Cantonese. The following interaction then suddenly occurred between **Teacher Y**, **Linda** and some of **other Putonghua teachers** including **Teacher W**.

Teacher Y (introducing herself in Cantonese)

Linda (in a half joking and half complaining tone): 说普通话 [*SPEAK Putonghua*]! 听不懂粤语 [*Don't understand Cantonese*]!

(Some Putonghua teachers sniggered)

Teacher W: 就是, 就是 [*yes, yes, exactly*]!

Teacher Y (blushed, paused for seconds with an embarrassed facial expression, then struggled out an utterance in Putonghua): 不-懂-讲-普-通-话-啦-- [*don't- know-speaking- Putonghua- la--*]!

After teacher Y's response to Linda's sudden claim, the whole room was in silence for a moment. A few seconds later Teacher Y carried on with her self-introduction in Cantonese with another few short sentences.

During the whole interaction, all the other Cantonese speakers in the room - including the head teacher, the deputy head, the Cantonese-speaking-only dean, and other Cantonese teachers - kept silent.

After Teacher Y, the other Cantonese teachers did their self-introduction in Putonghua, some fluently, some with big struggles.

(Field note vignette, 31/08/2013)

This encounter among Linda, Teacher Y, and other participants in the room dramatically manifests a tension-filled interaction between the centripetal and centrifugal forces around linguistic hegemony in the context.

For the analysis on this interactive data, I first take a look at Linda's personal background. As introduced in the section about key participants in chapter 3, Linda moved to England from Beijing to pursue a master degree education 12 years ago. After achieved her master degree she managed to settle down in England with a job in a local company. A few years later, Linda built up her small family and became a mum of three children and a small business owner. During my field work, Linda mentioned to me a few times about her background: she was born and has grown up in Beijing. In Linda's narratives, confident self-evaluation on her linguistic capability to teach in the CCS was heard as 'You know, I grew up in Beijing, speaking Putonghua without any accent. I see this as a privilege to teach Putonghua in this school (from field notes on ethnographic interview). A sense of *standard Chinese* which refers to 'speaking Putonghua without any accent' is clearly displayed. She sees her standard Putonghua as a privilege.

With this confident subjective perception about her own linguistic repertoire in terms of Putonghua, in interactions with Cantonese speakers she tends to speak out to argue for her profits and values. Because she does not understand any Cantonese, she interrupts Teacher Y in a loud voice and claims 'Speak Putonghua!'. The shout of 'Speak Putonghua!' without any euphemistic communicative strategies (for example, a *please* added to the end) makes Linda's requirement very blunt and face-threatening to Teacher Y. Although Linda attaches a sort of explanation of her loud interruption by uttering 'don't understand Cantonese!', the loud voice and imperative voice still make her utterance as *an order*, which is rather unpleasant. To Linda, it is natural and necessary for Cantonese teachers to improve their

Putonghua proficiency in order to communicate with Putonghua teachers in the school, because ‘...the head teacher has already clearly asked them to speak Putonghua, and I don’t understand Cantonese at all’. This short interview narrative came out from an informal conversation between me and Linda at the end of my field work in the school. I asked Linda whether she still remembered her ‘order’ of “speak Putonghua!” to the Cantonese teacher (who had already left the school at the time of our conversation) on that teacher meeting. She recalled for a moment, chuckled a bit, said that she remembered that, and then she provided the above narrative. In her explanation Linda draws the authority of the head teacher to warrant her own request.

Furthermore, the corresponding response from other Putonghua teachers (laughter from a few and ‘就是, 就是 [yes, yes, exactly]!’ from Teacher W), the group silence from Cantonese speakers in the room after Teacher Y’s utterance of ‘不-懂-讲-普-通-话-啦-- [don’t- know-speaking- Putonghua- la--]!’, and the following all-in-Putonghua self-introductions from the rest of Cantonese teachers, all of these utterances and actions are indexical signs pointing to value-attributed linguistic inequality and hierarchy. Under the structures of power relations and inequality, namely orders of indexicality, Teacher Y’s local linguistic performance of doing her self-introduction in Cantonese is evaluated as ‘inappropriate’ and ‘unacceptable’ in the teachers meeting, and also got challenged by Linda, who holds relatively more (real or perceived) authorised power. Meanwhile, reaction from other Putonghua teachers and Cantonese teachers (including the head teacher) also manifests the conversion from linguistic differences to social inequality among linguistic resources. The laughter and the corresponding ‘yes, yes, exactly!’ from Putonghua teachers and the group silence from Cantonese speakers are all signs to index to the shift of hierarchies among Chinese varieties and the standardised hegemony of Putonghua in this diasporic context.

4.4 A preferred school-wide monolingualism for ethnicity construction

Apart from the above discussion on the hegemonic standardisation of Putonghua, the ideology in terms of linguistic homogeneity is also seen in a different dimension of the heteroglossic school ecology. A collective monolingual orientation is demonstrated as a preferred ideology in the local utterance of ‘*We do not need to speak English (in this school)*’. This sentence has been repeatedly heard during my fieldwork in the school, especially from the head teacher Mr Q and the senior Cantonese teachers. Not to use English out of classroom teaching shows as a shared ideology among the adult school participants. Even when communication between Cantonese and Putonghua speakers breaks down, English is rarely chosen for use in the communications between Putonghua and Cantonese teachers. Just like what happened on the ‘Speak Putonghua!’ speech event, English is not being used, even as a ‘compromised’ resource, to resolve the problem caused by mismatched linguistic repertoires among Cantonese teachers and Putonghua teachers. Next I present another field note vignette for discussion on this Chinese monolingual ideology.

Extract 4.13:

It also happened at the first teachers meeting. As agreed beforehand, the head teacher introduced me to all teachers briefly. After his introduction, I was supposed to introduce myself and my study in the school and then hand out the information letters to all teachers.

Since I don’t speak Cantonese, and out of consideration of many Cantonese teachers’ lack of Putonghua resource; I planned to give my short introduction in English as a lingua franca to achieve the communicative purpose.

Also I was mindful that, as an ethnographic researcher, I should try to avoid possible bias caused by my language choice on the research site. I was aware that, if I chose to speak Putonghua in front of all teachers on the first meeting, Cantonese-speaking school members possibly would position me as another Putonghua speaker in group with Putonghua teachers. To obtain the legitimacy of being an outsider observer, I decided to speak English to keep my own linguistic practice in the school as neutral as possible, at least at the right beginning of my presence in the school.

However, only after a short moment, my attempt of doing it all in English was ceased by the head teacher. The conversation between me and him is noted as following:

Researcher: ...Many thanks to Mr Q for giving me this opportunity to meet everybody here. I am very glad to introduce my research project and=

Head teacher: =我们不需要讲英语啦 [*We do not need to speak English la*]. 我们这是中文学校嘛 [*we are a Chinese school ma*], 就讲中文就好了 [*just speak Chinese, that's ok*].

Researcher: 哦! 好的, 我是想着英语会不会大家都可以很好理解, 我了解到我们有些广东话老师不怎么用普通话。 [*Oh! Alright, I was just thinking probably English makes it easier for all of us. I've heard that some of our Cantonese teachers do not use Putonghua that much*].

Head teacher: 没事的, 他们基本上都能听懂的 [*that's okay, they all can understand Putonghua*]. 就算有不懂的 [*even some bits they don't get it now*], 我们底下也可以再沟通 [*we can communicate further after the meeting*], 我会给他们解释一下 [*I will explain it to them*].

(Field note vignette 31/08/2013)

In this vignette, the head teacher, Mr Q, once more emphasises '我们这是中文学校嘛 [*we are a Chinese school ma*]!', and this was the second time of him doing so on the meeting. The first time he said it to all teachers (as described in Extract 4.12), and this time he was saying it to me, who came to their school as an outsider for research fieldwork. As seen in the vignette, I, as a Putonghua-English bilingual researcher, was also included in the collective pronoun 'We' in the school. Mr Q's interrupting denial against my attempt of introducing my research in

English indexes another monolingual ideology in the school. This ‘We’ refers to all the Chinese-speaking adults who come to join in the CCS to share the same values around bilingualism.

It is also noticeable that Mr Q claims for this monolingual practice among adult participants in the school with a full awareness of its ‘side-effects’, which are shown in the vignette as certain amount of mis- or under-communication among this ‘We’ group, because of the participants’ insufficient linguistic resources of their counterpart’s variety. He clearly knows that some Cantonese-speaking teachers’ Putonghua is not enough to understand my presentation about a research project in Putonghua, but he would rather explain further after the meeting than authorizing English as a legitimate language for better immediate comprehension.

This local linguistic sign manifests ‘a high degree of independence and self-reliance’ (Wang, 1996) of the minority language in the CCS context, as the reaction to the ‘linguistic insecurity’ (Silverstein, 2003:219). Due to the experience of being marginalised into the social periphery for probably decades or ever since their trajectory, elder generations of Chinese migrants tend to create an imagined boundary around the site of the CCS to claim an intra-school or intra-communal homogeneity of Chinese language. This homogeneity of Chinese is affiliated to the construction of pride within the ideologically bounded space of a CCS, away from the English-dominant host society. Chinese national/ethnic identity becomes significant in this construction of intra-communal pride.

This negotiation over a powerful monolingualism ideology with the indexical sign of ‘*We do not need to speak English in the school*’ is seen as ‘the nature of human life’ (Gal, 2006:15) in this study, as a part of the heteroglossia in a CCS and a Chinese diaspora. As Blackledge

and Creese (2010) point out, ‘a dominant ideology that positioning the majority language (often English at the global level) as the only language of communication’ in institutional and other public contexts ‘is constantly produced and reproduced’ (p27). Within the specific context of CCS, Chinese Putonghua has been legitimated as the contextualised ‘majority language’ (just as English at the global level). It is positioned as the only institutional language on site. Although the scale for this CCS’s dominant monolingual ideology is much smaller than the one for the English-dominant monolingualism, the meaning behind such phenomena remains similar: they are socially constructed as language speakers’ preference based on interweaved value systems and power relations in the society.

Moreover, it is worth to point out that the affiliations to this dominant monolingual ideology are constantly being rearranged and reproduced in social interaction. Take the Chinese diasporic community in this research as example, evidences in section 4.3 and 4.4 all demonstrate the changing pattern of such an ideology. In a few decades ago *Cantonese* Chinese has taken over the place of Hakka and became the hegemonic community language; now Putonghua is taking the place over Cantonese and becoming the one registered to the dominant monolingual ideology within the community and the CCS.

4.5 Conclusion

In the paper on ‘sociolinguistics, globalization, and social order’, Heller and Duchêne (2007) argue for a perspective of ‘rather than accepting ideological positions in which there is competition over languages, perhaps we should be asking instead who benefits and who loses from understanding languages the way we do, what is the stake for whom, and how and why language serves as a terrain for competition’ (2007:11). By saying this they call for moving

the focus of sociolinguistic research in globalisation from language *per se* to the *speakers* of certain varieties, to look at the structures, categories, and value systems indexed from speakers' local language use in interaction. This perspective has guided the analyses and discussions in this chapter.

In this chapter I talked about the historically dominant 'Chinese-only' ideology as a particular norm in a small group of Cantonese-speaking teachers. I proposed to understand such a separate bilingualism ideology and pedagogy together with the Cantonese-speaking school members' trajectory history, their post-migration settlement, and also the current shifting linguistic hierarchy that these Cantonese teachers have experienced and are still experiencing. Their claim for 'Chinese-only' practices and the emphasis on 'heritage inheritance' are generated from (and also reflect) the changing historical and socio-cultural conditions, manifesting the wider ideology of seeing language as the ethnical pride. I discussed how translanguaging was adopted by a group of newly-migrated Putonghua teachers with an explicit emphasis on the usefulness and utility of Chinese language. I deem this translanguaging ideology and pedagogy as closely linked to the late-capitalist ideological trope of seeing language as profit – the emphasis on language as profitable resource both at the cross-boundary level for global mobility and the local level of practical benefit. I sought to interpret the translanguaging teachers' flexible bilingual ideology in relation to their trajectory history and their settlement in the English society as middle-class elites. Furthermore, I also looked at language ideology in terms of the homogeneity over certain variety. I provided two different layers of analysis around this theme. One is the English-Chinese bilingualism in the local negotiation over an institutional dominant language, which has been proved to be associated with a collective ethnic identity within the CCS. The other one is the intra-Chinese hegemonic ideology towards Putonghua as the standard Chinese.

By presenting analyses and discussions on language ideologies in relation with language as pride and/or profit, I emphasised the *heteroglossic ecology* of language ideologies in the CCS context – which, as introduced in Chapter 2 and the beginning of this chapter, means both the *internal* and *external complexity* of Chinese language – and its manifestation in school participants’ tension-filled daily interactions. This interpretation on the language ideological ecology provides one dimension of my interpretation of the CCS as a heteroglossic social context in this thesis. I interpret such a heteroglossia as CCS participants’ dynamic and complex (re)constructions of multiple historical, social, cultural and political conditions in their synchronized acts of performance. In the next chapter, I will carry on talking about this heteroglossia in CCS with the focus on Chinese teachers’ professional identities. I will draw on the historical, chronotopical and dialogic features of heteroglossia to analyse and discuss how individual Chinese migrants use three different metaphors and other local sociolinguistic signs to claim, negotiate, contest, and maintain their identities as CCS teachers.

Chapter 5

TEACHERS' PROFESSIONAL IDENTITIES

5.1 Introduction

This chapter provides analyses and discussions around the research theme of Chinese teachers' professional identities (TPIs) in the complementary school context. With the LE methodology under a heteroglossic lens, I draw ethno-linguistic evidence in forms of narrative, classroom interaction, and field note data to illustrate a multidimensional analysis on how teachers dynamically perform their professional identities in interactions with others. As discussed in the literature review chapter, epistemologically I deem and interpret TPI in terms of diversity and complexity (Blommaert, 2013b). I view the momentary performance of TPIs as historically and ethnographically 'situated social construct' (Heller, 2003; Bucholtz, 2003); I interpret teacher's local performance as 'something emergent in action' (Hymes, 1980) and are 'shaped from moment to moment in interaction' (Bucholtz and Hall, 2005:591) within specific historical, social and cultural conditions. In other words, teachers' professional identities are not something fixed, pre-existed or unitary that teachers *have*, but a dynamic sociocultural phenomenon of positioning herself or himself as a certain kind of teacher being recognized as such in the school.

However, since not all linguistic resources are equally available to all speakers at all times (Creese and Martin, 2006), certain subject positions, within the specific spatiotemporal context, may either be non-negotiable, or only partly negotiable (Pavlenko and Blackledge, 2004). In the context of Chinese diaspora and CCS, Chinese teachers are not always able to negotiate the kind of professional identity they individually prefer. Rather, findings show that Chinese teachers' professional identities are significantly shaped by the fluid and changing structure of Chinese diaspora, the shifting power balance between different varieties of Chinese language, and the teachers' own biographical trajectories of settlement into English society.

In this chapter I present and interpret Chinese teachers' professional identities (CTPI) as heteroglossic social constructs which include internal subjectivity and external objectivity and are both personal and contextual. In the following sections of this chapter, I first use three metaphoric phrases including '*service provider*', '*gardener*' and '*guide*' to present and discuss how three participants perceive and perform their TPIs in local practices. This discussion on 'the use of metaphor and TPI' will be provided in section 5.2. In section 5.3 I focus on one particular Cantonese teacher and school board member, Kerry, and her self-evaluation on her own proficiency on Putonghua and how this can reinforce her TPI as an 'advantage'. I argue that Kerry's increasing self-confidence of being a CCS teacher is one of the emergent manifestations of the impact from the '*Cantonese to Putonghua language shift*' in Chinese diaspora. In Section 5.4 I provide a discussion on the '*translanguager*' group of Putonghua teachers and their flexible professional identities with two key participants, Linda and Ruby as the foci. I talk about how they discursively use resources from both English and Chinese to construct and negotiate a professional teacher identity in terms of flexibility. In section 5.5, I analyse a male participant, Steve's claim for a strong professional teacherhood

in relation with concepts of *authenticity* and legitimacy, and the anxious social identity of *being nowhere* in diasporic contexts. At last, I conclude the chapter with a summary and a final remark on the meaning of understanding TPI for teacher training in CCS education.

5.2 ‘Service provider’, ‘gardener’ or ‘guide’ – the metaphors

It is observed in the school that some participants use various metaphors to describe themselves as Chinese complementary school teachers. *Service provider*, *gardener* and *guide* are the three primary ones seen and heard. As introduced in literature review, metaphors are seen as ‘vehicles uniquely well-designed to negotiate and make sense of the creative space between what is personal and what becomes public’ (Hunt, 2006:317). I see the use of metaphor allows teachers in this study to be descriptive (and interpretative) on their preferred identities in alternate. They use other social roles which usually are characterised as non-educationally normed to represent the ways they see themselves as a teacher. The variety of metaphors presented in this section reflects a range of perspectives that Chinese teachers bring to a presentation about their TPIs. In the following part, I provide analyses on the three metaphors by contextualising the emergent linguistic sign with the speaker’s profile and background, and the socio-historical conditions which shape and form the individual’s speech. I start with Kerry (50+, female, 9 years of teaching Cantonese in the school), one of the key interviewees and her perspective of seeing teachers in complementary school as service provider.

5.2.1 The service provider

Data extract 5.1:

Kerry: well, 我们都是来学校服务的. (...) 家长付了 **tuition fee**, 他想让他的孩子学中文, 就像是他们买了个服务一样。我们作为老师, 就得提供这种服务。

[well, we are all coming to serve in the school. (...) Parents pay the tuition fee, they want their child to learn Chinese, it's like they are buying a service. We, as teachers, just have to provide the service.]

(Field note data on ethnographic interview)

In my interaction with Kerry during the 10 months of field work, ‘来学校服务的 [*come to the school to provide a service*]' was a phrase I heard from her very frequently. The above narrative is extracted from a noted conversation between me and Kerry in the first month of my fieldwork. That was a quick talk in the corridor after I finished the first-stage school-wide observation in her class. She provided this narrative as an answer to my question of how she viewed herself as a teacher.

In the above narrative data, Kerry indicates a feature of complementary school education as *providing a service*. By saying this, she identifies herself as a *service provider* rather than an authorised teacher. She considers parents' payment of tuition fee as buying the service (of teachers teaching their children Cantonese). While the majority of teachers view the very small amount of tuition fee only as a symbolic sign to regard teacher's contributory work (the payment is very little for the work a teacher needs to do for the weekly work, which also characterises the school as a non-profit charity); Kerry holds a different perspective. To her, no matter how small the amount parents are paying, they are paying to *buy the service* which refers to teachers' teaching. As a responsible teacher, she has to be a reliable 'service provider' with respect to parents' payment.

On a slightly higher level, it can be seen that by positioning teaching practice in terms of providing a *paid service*, Kerry suggests a view of seeing Chinese language teaching as a

commodity within the particular CCS setting. This commodification of language (Heller, 2010) and language teaching practice reflected in Kerry's narrative opens up a new creative professional identity to the group of Cantonese teachers. Differing from other perceived teacher identities in the sense of linking CCS teaching together with volunteering contributors, cultural heritage transmitters or the native speakers with 'authentic' linguistic and cultural knowledge; Kerry's 'service provider' view constructs *a contract-like relationship* between her, her students and parents, which is also illustrated in one of her small stories.

Data extract 5.2:

Kerry: 几年前我有一个学生，十几岁的男生，很叛逆。他从来都不做作业，也不回答我的问题，有一次他考试都没来。那我能怎么办呢？我肯定不能就不管他了，因为他的父母付了学费，让他在我这里学中文。我也不能太严厉地批评他，因为我不是他的父母，我是来教书的。(…)我就尽量保持心平气和，然后反复地跟他说他这样在这里什么也不干，浪费他父母的钱，是不合适的。我就坚持要求他做家庭作业，总问他，有时候会给他布置一些特别的作业，他有可能会感兴趣的那些。(…)过了好几个月后，他变得合作了好多，后来他在我的班上又接着读了两年，直到他考了 GCSE。

[A few years ago I had a teen boy student who behaved really rebellious in my class. He would never do the homework or answer my questions, and once he even didn't show up for the exam. What could I do? I couldn't just let go of him, because his parents paid the money for him to learn Chinese with me, neither could I criticise him harshly because I am not his parent, I am teaching here. (...) So I just tried to stay calm, but repeatedly told him that it was inappropriate to waste his parents' money, being here and doing nothing. And I kept asking him to do the homework, just kept asking. I sometimes gave him tailored homework that he might find more interesting. (...) After quite a few months, he became much more cooperative, and later he continued his learning of Chinese with me for another two years up to the GCSE level.]

(Audio recorded interview data)

In this story, Kerry's description of how she treats a 'rebellious' teenage boy once again demonstrates her perception of teacher being a service provider. She mentions again that parents 'pay the money' for their child to learn Cantonese 'with her'; it seems there is an invisible contract signed up by this payment. Due to this reason, Kerry decides to not let go of the student because she has the 'responsibility' to provide the service paid by the student's parents; she also avoids criticising the boy too much because she is the teacher, the service provider, who does not have the authority to pour harsh criticism on students. Instead, she manages to work out approaches to fulfil her duties and to deliver her teaching service as successful as possible. She tries to construct a rather *neutral* professional identity which does not involve much of the teacher authority or the parental kinship (like many other teachers do in this specific educational setting). It is rather like her running a mini business in the class, all the important meanings come to how she provides the teaching service successfully.

To the sense of constructing professional identities, this small story plays an important role for Kerry. As Georgakopoulou (2007) indicates, recounting personal experience in small stories requires interactants to construct evaluations and positioning, and by nature there are evaluations in small stories. In Kerry's story, self-evaluation and positioning as a 'calm, patient, responsible and skilful' teacher are constructed via her description on the interaction between her and the teen boy student. This is a story about a 'good' teacher as a successful 'service provider'.

However, this perspective of teacher being a service provider is not shared widely among other teachers, especially some of the Putonghua speakers. One of the key Putonghua-speaking participants, Steve, presents a strong commentary on the commodity-valued teaching practice and teacher identity. He said:

Data extract 5.3:

他们把这个教学弄得就跟做生意一样。

[*They are running this school education like a business.*]

(Field note on ethnographic interview)

By uttering this comment with a slight shake of head, Steve shows his disagreement to the ‘paid service provider’ identity. From his perspective, the school teaching practice should be highly associated with contribution to the community (in terms of giving effort and time during weekend without much payment). He positions the teaching practice in the school with a kind of spiritual height which denies any mention of money. His commentary of ‘*they are running the school education like a business*’ with disagreeing body language clearly distinguishes himself from the ‘*they*’, which refers to Kerry and other teachers who see the school practice partly as a paid service. With this ‘high spiritual’ positioning, Steve positions his teacher identity in completely different ways. In the next section, I move onto Steve’s metaphor of *gardener* to discuss his perception of being a teacher in the CCS.

5.2.2 The gardener

Different from Kerry’s neutral professional identity as a service provider, Steve (50+, M, 13 years of Putonghua teaching in the school) presents another metaphor of *gardener* to describe himself as a teacher in the CCS. This self-image as a gardener shapes Steve’s classroom practice in a particular model.

Data extract 5.4:

Steve: 你知道吧，在我们中国文化里，老师就是园丁，学生就像是小树。园丁得照顾它们，有时候还得修剪它们，这样它们才能长得更好。

[*You know, in our Chinese culture, teachers are gardeners, students are like little trees. Gardeners have to look after trees and trim them a bit sometimes, to help them grow better.*]

(Field note data on ethnographic interview)

As stated in the narrative, Steve draws Chinese culture as his reference for the claim of teacher being a *gardener* while students being like *little trees*. This teacher-students relationship as ‘gardener-little trees’ metaphor reflects a strong teacher position with authority and hierarchy: the gardener has the dominance and power to judge whether the little trees are growing properly, and sometimes to trim them for better growth. A gardener teacher is accordingly positioned with a much higher social status than his students.

To look at the historical and cultural structures of this metaphor, here I insert a brief introduction to one element of traditional Chinese culture. According to the general ideology around teacher’s positioning in traditional Chinese values, *being a gardener* and *being a candle* stand as two most popular (and stereotyped) social images of teachers in Chinese educational context since ancient time. The former refers to teacher’s authority, knowledge, responsibility and hierarchy, while the later indexes to an image of selflessly ‘sacrificing oneself’ (in terms of time and effort) to ‘light up’ young generations. In the traditional value system, *gardener* is often used from students’ agency to position the teacher with deep respect and trust; while *candle* signifies a general social belief regarding teachers’ work as laborious and lofty. Nowadays, these types of metaphors, as being considered as more or less old-

fashioned and out-of-date, are fading from the mainstream ideologies. Young generations of teachers no longer adopt these metaphors in their teaching practice for subjective positioning.

Here, Steve draws this metaphor of *gardener* across time and space, from a Chinese traditional ideology to the scenario of identifying himself as a minority language teacher in CCS. This emergent use of linguistic symbol illustrates what Ofelia García states: ‘multilingual speakers decide who they want to be and choose their language practices accordingly’ (2010:524). Steve selects this metaphor of ‘gardener’ to construct a subjective teacher identity with authority and power, within this rather informal educational setting. Driven by this subjective professional identity as a *gardener*, his classroom practice involves a big amount of ‘trimming the little trees’. For example, he gives students moral lessons like ‘you kids are really spoiled by your parents. ... You should go to live in the countryside in China to experience how hard the farmers’ lives are, and then you probably know how to cherish your food and stop being so picky’ (from audio-recorded classroom interaction data). He disciplines students with specific classroom rules, for instance, no ‘I don’t know’ allowed in his class because ‘I don’t know is only an excuse of being lazy thinkers’ (from field note on classroom observation). He also requires students to stand up all together and greet him ‘Good afternoon, teacher!’ loudly at the beginning of each session to show their respect to him.

Steve’s cross-time-and-space drawing of voices (including the metaphor of *gardener* and his classroom practice model) is a conscious choice to claim for his preferred professional identity. This local individual discourse manifests the heteroglossic nature of Chinese teachers’ professional identities from the aspect of *multi-voicedness* (Blackledge and Creese, 2014). His TPI claiming voice at the moment embeds the voice from traditional stereotyped teacher image as ‘gardener’ back in China and in the past. He selectively uses this embedded

voice to negotiate a specific classroom atmosphere and his teaching style. In Steve's case, as the consequence brought by his personal background, migration experiences and value preference, and within the specific context of a complementary school classroom where teachers are given a wide range of autonomy and free from assessment of any sorts, a configurability for selecting particular voice from the past to support his present choice to claim for a strong professional identity is becoming clear.

However, this negotiation of professional identity does not always make meanings to other participants in Steve's scenarios. In his class, there is very often a tension between Steve's strongly identity-embedded practice and the contextual constraints. For example, his students' real linguistic repertoires, ideological preferences and social backgrounds, their lack of awareness of the traditional Chinese values, and their perceptions about the CCS learning, all of these constraints, and the inevitable tension caused by the interaction between Steve's agency and these constraints, very often deconfigure Steve's self-positioning as a *gardener* into 'non-negotiable' (Pavlenko and Blackledge, 2004). Further analyses on Steve's TPI illustrated by interactive data will be provided in section 5.5 together with his perception of the authentic '*Chinese way*'. Here I continue to focus on analysis on metaphors, with another male participant, Paul as the protagonist.

5.2.3 The guide

This metaphor of being a *guide* comes from the other male key participant, Paul, who has been teaching Cantonese in the school for 3 years. At the final month of my field work, I conducted an audio-recorded final interview with Paul during a break time of his review sessions. During the interview Paul recounted a few stories about his migration history, his

Putonghua learning journey, and his personal and professional situations pre- and post-migration. When I asked for his own perception of being a teacher in the complementary school, he first gave a wide humble smile, and then provided the following narrative.

Data extract 5.5:

Paul: 讲真话，我不会讲我是老师，因为我没有专业的训练。（…）我只是，嗯， 像是一个 *guide*。你懂么？ 我尽力把一些我们中国传统文化，那些精华的东西，介绍给我的学生，看他们能不能领会，或者欣赏到一些。

[To be honest, I would not say myself as a teacher, I am not professionally trained. (...) I'm only, um, like a guide. You understand? (...) I try to introduce bits of Chinese culture, those essences, to my students, see if they can understand, or appreciate some of them.]

(Audio-recorded interview data)

Paul directly denies the title of ‘teacher’ because of his lack of professional teacher training. He would rather identify himself as a *guide* who *introduces* (rather than teaches) the essences of Chinese culture to his students. After his introducing work he does not expect that much of a high payback; he just wants to see whether students could understand or appreciate *some of them*, or not.

As a *guide*, Paul does not claim for teacher authority or a teacher-students relationship with hierarchy like what Steve does. Rather, he prefers to, based on his own deep appreciation on Chinese traditional culture, bring the ‘beauty of Chinese language’ (Paul’s own commentary, from field note) and the ‘good values’ (Paul’s another commentary, from field note) of Chinese culture to students’ sight. As one of his specific methods to bring the beauty and the values, he chooses to teach his students classic Chinese poems written by most famous ancient poets. These poems are considered as tokens to the scenic spots of Chinese culture, and Paul plays the key role of guiding students (as tourists) to the spots. During this guiding

procedure, there is an equal and relaxed relationship between the teacher (guide) and the students (tourists). There are no presupposed constraints to the teacher as are for a *service provider* in Kerry's metaphor, nor are there any hierarchy and authority as are for a *gardener* in Steve's perception.

If we look at Paul's metaphor together with his personal profile, professional experiences and migration history, it becomes not hard to understand his choice of metaphor. His modest and gentle personality, limited English proficiency, subtle social position and restrained social development after migration, all of these local variables, being interweaved with the wider social conditions (such as the marginalised social status of Chinese minority in the mainstream English society, and the recent stratification within Chinese community), have shaped and are still shaping Paul's TPI into a metaphor of *guide*.

To conclude this section, I propose that the three metaphors presented above, though may appear to be simplistic and momentary, are stimulating linguistic signs in the research context which vividly reveal Chinese teachers' professional identities. In other words, these metaphors form a category constituting 'the temporary roles and orientations assumed by participants' (Bucholtz and Hall, 2005: 591) for teachers' professional identities. They need to be understood in relation with historical and social structures and other contextual variables. Most importantly, as meaningful indexical linguistic symbols, they direct to distinctively categorised teacher identities in the Chinese complementary school setting. They are value-associated contextualised snapshots which capture teachers' real momentary subjective positioning and serve as one important dimension of the dynamic and ever-evolving TPI. Next I will move on to another dimension, in the following section, to investigate teachers' professional identities by looking at how Putonghua as a particular language resource can affect a Cantonese teacher's TPI within the context.

5.3 Proficiency of Putonghua and Kerry's professional identity

In section 5.2.1, I have talked about Kerry's TPI construction as a 'service provider'. In this section I carry on my analysis with the focus on Kerry, providing a discussion on how she associates her language proficiency in Putonghua to a strong professional identity in the CCS. Kerry (Female, 55+) migrated from Hong Kong into England 10 years ago for her children's higher education. After the migration she has not been worked as a full-time employee. She managed to establish a close connection with the local Cantonese Chinese community. She has taught Cantonese in the researched school for 9 years and recently, in the summer term of 2014, became one of the school board members in charge of some administrative and managing work. According to the head teacher's introduction of the school board to me at the beginning of my fieldwork, all of the board members are contributing to the school either financially (with capability to raise funds for the school) or pragmatically (with genuine enthusiasm, ability and effort to run the weekly routines for the school without receiving any payment). Kerry stands as one in the later. She is described by the two head teacher as being one of 'the most trustable senior teachers' (quote from head teacher's interview narratives).

During my fieldwork in the school, Kerry, as a research participant, constantly provided rich narrative data in forms of either audio-recorded interviews or informal ethnographic conversations. The following narrative data comes from the audio recorded interview conducted at the third term of the academic year, nearly to the end of my field work. Since I have been in the school for nearly 10 months by the time, the interview between Kerry and I became more like a relaxed friends chat. We talked about our families and children a bit before moving onto the semi-structured questions around her linguistic practice in the school.

Following a few small stories about how she learned Putonghua in both Hong Kong and England, I once again gave a short comment on her Putonghua proficiency. And then Kerry provided a short description and commentary about her use of Putonghua.

Data extract 5.6:

Jing: Kerry, 我得再说一遍，你的普通话说得很好。

[Kerry, I have to say it again, your Putonghua is really good.]

Kerry: 呵呵，我承认我能说不错的普通话对我来说是个优势啦。现在我们学校说广东话的都认识到情况变了，都知道现在普通话变得更有用了，所以我們都需要学习普通话，这样才能赶上社会的发展。 (...) 在他们要我去和普通话老师沟通时，我感觉蛮好的，因为别的校董会成员都不怎么会说普通话嘛，除了我。 (...) 在那种时候，我觉得我之前学习普通话的辛苦都值得了 (...)

[Hehe, I will say that speaking good Putonghua is an advantage to me. Now we Cantonese speakers in the school all noticed that the situation is changed, we know that Putonghua is becoming more useful, so we all need to learn Putonghua to catch up the social development. (...) I feel very good when I am asked to communicate with Putonghua-speaking teachers, since none of the other school board members can speak good Putonghua, except me. (...) At those moments, I feel that all my previous hard work on learning Putonghua becomes worthwhile....]

(Audio-recorded interview data)

First, Kerry explicitly indicates that speaking good Putonghua is an ‘advantage’ for her - the advantage that enables her to be the only one, out of the Cantonese dominant school board, to communicate with Putonghua-speaking teachers. Kerry’s proficiency in Putonghua here becomes an important and significant resource that legitimates her to be the school board member with certain responsibility and authority. It is this value-attached indexical meaning

of her Putonghua proficiency that makes her ‘feeling very good’ and all her hard work on learning the variety ‘worthwhile’.

Also, Kerry’s fluent use of Putonghua distinguishes her from the others. According to Kerry’s narrative account, this distinguishing happened and shed impact on her both in the past and at the present. In one of her small stories about learning Putonghua in Hong Kong many years ago, she sketches an image of herself as a ‘young middle school girl being teased by other students because she spoke some Putonghua in the Cantonese-dominant school’. In that context, a girl with Putonghua resource and an accent in her Cantonese was positioned as the odd one out. Now, after more than two decades, Kerry is being distinguished (and is distinguishing herself) from others again because of her use of Putonghua. However, this distinction carries much more positive meanings to Kerry. It empowers her with particular authority to communicate with Putonghua-speaking teachers on behalf of the school management team, also enhances her professional identities as one of the members who ‘come to the school to serve as teachers and helpers’ (Kerry’s own commentary on being a teacher in CCS, from field note).

In this narrative, the identity distinction also can be seen from Kerry’s use of personal pronouns. Kerry first uses ‘we’ to address the Cantonese speakers who all need to learn Putonghua because it is useful, like ‘we know...’, ‘we need to...’. Here she includes herself within the group of Cantonese speakers who share awareness (at least in her perception) to the language shift and the necessity of Putonghua acquisition. A subject position of herself being ‘one from the group’ and able to utter a representative voice is unambiguously constructed. Conversely, later when she talks about herself being ‘the only one’ who can speak good Putonghua and thus plays the unique role to communicate with Putonghua speakers, she excludes herself from the homo-linguistic school board group, here ‘I’ is

differentiated from ‘the other (school board members)’, because ‘I’ have the particular linguistic resource, ‘the others’ do not. It is this distinctive exclusion that makes Kerry ‘feel very good’ as a school teacher and board member.

From Kerry, it is clearly seen that the impact of globalisation and the changing structure of Chinese diaspora and the intra-communal shifting power relations. Within the wider social-political structure of Putonghua recently gaining bigger currency over Cantonese both in the global market and around the Chinese diasporic community, and with the local condition of Kerry being the only fluent Cantonese and Putonghua bilingual board member, Kerry’s Putonghua resource becomes a meaningful and important symbolic tool for her to create and negotiate new professional identity. It is seen that Kerry holds passionate beliefs about the importance and significance of being able to speak good Putonghua to her TPI. And due to the wider social values associated with her linguistic repertoire, her professional identity becomes ‘negotiable’ (Pavlenko and Blackledge, 2004) in the particular school at the right historical moment. From Kerry we see that language, at certain degrees, is being reinterpreted in the process of neoliberal globalization as a technical skill that can enhance one’s individual position in the new global economy (Heller, 2010). Compared to the negative consequences of using Putonghua two decades ago during her secondary school life in Hong Kong, Kerry’s use of Putonghua now in the CCS setting definitely becomes a technical skill which enhances her self-position in the new world.

Following this discussion on language and identity in the new global economy, in the next section, I provide a data analysis focusing on a group of Putonghua teachers, who I described in Chapter 4 as the translanguagers (or translanguaging middle class elites) in the school and their flexible TPI.

5.4 The translanguagers' flexible professional identities

This section focuses on the performance of TPI among a particular group of teachers who I categorised as translanguagers. These translanguagers, as described in chapter 4, are a small group of Putonghua teachers who dynamically draw resources from both English and Chinese for meaning making in and out of classroom. Rather than applying the Chinese-only ideology with strong emphasis on the cultural heritage inheritance and transmission, they choose to focus on the usefulness of teaching and learning Chinese language in diasporic communities. In classroom they adopt translanguaging as a natural and realistic pedagogy for their students who mostly have English as L1. This small group of teachers also share the commonality as professional elites with smooth settlement in the host society.

Findings from this translanguaging group of teachers corroborate what Dailey-O'Cain and Liebscher (2011) state, 'every formulation of a language ideology in teachers' practice unavoidably includes a formulation of some element or participants' identities' (p94). It is found that the translanguagers in this study with flexible language ideologies are also performing a range of flexible TPI in and out their classrooms. They take a wide variety of 'stances' to 'display evaluative, affective, and epistemic orientations...' (Bucholtz and Hall, 2010:22). Their TPI, as dynamic social constructs, are showed as locally negotiable from moment to moment during interaction with other language users in the context. In the following part of this section, I provide analyses on TPI performance in this particular group with two key teachers as the protagonists:

- Linda as '老师 [*Teacher*]', '妈妈 [*Mum*]' and '我 [*I*]'
- Ruby the new speaker

5.4.1 Linda as ‘老师 [Teacher]’, ‘妈妈 [Mum]’ and ‘我 [I]’

I first look at Linda’s TPI performance in her class with a group of young reception children aged from 5 to 7 with a big variety of backgrounds and linguistic repertoires involved (as introduced in the section on key participants in Chapter 3). At the time of my observation, Linda had been teaching in the school for 2 years at the reception level and was running the biggest class of 21 students in the 2013-14 academic year. As one of the typical translanguager teachers with a flexible language ideology, Linda draws resources from both Chinese and English dynamically in her teaching and for identity negotiation. Some of her classroom interaction data has been used in discussion around language ideology in chapter 4; here in this section I draw another set of recorded interactive data collected from her classroom to illustrate her flexible TPI performance with young multilingual pupils. I present three short extracts to start the analysis.

Data extract 5.7:

5.7.a

(After the bell rings, the classroom is still quite noisy, pupils are still walking around and chatting)

Boys: (calling for Linda’s attention in loud voice): Miss! Miss! =

Linda (in a louder voice than boys’): =老师上堂课给你们布置的 homework 你们做了没有啊? [*have you done the homework **teacher** gave to you last week?*]

5.7.b

Sam: 老师我的笔呢 [*Where is my pen teacher?*]

Linda: 我怎么知道你的笔 [*how could I know (where is) your pen?*]

5.7.c

(Every week Linda brings a Chinese storybook from home to read during the last 10 minute of her class. Here Linda is commenting on a story book that she just finished reading to students in Chinese)

Linda: ...you see, the mouse and the elephant are now very best friends, they are like a family. (2.0) We are like a family too! 老师就像是你们的妈妈一样 [*teacher is just like your **mum***], 喜欢你们 [*like you*], 帮助你们 [*help you*]。

(Audio-recorded classroom interactive data)

From these three short interactions between Linda and her students, a dynamic translanguaging use of linguistic resources is demonstrated. In her talks with young students, Linda discursively addresses herself in three different ways: she is ‘老师 [Teacher]’ (in extract 5.7.a) when she needs to claim for a bit of authority to settle down the chaotic noise before starting a session; she is ‘妈妈[Mum]’ (in extract 5.7.c) when she is taking an affective stance to merge the theme of ‘family and love’ from a story book in her teaching practice; she is also ‘我[I]’ (in extract 5.7.b) when she is answering a question (which she probably considers as a bit silly) from her 6-year-old student Sam.

老师[Teacher], as a widely used personal pronoun to replace ‘I’ in Chinese educational context, indexes to a certain authority in teachers’ classroom discourses. It is very often adopted by Chinese teachers when they want to make an emphasis on their teacher authority with a comparatively formal teacher-relationship involved. To list a few examples among many others: when they are assigning homework or expressing their teaching targets to students; or telling off a student for inappropriate behaviours; or giving compliments to a student in front of others, etc. Here, in the classroom of a complementary school, Linda’s use of ‘老师 [Teacher]’ as a self-pronoun is associated with a particular Chinese traditional value with an emphasis on teacher authority. Especially, it is uttered immediately after little boys

yelling ‘Miss! Miss!’ *in English* for attention at the time when they were supposed to be quiet for the lesson to commence. Linda’s immediate language use of ‘老师 [Teacher]’ *in Chinese* is an explicit sign for the claim of a professional teacher identity, at this particular moment, and in this particular context, out of aim to start her lesson in the noisy classroom.

Differently, in the scenario described in extract 5.7.c, Linda expresses a particular kinship to her students by simulating herself as ‘妈妈 [Mum]’ to the children and the whole class as ‘a family’. This contextualised use of a particular linguistic sign also reflects the flexibility of Linda’s TPI. She identifies herself accordingly out of various momentary purposes to make the best meanings for pedagogy or identity. In extract 5.7.c, she starts her summary of and commentary on the storybook *in English* (after reading it through all in Chinese), as a way to address all students with different Chinese levels. And then she makes a simile of saying the collective ‘we’ is ‘like a family’ after a short pause. Following this she switches back into Chinese, introducing another simile of saying herself as students’ ‘妈妈 [Mum]’ who ‘likes them’ and ‘helps them’. This part of simulating herself as ‘妈妈 [Mum]’ *in Chinese* reflects specific meanings. It shows that in Linda’s perspective, a simile of *teacher as mum* is only legitimate in Chinese context, not in the English one. Here, this kinship to students manifests another facet of Linda’s TPI in the CCS setting.

In extract 5.7.b, however, Linda refuses to stay with the position of being a ‘妈妈 [Mum]’ at another moment. When Sam the boy asks her where his pen is, Linda answers ‘我怎么知道你的笔 [how could I know (where is) your pen]’. She is no longer the teacher, nor the mum; she is ‘我 [I]’. This ‘I’ does not have the responsibility as a ‘teacher’ to take care of ‘your pen’; nor does this ‘I’ has the kinship from a ‘mum’ to find the pen for ‘you’. At this moment, Linda is *an individual* in the classroom, probably just like any of her students, a communicator who

gives an emergent reaction to a reckless small question. Meanwhile, it is also noticeable that, Sam, the 6-year-old bilingual boy, is asking the question *in Chinese* with addressing Linda as ‘老师 [Teacher]’ to show his awareness of how to ask his teacher for help *in Chinese way*. Unfortunately, this awareness of displaying his ‘Chineseness’ is not appreciated by Linda because the content of Sam’s question. ‘Knowing where Sam’s pen is or being willing to find it for Sam’ are not, at least momentarily, in the range of Linda’s responsibility as the class teacher. This individual ‘我 [I]’ stands as another facet of Linda’s contextualized TPI.

To summarize, from Linda we see a Chinese language teacher, as a social actor, is using her bilingualism as a flexible communicative repertoire, in interaction with her young student, to discursively perform her multiple TPI contextually and socially. In her local discourses, both collective and individual values are integrated together dynamically to create a new norm for TPI in this group of translanguager teachers. Similar to Linda, another translanguager teacher in this research, Ruby, also presents her flexible and dynamic TPI performance in classroom interaction with students. In the following part I draw a data sample from Ruby’s class to discuss this issue further.

5.4.2 Ruby the ‘new speaker’

Here I apply an extract of classroom interactive data from Ruby to propose an argument of the elite translanguager teachers in the CCS context as *new speaker* (Silverstein, 1980; Jaffe, 2015b). Ruby (Female, 40+) is a senior Putonghua teacher who started the first Putonghua class in the school 15 years ago. At the time of my field work, Ruby was running the Putonghua GCSE class with 4 students attended. She is one of the most typical translanguagers in the school with a flexible language ideology around Chinese-English

bilingualism. As introduced in chapter 4, Ruby takes the stance of being a realistic teacher to teach Chinese as a minority language to her English-as-L1 students. She frequently emphasises the usefulness, rather than the heritage affiliation of Putonghua in her translanguaging teaching practice.

As the company of her flexible language ideologies, Ruby employs flexible TPI for communication with other participants in the school. She is a friend to some of the Putonghua female teachers; she is the respectful, capable senior teacher in the head teacher's eyes; she is the cheerful friendly teacher to her three female teen students; she at the same time is a strict mother-like teacher who would tell off the over-chatty boy student very often. Meanwhile, She also remains a polite, helpful but in-certain-distance image among the Cantonese teachers. Most importantly, she shifts from these different roles reflexively and accordingly.

Next, I will focus on one of these dimensions of Ruby's TPI, her interaction with students in class, as an important example to analyse her TPI as a 'new speaker'. By doing so I am not saying that the other facets are not important. I want to highlight this classroom interactive data because it is a typical example of complementary school phenomena (teen boy student challenge the teacher's authority by correcting her mistake) during which the negotiation process and outcomes of TPI in forms of translanguaging is demonstrated. The short interactive data was collected during my audio-recorded classroom observation in Ruby's class. As I have mentioned in Chapter 4, Ruby only had four students (three girls and one boy) at the time of my fieldwork in the school. The boy student was the one with the highest level of Putonghua in her class. Due to this reason the boy tended to be very interruptive while Ruby was talking to the three girls.

Data extract 5.8:

Ruby: (talking to a girl who is originally from Malaysia): once you go back to [Malaysia, you have to use...

Boy: [MalaySIA=

Ruby: = 我不管它是 sia 还是 shia, 你知道我在说什么了, 对吧 [*I don't care whether it is sia or shia, you all know what I'm talking about, don't you?*]

Boy: But=

Ruby: =呵呵呵, 不要在那边给我 being tricky 啊 [*Hehehe, stop being tricky there to me ah*].

Boy: (2.0) 好吧 [*ok then*].

(Audio-recorded classroom interactive data)

The boy was 13 years old at the time of my fieldwork. Because he had just come from Hong Kong, at where he had learned Putonghua for years, he very often acted as a bit of 'show-off' in the class. Before this interaction, the boy has already issued a few times of interruption in Ruby's talk while she was trying to explain the new words, or asking questions to the girls (who had rarely a chance to bring their answers out before the boy due to their lower speaking levels). Ruby ignored the boy a few times and carried on. However, the boy did not stop. This time he disturbed Ruby again and tried to correct her pronunciation of the word Malaysia.

The interaction shows that Ruby is a bit cross with that. She was speaking to the girl in English with a casual tone, but immediately after the boy's disturbance, she switches *from English into Chinese*, utters a firm reply to the boy as a rejection of his correction. Here the code of Chinese is applied together with the content of her response as a sign of her authority.

Also her response is closely latched to the boy's correcting utterance; it acts like a 'payback interruption' to the boy's previous interruptions, and to his 'authority-offensive' correction. The boy then tries to hold the floor again by initiating a 'but'; nevertheless, Ruby does not give him the chance to really finish his sentence. She carries on speaking in a firm tongue to maintain her teacher authority.

Meanwhile, as an experienced teacher who has been teaching teenagers for many years, she knows how to claim her authority and, at the same time, avoid embarrassing students too much. For this purpose, she adds a short laughter before her 'teacher's order 'stop being tricky there'. She chuckles a little bit to soften her firm requirement, make it easier to accept, and thus to avoid face-threatening to the teenage boy. She also mixes the English phrase 'being tricky' into her demanding sentence in Chinese. Her selection of words also reflects that she is a considerate teacher – a teen boy seems would not feel badly face-threatened for being commented as 'being tricky'. Ruby's swift reaction, her mixed use of Chinese and English, and her selection of English words to comment on her student, all point to a construction of TPI which is flexible, practical and balanced to make most meanings in her classroom. At the end of this interaction, the boy said '好吧 [ok then]' in *Chinese* as a way to show his acceptance of Ruby's negotiation over teacher authority.

During this momentary process of TPI negotiation, translanguaging is dynamically applied both in Ruby's and the teenage boy's interactive discourses. Ruby's comment on the boy's correction of her pronunciation as 'being tricky', and her intra-sentence code-switching between Putonghua and English – '呵呵呵，不要在那边给我 being tricky 啊 [Hehehe, stop being tricky there to me ah].', meaningfully work together in emphasizing her positioning of being a professional teacher. To a trickily-behaved student, she has to claim for her teacher authority by issuing a firm demand, but in a rather softened acceptable way. In addition, if we

look at Ruby's inter-sentence translanguaging use of forms at the beginning of this interaction. Her use of English to talk to the girl and the immediate change into Chinese to respond the boy's correction, are clear signs showing her differentiated evaluations on different languages. Chinese, in Ruby's discourse, certainly is the one associated with a much stronger competence for her TPI negotiation.

All these small signs, the translanguaging of English and Putonghua, the shift between different teacher images (from a strict upset one to a slightly joking and tolerant one) and the change of tones (using a rhetorical question, issuing a laughter before a firm request, and using the Chinese modal particle '啊 [ah]' to soften the firm order), are dynamically and indexically interweaved in Ruby's TPI. It brings an image of a 'new speaker' (Jaffe, 2015b) – a social position that becomes available to particular social actors in minority language context. As introduced in the literature review chapter, a new speaker refers to a minority migrant with 'a social status or identity that is the dynamic product of both self- and other-attributions and stances to define adults who acquire a socially and communicatively consequential level of competence and practice in a minority language' (2015b:25-29). A *new-speakerness* (Jaffe, 2015b) is a flexible, combined, created and transformative identity which distinguishes the flexible translanguagers from other categories of minority language speakers.

Without any doubt, this new speakerness is by nature historically, culturally and politically shaped by the wider global structures and individual trajectory and settlement. In Ruby's case, as introduced in chapter 3 and 4, her smooth and successful transmission experience after migration, and her flexible and realistic language attitudes and well-built linguistic repertoire, are the main variables which enable her to an upward mobility in the host society and to approaching a middle class elite social position. Within the CCS context, this new-

speakerness of Ruby as a Chinese migrant and a social actor has its emergent impact on her classroom practice. In terms of negotiating TPI, this new speakerness allows Ruby to confidently and naturally use all resources from her multilingual repertoire to teach, to set up good teacher-students relationship and to negotiate the TPI that make the most meaning to her.

Different from this flexible dynamic of TPI presented in the translanguager group, another distinctive model of practice to negotiate specific TPI is observed from the male key participant Steve's classroom practices. In Steve's case, particular classroom discourses are deliberately chosen to act as authentic sociolinguistic forms for negotiation of a strong professional teacherhood. Some selected 'authentic' forms of language use are drawn across time and space to carry special emblematic meanings for Steve's strong claim of teacher identity. In the next section I provide a discussion on Steve's TPI construction in details.

5.5 Anxiety, authenticity, and Steve's teacher professional identity

In section 5.2 on 'the use of metaphors', Steve's use of *gardener* has been analysed and discussed as one of three metaphors. In the use of the metaphor he refers to Chinese culture for his claim of being a gardener with authority to trim the little trees for better growth. In this section, I develop this discussion on authority further with analysis on Steve's classroom interactive discourse.

In class, Steve constantly refers to Chinese culture and his own experiences of living and being educated in China as emblematic resources to negotiate teacher authority with *authenticity* associated. Here I list a few typical patterns that Steve uses to start his sentences in classroom discourse for a general description.

- In our Chinese culture, people usually ...
- When I was a school child, our teacher used to ...
- In China parents would ...
- The real situation in China is...

These repeated patterns of language use in Steve's discourse demonstrate what Kramsch (1998) indicates that '*native speakership*' brings authentic authority to its speaker. Being a native Chinese speaker and having 'authentic' Chinese experiences for more than 30 years in China becomes emblematically significant for Steve. His frequent use of references from 'Chinese culture', 'the real situation in China' and his own childhood experiences all are meaningful to him for a strong teacher identity negotiation in classroom. Among his strongly modelled classroom practice, one particular interactive act becomes a typical example. Next I bring an analysis and discussion around this act.

The '*Good afternoon Teacher!*' act

'*Good afternoon Teacher!*' is an emblematic language use in Steve's practice which distinguishes his teaching style from those in all other teachers' classrooms. This particular act originally caught my attention at the first stage of my field work on non-recorded classroom observation in Steve's class. Here is a field note description and commentary I have written at the time.

Data extract 5.9:

I just finished my first session of classroom observation in Steve's class. At the very beginning of this session, I was really surprised by the activity of all students standing

up, doing an all-together-in-loud-voice greeting of 'Good afternoon! Teacher!' *in Chinese* to Steve, who stood at the front of the classroom, facing the whole class. As a response of students' greeting, Steve uttered a short 'Good afternoon, students. Please sit down.' *in Chinese* afterwards.

At that moment, I immediately recalled a flash-back of my own junior school experience; all these standing-up, greeting-together and sitting-down were conducted as one of the daily routines, to demonstrate our respect to teachers at that time.

The main surprising point to me is: it was done here, in this community school classroom in England, with this British-born or -raised students involved, at this time of 2013. I also noticed students' reluctant voice and the awkward atmosphere when this activity was on.

(Field note data, 17/11/2013)

After this first school-wide observation in Steve's classroom, I have been away from his class for nearly three months before I went back for the recorded in-depth classroom observation with him and his students. Same as what they did at the session I witnessed three months ago, they did the greeting event at the beginning of session. The interaction around this greeting event has been recorded as following.

Data extract 5.10:

Steve: 好的, 现在上课 [*Alright, time for lesson now*].

(5.0)

(Some students slowly stood up, some remained seated)

1 or 2 students (in muttering voice): 老~~师~~好 [*Good---after-noon, tea--cher--*].

(3.0)

Steve: (in slightly irritated voice): 难道我们还需要再练习吗 [*Do we need to practice this again?*] 这么一个小小的 routine [*such a small routine*], to show your respect to

your teacher in CHINESE way, 你看看你们[*you look at yourselves*]. (2.0) 再来一次 [*one more time*]!

(2.0)

Students (all stood up loathly, in reluctant small voice): 老~~师~好~ [*Good---after--noon tea--cher---*].

Steve: 同学们好, 请坐下 [*Good afternoon, students, sit down please*].

(Audio-recorded classroom interactive data)

Apparently, Steve has been maintaining and practicing this greeting event as a classroom routine ever since his first lesson. As seen in the data, a signal for commencing this act by announcing ‘现在上课 [time for lesson now]’ is clearly issued by him at the very beginning. The interaction also reveals that certain standards for doing the greeting are also firmly set by Steve - he expects students to take this act seriously and stand up all together immediately. According to his standards, the first reaction from students (with only some standing up, only one or two greeting in a muttering voice, while the others remaining seated and silent) in this interaction is by no means satisfactory. And this ‘disappointing’ response from students stimulates his second turn of utterance starting with questioning students ‘难道我们还需要再练习吗 [do we need to practice again]?’.

Most importantly, he emphasises that this ‘small routine’ is ‘a *Chinese way*’ to show your respect to your teacher. With this interpretation the specific speech act of greeting ‘Good afternoon Teacher!’ and the criteria and pattern for carrying out this act become meaningful to Steve as iconic features of ‘the Chinese way’. But why is this Chinese way so important?

Because it constitutes authenticity assigned to Steve’s claim for a strong professional teacher identity. This discourse of ‘in the Chinese way’ manifests how a ‘native speaker’ deliberately

arranges and configures emblematic features from his own repertoire to confer authenticity and authority in his language use (Blommaert and Varis, 2011). By configuring classroom performance ‘in the Chinese way’, Steve denies ‘the locally-negotiable and reflexive nature of authenticity’ (Coupland, 2003) which would call his consideration on students’ real linguistic and cultural repertoires. Neglecting students’ lack of background knowledge and experience of this ‘good afternoon teacher’ act, Steve insists applying this activity for his negotiation of TPI. How does this become possible? It lies on the volunteering nature of the CCS.

Within the CCS context where particular social, historical and political forces are interplaying together, a certain kind of *opening of space* has been created for Steve. Because of the volunteering nature of such schools (which causes lack of inspection and assessment on pedagogy and teachers’ complete autonomy in classroom), and the institutional ideology on teacher enrolment (with an emphasis on high education qualifications), with his doctoral degree and being respected as a senior teacher, Steve becomes able to claim for strong teacher authority under the name of authenticity. If any of these historical and socio-political elements has changed in the local interplay, this ‘authentic’ greeting act would not have the chance to occur.

Meanwhile, it also makes important meanings if we look at this interaction from students’ agency. The three times of silence from students as reactions to Steve’s utterances; the reluctant standing-up and muttering; the protest of remaining seated; all are distributed by this group of teenage students who do not share the same meaning-making values around ‘the authentic Chinese way’ that Steve emphasises. The silence, reluctance and muttering voice all prove that, as Gill (2011) argues, in real world events authenticity only makes sense when it is contextualised. The question of ‘What kind of authentic language forms make sense?’ only can be answered appropriately in particular setting, with particular participants involved and

following particular rules. In Steve's case, his deny of the 'locally-negotiable' principle (Coupland, 2003) of authenticity makes his negotiation over authority-embedded practice illegitimate to his students. Once 'the locally-negotiable principle' is stripped off from authenticity, the legitimacy of this 'authenticity' inevitably becomes problematic. This is why in Steve's classroom there is always a great amount of tension and conflict. Due to the tension and conflict, the professional teacher identity that Steve aims to claim for accordingly becomes de-configured.

And then, if I aim to answer the 'why' question - 'Why Steve is claiming for such a strong TPI in the CCS? ', I need to look at the wider social, historical and political structures for guiding information. These structures, as being introduced in Chapter 2 and 3, constitute a complex range of socio-historical conditions, among which a general marginalized social status of Chinese minority group in the 'classed' British society (Block, 2014) stands as the most influential. Under these social constraints, Chinese migrants, even with many of them who recently moved to the UK achieving relatively higher social status in British society, the resources they obtain, at most of the time, still remain insufficient to negotiate the desirable individual social position. Their settlement into the host society may involve years of struggling with anxiety.

Steve is a typical example of these anxious Chinese migrants. He has been in the UK for more than 2 decades now, and has done his PhD in a British university. But apart from this, his post-migration history lacks other moments that empower him to a strong social status in the mainstream society. A sense of '*being nowhere*' (Hall, 2014) is demonstrated in his local discursive practice. For example, during the in-depth classroom observation, I, as the researcher, asked him whether he has any interests to go back to China for something new since China now is becoming full of opportunities, he answered:

Data extract 5.11:

‘回去？我？现在回去也是不可能了，回去做什么呢？我都这个年纪了。(2.0) 而且也没那个必要。’

[Go back? Me? It is impossible to go back now, what to do after I go back? I am in this age now. (2.0) it is also unnecessary]

(Audio-recorded ethnographic interview data)

From the above narrative we see that in his perception he does not belong to China, so how about his social identity in England then? Another classroom field note vignette taken during my in-depth observation in his classroom may show as a reflective description:

Data extract 5.12:

Today before the session Steve was trying to chat with a teen boy student. From their chat I got to know the student is the son of one of Steve's friends. Steve asked the boy about his past week at school, and how was the boy's Dad doing recently. The boy replied him saying that his Dad wasn't at home, but had been invited to a conference on aircraft engineering held in Canada.

After the boy's answer, Steve paused for a while, then said: **‘see, they invited your Dad, they wouldn't invite me, because I am not that capable, not as capable as your Dad’**. After he said this in English to the boy, I've noticed that the boy became silent. The chat suddenly stopped there. The few other boys, who were scattering around and heard the conversation between Steve and the boy, all went to their own seats. The whole classroom sank in silence, until Steve walked to the whiteboard and said ‘time for lesson now’.

(Field note data, 12/05/2014)

In extracts 5.11 and 5.12, a mid-aged Chinese migrant who is not on the position that he desires comes into sight. His self-perception of being ‘impossible to go back (to China)’ and self-evaluation of being ‘not that capable (in here)’ interweave together in result of an

anxious social identity of being ‘neither here nor there’. In Hall (2014)’s discussion on this anxiety among migration groups in neoliberal globalization, she provides examples of Korean migrants using authenticity as ‘shorthand excuse’ (p263) to back up the anxious identity of being nowhere. If we look at Steve’s claim for a strong TPI in the CCS classroom together with his personal trajectory in the frame of socio-political conditions, we probably would, more or less, understand his claim for hegemony and authority in forms of identifying himself as gardener, and ‘forcing’ his students to do the ‘Good afternoon teacher’ greeting.

We probably will be able to see the eager claim for a strong TPI in the name of authenticity as an individual *back-up* for an anxious social identification status. Steve’s practice in the classroom appears to be unpleasantly hegemonic and causes much of demotivation on students’ Chinese learning, but this type of practice also provides significantly meaningful description of the context of CCS. This descriptive information is valuable for better understandings on the field of Chinese minority language education in the UK, to how Chinese teachers take the CCS as a *fall-back social space* away from their unsatisfactory migration experiences, and also can be contributory to the improvement of practice in the Chinese complementary schools, for example, teacher training and teacher enrolments.

To sum up this section, I view Steve as a social actor who draws on every possible semiotic resource, out of particular priorities and preference of indexicality and evaluation values, to discursively negotiate certain categories of social meanings which include his TPI in this discussion. I suggest that we, as sociolinguist researchers working with speakers’ daily language use in the globalising world, always need to investigate local emergent language use in relation with historical, cultural and eco-political contexts, to reach our aim of bringing holistic descriptions and interpretations on small phenomena. To discuss TPI in the particular field of migration and minority language education, we need to explore and understand TPI

in terms of heteroglossic complexity, which means that we must bring the multidimensional and multi-layered context into discussion on minority language teachers' local practice, to understand and interpret their TPI appropriately.

5.6 Conclusion

This chapter draws on various data resources to discuss Chinese teachers' professional identities (CTPIs) in terms of complexity. I adopt a heteroglossic lens to interpret CTPIs as by nature socially constructed and self-conscious ongoing practices which individual teachers perform, negotiate and claim in their emergent language use. CTPIs in the CCS context are about negotiating new subject positions with a multivoicedness (Creese and Blackledge, 2014) at 'the crossroads of the past, present and future' (Block, 2014:65). During this negotiating process teachers arrange emblematic signs and resources across time and space to negotiate beliefs, motives and values in and out of their classrooms. The entire negotiation process is conflictive as opposed to harmonious balance; there are unequal orders of indexicality and evaluations in force which generate distinctive categorizations within the minority group.

In the analysis and discussion, I focus on the creativity of teachers' sociolinguistic action for identity construction, and the changing repertoires they deploy in all forms of communication for identities from moment to moment. Under the heteroglossic lens, I see the real dynamics of teachers' language use and identity construction are dynamic both internally and externally. It is not only the contact of two social constructs (such as an individual's subjective perception of TPI and the other positioning of TPI) that create new hybrid forms, but also, in this ongoing process, both constructs themselves are changed and reconfigured

via tension-filled interaction. It is this heteroglossic nature that characterises TPI as rich, complex and nuanced social constructs in this study.

At last, I would suggest interpreting Chinese teachers' professional identities as heteroglossic social construct to inform teacher training and policy development for Chinese minority language education. I take a stance of seeing 'an understanding of teacher professional identity...is critical to understanding the heart of modern schooling' (Mockler 2011:517). Especially in the context of minority language education, which has been remained out-of-mainstream for decades with barely any well-developed policy, the empirical description and interpretation on CTPI help training programme designers and policy makers to see what are lacked in the setting and how this lack has been formed from the past to the present. Knowing exactly what and how Chinese teachers perceive themselves as language teacher and how they use their repertoires in the construction of professional identity provides valuable information for ideological transformation, pedagogy formulation and classroom activity design.

Chapter 6

AROUND THE CHINESE COMPLEMENTARY SCHOOL

6.1 Introduction

This chapter provides the analysis and discussion on findings from the Chinese complementary school in a different scale. By working on data collected around the school site, I interpret local ethnolinguistic discourses under a heteroglossic lens to generate an interdisciplinary discussion on the local Chinese migrant group's multilingual practices. To do so, I apply literature on globalisation, superdiversity, Chinese diaspora into analyses on small semiotic (including linguistic) signs and forms. Data used in this chapter incorporates audio-recorded interactions, narratives and relevant school documents and photos. I present research findings in this chapter around two main themes: 1) The school as an intersected community and 2) A new Chineseness in superdiversity. I will elaborate findings respectively with sets of subthemes of a) *the socio-cultural, the economic and the political* intersections in the school under theme 1; and b) *the evolving, the distinction, the mixing, and the new Chineseness in superdiversity* under theme 2.

First, by indicating the school as a created community of intersections, I propose that the Chinese complementary school, within contemporary British societal conditions under the global structures, is no longer merely an ethnic enclave for heritage inheritance and cultural

maintenance; neither do school participants' local practices only make meanings within classrooms at the school venue. Rather, the wide range of discursive practices in CCS context reflects significant meanings around and beyond the school per se. In the meaning making process, the researched school, as a social context with generations of Chinese migrants involved by playing different roles out of different orientations and preferences in order to negotiate different social relations, is being creatively transformed into *a new space* (Baynham 2003; Jaffe 2015b). This new space is where the social, cultural, political and economic factors being dynamically intersected into the local social interactions to construct a dynamic Chinese community. This community differs from the geodemographic Chinese community which is bounded in the Chinatown and featured by oriental restaurants, shops and supermarkets. This is a Chinese community socially constructed among groups of Chinese migrants, with various semiotic resources adopted, out of various group values, to negotiate various temporal affiliations and distributions of social status and power. In other words, this community is featured by complex interactions between the local agency and the global structures, and the intersectedness of multi-layered social elements across time and space. In section 7.2, I provide a discussion on this community of intersections by drawing data sources to illustrate the intersectedness in terms of socio-cultural, economic and political. I look at how a textbook sample and an extra-curriculum school event index to the intersecting of sociocultural elements; I analyse voices from two non-executive school governors with a shared successful business background in the local Chinatown for the economic dimension; I also examine a 'Model School for Chinese Education' plaque to address the political intersection in school practices.

Second, I propose that within this socially constructed Chinese community, a new Chineseness is being (re)constructed and negotiated among different generations and groups

of British Chinese migrants in their daily interactions. With different histories, habitus, capitals and social positions, local Chinese migrant groups dynamically change, distinct and hybridize, in the socio-historical flow of evolving Chineseness. From findings I see that these new norms of Chineseness are created via migration mobility and language shift. They generate over, but also distinguish from, traditional definitions of Chineseness in previous historical time-spaces and other social domains. This new Chineseness constructed by interactions in the community temporally (re)features the Chinese diasporic group in British urban areas. In this chapter, I take Chineseness as an ‘ambiguous term’ (Wang 2009) which implies profound variability, uncertainty and ambivalence of Chinese ethnic identity across space and through time, shaped by historical circumstances, geopolitical relationships and social political conditions (Ang, 1993, 2001, 2014). I aim to consider questions like ‘Who and what are Chinese?’ and ‘How is this determined, and who does the determining?’ by looking into a recent round-table meeting organised by the head teacher of the researched school. I draw interactional and narrative data extracted from this meeting to illustrate a momentarily new Chineseness (within the everlasting evolvement of Chinese diasporic ethnical identification). This group meeting is viewed as particular ‘historical juncture’ (Castells, 2010) featured by an eco-political topic discussed among a group of four generations of Chinese migrants dynamically using four different languages or varieties, in a fancy Chinese restaurant located within the local Chinatown in early spring of 2015.

Analyses in this chapter are divided into two main parts. Section 6.2 focuses on how different socio-cultural, political and economic resources (or constraints) from both the home and host societies are intersected into the practice of the school as a constructed community. I use a textbook sample and a school exhibition event to illustrate the social-cultural intersection in section 6.2.1. In section 6.2.2 I present the non-executive school governors’ voices and their

backgrounds to discuss the economic intersection in the school. The final subsection 6.2.3 emphasises the political embedment in the researched CCS. The second part of this chapter, section 6.3, talks about Chineseness in terms of changing, distinction and mixing. In this part, I look at the ‘intra-Chinese’ language shift from Cantonese to Putonghua at the global level and in the local community to demonstrate the changing norm of Chineseness in section 6.3.1, which is followed by a discussion in 6.3.2 on the ethnical differentiation among various groups of Chinese language speakers. In 6.3.3 I present participants’ mixed use of all language resources to discuss a broader sense of Chineseness in terms of group inclusion, while in 6.3.4 I extend the discussion on the pan-ethnic Chineseness in superdiversity. At last a brief conclusion is provided to summarise this chapter. Now I shall start with analytical theme one.

6.2 School as a created community of intersections

As discussed in the introduction and literature review chapters, Chinese complementary schools are traditionally interpreted as ethnical enclaves within which Chinese minorities consistently endeavour to maintain Chinese cultural belongingness and heritage inheritance, via Chinese language and literacy education. These schools remain on an out-of-mainstream societal position for years with characteristics of voluntary, non-profitable and amateurish. With the foci on ethnicity and heritage, the Chinese complementary schools are generally being considered as an ahistorical space closely associated to the past, and back to the original identities of ‘being Chinese’ among Chinese migrants and their descendants. Every weekend, at the rented premises of a local Chinese complementary school, a particular ‘community time’ (Crow and Allan 1995:156) is deliberately marked for the construction of a ‘model minority’ in the light of ‘a racialized Chineseness’ (Yeh 2014). This norm of CCSs

with strong affiliations to heritage and ethnical identity tends to freeze the dynamic evolvement of Chinese identification into a closed classroom, or a stereotyped language ideology of ‘a British-born teenager has to learn Chinese because she/he is Chinese’ (as discussed in Chapter 4).

However, in the contemporary English society with diversity as the ‘normalcy’ (Meissner and Vertovec 2015), this ‘freezing in time’ (Bonton and Gomez, 2014) norm of CCSs and Chineseness does not address the exact day-to-day practices in Chinese diasporas. The daily dynamic and complex practices in Chinese complementary schooling community manifest not only in domains of language ideologies and teacher identities (as discussed in chapter 4 and 5), but also in the *intersectedness* of wider social factors in such a context. Findings of this study show that the school becomes a discursively constructed *new space* derived and transformed from the geo-demographic venue. In this relational, dynamic new space, the old and the new, the past and the present, the central and the peripheral, the roots and the lives, all intersect within the local language use in forms of discursive complexity. To provide detailed analyses on the complex intersections of wider social forces, I first go with the social-cultural dimension in the following subsection.

6.2.1 The socio-cultural

In this section I present an analysis on the socio-cultural intersection in the school practice by looking at two examples of data. The first one is a textbook dialogue extracted from one of the school textbooks for Cantonese teaching. The other one is a field note vignette with photo illustration about an out-of-classroom event. I commence with the textbook sample with the discussion title of ‘ancient poem in rap’.

Ancient poem in Rap

Data extract 6.1:

A dialogue sample in the Grade-4 Cantonese textbook

(Left: original text in Chinese

Right: my English translation of the text)

| | |
|--|--|
| <p>文化(二) ◀ 05/1115</p> <p>Theo: 國文,你剛才在Rap什麼? 黃國文: 我在說唱詩歌。我參加了一個中文詩朗誦比賽,要背一首古詩。 Theo: 什麼是古詩? 黃國文: 古詩是古代的詩歌。我覺得這首詩很難背,所以把詩放在歌曲裏,好像唱歌一樣,背起來就容易了。我剛才在說唱這首詩,就是你說的Rap。 Theo: 這首歌很好聽,我也想說唱,你可以教我嗎? 黃國文: 好!我教你!</p> <p><small>Translation of poem: 'Walking around the pond leisurely to watch the fish swim, just then the children are fishing in a boat. The interest in fish is the same but the motives are different. I feed the fish while you fish them.'</small></p> | <p>Theo: <i>Guo-Wen, what was it in the Rap you just did?</i></p> <p>Huang-Guo-Wen: <i>I was rapping a poem. I'm taking part in a Chinese poetry reciting competition. I'm doing a classical poem.</i></p> <p>Theo: <i>What is a classical poem?</i></p> <p>Huang-Guo-Wen: <i>classical poetry is poetry written by ancient poets. I found this poem very difficult to memorise, so I put it in a song, just like singing, and it's much easier now. I was just reciting this poem, in the way that you called Rap.</i></p> <p>Theo: <i>This song sounds awesome; I want to rap it too. Can you teach me?</i></p> <p>Huang-Guo-Wen: <i>All right! I'll teach you!</i></p> |
|--|--|

This data was collected from one of the key participants, Paul's classroom at 23rd of March, 2014. At the time of my field work in the school, Paul taught a group of 14 teenage students Cantonese (Grade 4) with a set of textbooks called '齊來學中文 [Let's learn Chinese]' newly designed and published by the UK Federation of Chinese Schools (UKFCS) in Britain. These textbooks are designed according to the British national curriculum, and are intended for Chinese learners in the UK with or without Chinese origin. These new textbooks differ from the textbooks used in Putonghua classes which are designed and published in, then delivered from China, as a free governmental support from Beijing to overseas Chinese education. To

use the ‘齊來學中文 [*Let's learn Chinese*]' textbooks the school needs to pay around £9 to £14 per book buying them. It was only two years ago when the school decided to replace the original out-of-date Cantonese textbooks (which were printed in black and white with the old vertical editing format) with this new series. In these new Cantonese textbooks English is widely used for translation, explanation, and instruction, etc., this mixed use of literacy from both Chinese and English significantly differs ‘齊來學中文 [*Let's learn Chinese*]' textbooks from the old Cantonese textbooks and the textbooks currently used in Putonghua. Textbooks currently used in Putonghua classes are designed as Chinese-only for both instruction and learning content.

The above dialogue from the new Cantonese textbook used in Paul's class stands as a typical sample of the ‘齊來學中文 [*Let's learn Chinese*]' series. On the up-left corner of the textbook page it marks this section of the textbook as ‘文化 (二) [*Culture (two)*]'. The dialogue showed on the extract is conducted in Chinese between two teenage friends, Theo and 黃國文 [Huang-Guo-Wen], around Guo-Wen's practice of a Chinese ancient poem for a Chinese poetry reciting competition. Below the dialogue there is a literal translation (without the metrical pattern) of the poem.

Overall, this culture-embedded content in Chinese language and literacy textbooks is not new. Chinese classical poetry has been in use as a typical cultural icon associated with heritage in complementary schooling for long. The use of poetry, as observed in Paul and some Putonghua teachers' practical classroom teaching for examples, usually requires students' acquisition to the specific rules for metrical pronunciations and tones with passionate cadence, as a sign of norm keeper of Chinese culture.

However, in this dialogue, the heritage-embedded Chinese classical poem is *not* presented in the ‘pure’ and ‘authentic’ way; rather, it is combined with Rap, a very modern music form originated from the Afro-American society and later being picked up by young generations around the globe. In the way of ‘Rapping the Chinese ancient poem’, the authentic heritage usually embedded in classical poetry is being, to some degree, released. In replacement of this embedment of authentic heritage, a flexible mix of different cultural elements, of the old and the new, the oriental and the western, is being intersected in the local practice creatively across time and space. This combination of different cultural elements in the new Cantonese textbook indexes to an important ideology in terms of flexibility around identification of heritage and Chineseness. Under this ideology, the central of teaching poetry in the CCS shifts from the cultural heritage model into a ‘how to make it work’ model which refers to, as showing in the dialogue, how to make the ‘difficult’ poem memorisable to Guo-Wen, a British-born-and-raised Chinese teenager for his competition; and also how to make his talk around the poem an appropriate topic to carry on with his non-Chinese peer friend.

While the traditional ‘appropriate’ way of doing a Chinese ancient poem – the metrical pronunciation and tones – is being positioned as the peripheral in this dialogue, a new perception on the ‘appropriateness’ of a Chinese textbook unambiguously demonstrating ‘teenage British Chinese boy rapping a classic Chinese poem’ comes into the centre. Within this created space of a CCS, this textbook discourse of ‘*ancient poem in Rap*’ indexes to a new intersection of cultural elements across time and space. The chronotopical trajectory of cultural elements connects the ancient Chinese poet’s voice to a modern western music form of Rap and pins them down into the exact dialogue used in a textbook.

Apart from this intersection of different social-cultural elements in school practice in the form of textbook discourse, the chronotopical trajectory of social-cultural elements and

voices also demonstrates in many other means. In the next subsection, I present another example by using a field note vignette together with a photo to describe an extra-curriculum school event of an exhibition titled as ‘The Flavour of China’ for further discussion.

The flavour of China

Data extract 6.2a:

This is a warm afternoon in early April 2014. As soon as I enter the school corridor, the deputy head teacher Sarah comes to tell me about a grand exhibition from China which is going to be held in the school today. I see her being excited and busy around to inform class teachers their different times to the school hall for the exhibition. They have to make sure 394 students all have their chance to see the exhibition during the 2-hour long school session.

Later, after being in one of my key participants’ classroom for around 15 minutes, I see the deputy coming to tell the class that it is their turn to go for the exhibition together with other year 2 and 3 children. Right after the deputy’s announcement, two boys in the class ask: ‘Do we have to go?’ The deputy says: ‘yes, you better go’. Then, all students in the class, led by their teacher, go to the school hall for the exhibition.

The school hall is totally like a press conference bombed by noise.

All the school staff (including some temporary volunteers) are scattering at the door way to keep order. A few photographers are flashing their cameras vigorously. One of the school governors is making an announcement with a mic to the students coming at this time slot: ‘good afternoon students, please stay together with your teachers and enjoy the exhibition. You will have 20 minute to look around before the next group.’

Right on the wall facing the entrance of the hall, a 1.5-meter squared poster in designed Chinese calligraphy saying ‘The Flavour of China’ comes into sight. Around the hall, neatly sized colourful photograph boards are displayed. On each board, it shows a single or multiple image(s) with explanation in both Chinese and English. There are around 70 boards in total showing the big variety of Chinese food culture based on different geographical areas. I walk around the hall, being impressed by the stylish design of the exhibition boards and the wide range covered in the content, as well as

the English translation. No Chinglish at all! The whole exhibition passes on a genuine passion on Chinese food culture with professionally produced exhibition materials.

The big hall is filled with noise of teachers' talking and students' questioning, exclaiming and chatting. Younger children are mostly gathered around their teachers, while teenage students are hanging around with peers, making claims of where they have been to in China, or some comments or jokes about the exhibition boards, etc. .

(Fieldnote vignette originally written on the 6th of April, 2014)

This field note describes the event titled as 'The Flavour of China' held in the school in 2014. Before my analysis on this event, let me provide some background information of this exhibition first. During 2013 to 2014, there was a set of television programme named '*A Bite of China*' being nation-widely popular in China. That series of documentary programme adopted an artistic genre filming the food culture around China, from a village kitchen in a remote countryside to a luxurious restaurant in the down town of Shanghai; involving fishermen on their boats down to the South-East coast and Tibetans in their yurts on the North-West highlands. The programme received big success and had been leading the hot topic list for the whole year among all social groups. Some of the narrative lines from the programme even became posh language used among young generations on all sorts of social media.

Influenced by this big trend of enthusiasm on the food culture in China, UKAPCE (UK Association for the Promotion of Chinese Education) organized the exhibition introduced above into the Chinese diasporas around the UK. The researched school was selected as one of the exhibition sites in England. School authority has been busy preparing the exhibition for a few weeks, an information slip was sent to all parents one week earlier regarding the exhibition as a valuable extra-curriculum opportunity for students to learn Chinese culture. Students were organized to attend the exhibition as part of their learning routine, despite

individual willingness of attendance. To illustrate this event, next I provide a photo taken on the event.

Data extract 6.2b:

A photo of school girls on the exhibition of ‘The Flavour of China’



(Photo taken on 6th of April, 2014 in the researched school hall)

On this photo, three school girls gather around in front of an exhibition board, probably commenting on the photo. It cannot be directly told what the interesting points to them are. Maybe it is the food displayed on the photo, or the people on the photo catch their eyes. Let's leave it for the moment. The point that I would like to bring up is the exhibition board on the

right side of the photo. On this board, a line of four Chinese young ladies are dressed up in a typical Qing-dynasty costume with bright colours, serving dishes in traditional arm positions, and walking in a corridor furnished and decorated in Qing-dynasty imperial style with red-painted pillars and carved wooden windows and screen painted in red, yellow and gold.

This exhibition board carries vivid and strong symbols to a cultural heritage. These symbols travel across borders from China to a school hall located in the Midlands of England, making a trajectory from the hundreds years ago Qing dynasty to the contemporary society, into a complementary school extra-curriculum teaching event. This intersection of cultural elements travels across time, space and border, embedding into the local school practice under a wider socio-cultural structure projecting from China. It dynamically manifests the complexity and interconnectedness of different global and local forces within the created new space of a CCS.

Above dataset in 6.2 shows that the local practice in a Chinese complementary school in England is not influenced by wider factors separately or homogeneously. Rather, there are interweaved multi-layered conditions dynamically coming into force, informing and shaping the local practice to construct new meanings. In this discussion, the impact from a nationwide popular TV programme under a higher socio-political ideology on celebrating food culture in China, together with other socio-cultural forces (such as the networking and financial support from the Chinese embassy in London and influential Chinese migrant associations), makes the way for a 'Flavour of China' exhibition into the researched complementary school. Along with this intersection of socio-cultural factors in school practice, various indexical signs including the designed calligraphic poster of the exhibition; the professional quality of the exhibition materials; the wide coverage of Chinese food culture in the content; the deputy's 'You better go.' answer to boys' question of 'Do we have to go?'; the formal recording activities with multiple flashing cameras; the Qing-dynasty style

image displayed; even the professional English translation on exhibition boards, are all interested complexly and dynamically, into the local exhibition event towards the creation of new preferred meanings about the socio-cultural status of a CCS and the identification of 'being Chinese' in such a context.

6.2.2 The economic

Apart from the intersection of socio-cultural elements into school practice, another dimension of intersection is also playing an essential role within the space of CCS: the economic. In this section, I focus on analysing the intersectedness of economic elements by drawing on a couple of data extracts from two non-executive school governors, **Mr J** and **Mr R** for discussion. First I start with Mr J.

The non-executive school governors

Mr J is a second generation Chinese migrant at his early 40s. Born, raised and educated in England with parents originally coming from Hong Kong, he speaks Cantonese as a family and community language and English as his first language used in public domains. Similar as the other non-executive school governors, Mr J is an owner of a settled Cantonese restaurant in the local Chinatown. I saw Mr J a few times on various events, such as the school's annual ceremony, a dinner party celebration for China's National Day, and a recent round-table meeting themed as 'creating a new Chinese voice in West Midlands'. The following short conversational data used in this section is collected from the meeting. Mr J and I were 2 of the 17 attendants of the meeting.

The meeting was planned to commence at 12:00, but when I arrived at 12:00 there was only Mr J appearing at the venue. After we greeted each other and chatted in English for a few minutes, the other guests arrived continuously. The following conversation was an extract of the chat between me and Mr J while we were waiting for other guests. To answer his question of how I got to know the conference organizer (who is also the head teacher of the researched school), I talked a bit about my research observation in the school and ongoing contact with the head teacher. Then he initiated the following conversation.

Data extract 6.3:

Mr J: I just started to be one of the school governors recently.

Jing: Oh, did you? Great! Do you go to the school every weekend?

Mr J: Well, I don't go, heheh. Actually I haven't yet, NOT a SINGLE time! (Loud laugh)

Jing: Oh, really?

Mr J: Hehe, I don't go to the school. (2.0) I sponsor the school. I try to help with fund-raising for the school.

Speaking fluent English with a slight local city accent, Mr J showed his skills of keeping conversations ongoing. He self-introduced his new social role of being the school governor with a delightful tone to bring a common topic after I introduced myself and my work in the school. When he talked about school governors, my first reaction was thinking of the few gentlemen who weekly go to the school helping the deputy head teacher with some school routines. So I asked him whether he goes to the school weekly. He responded my question with a quick answer 'Well, I don't go' followed by a short laugh. Then he carried on his reply with an emphasis on 'not' and 'single' to tell me that he actually hasn't gone to the

school on weekly basis yet. Later after my short response to his ‘revelation of the fact’, he once again indicates that ‘he does not go to the school’, followed by a clarification about what he does as a non-executive school governor.

Thanks to his clarification, I got to know two things: one, there is a particular title for the school funders; two, the school funders (titled as non-executive governors) do not go to the school except for special occasions like an annual ceremony. They have unambiguous responsibility to the school: sponsor and help with fund-raising.

Except for Mr J, there are a few other ‘non-executive school governors’ who directly fund the school or help with school fund-raising by using their social networking resources. **Mr R** is another one from this group. Mr R owns a local Chinese restaurant enterprise and has a title of the chairman of a British Chinese association in commercial area. He is in his 50s with an origin from Hong Kong and a language repertoire of Cantonese being the first language accompanied by a general comprehension over Putonghua. It is unknown about his English as I have not heard him speaking any. His close connection to the school starts from a year ago by employing an educational bursary titled with his name into the school, with a form of paying tuition fees for a selective group of students from families with financial difficulty. The following narrative data is collected from Mr R’s speech about his educational bursary printed in the school magazine.

The Educational Bursary

Data extract 6.4:

Mr R: 我本人所成立的 XX 助学金的宗旨是通过经济上的援助，鼓励和帮助有意学习中文的年轻人。希望他们在求学的过程中不用因为经济问题的忧虑影响到学习。（…）

今年我们把助学金发展到本校。在这里，我们将继续发扬助学金的宗旨，每年资助十名学生，鼓励他们继续学习中文。

[The education bursary I set is aimed to encourage and help young people with enthusiasm on learning Chinese language by providing them financial support. I hope to free them from financial worries on their Chinese learning journey. (...) This year we apply this educational bursary into this school. Here we will carry forward the aim of our bursary, support ten students every year with their on-going learning of Chinese language.]

(Narrative data selected from printed speech in school magazine)

These two pieces of data collected from Mr J and Mr R reveal a strong link of successful business owners from the local Chinatown to a Chinese complementary school. This strong connection underpins how Aihwa Ong (1999) describes Chinese business as ‘fraternal network capitalism’ (p19-20), which emphasizes the close collective linkage among Chinese business groups. The head teacher in this study, apart from his role in the complementary school, also plays an influential social role in the local Chinatown with a shared commercial background with Mr R and Mr J, but as a first-generational predecessor. With this shared background and collective kinship, financially supporting the school becomes Mr J and Mr R’s ‘fraternal’ social activity within the common network circle.

These restaurant owners, as being described by Elena Barabantseva (2016) in her investigation on Manchester Chinatown, are the ‘driving agents in establishing and producing the Chinatown... in their pursuit of commercial success’ (p104). They usually inherit, build and develop their restaurant enterprises in Chinatown with various scales and accordingly various accumulated economic capitals. They represent one typical norm of Chinese migration group in outsiders’ eyes, while maintaining a close kinship within their particular groups. Mr J and Mr R share a common groupness with the head teacher of the researched

school, and this is what brings them into the role of non-executive school governors to ‘help with fund-raising’.

Meanwhile, it is worth to point out that this financial support from them to the school is not a unidirectional contribution. As a reward for their help with funding, they get access to build up other social identities except for the identity of restaurant owners. For example, they are invited to the school ceremony to make speech in front of hundreds of students and their parents, to present prizes to good learners, to put advertisement of their business on circulating school brochures and magazines. Also because of the particular groupness, they are invited to attend political events, such as a China’s National Day celebration where social networking with both Chinese and the local political representatives involved; or to attend meetings in the London Chinese embassy as elite British Chinese migrants. Funding the school opens up opportunities to enhance their social capitals on the way to upwards mobility.

In short, even though the non-executive governors do not involve in the school’s weekly routine, they play critical roles in this created new space. The intersection of their economic resources into the space practically and ideologically influences and shapes the school practice and their own social positioning.

So far, I have analysed and discussed the dynamic intersections and meanings reflected from them in dimensions of the socio-cultural and the economic, now I would like to move to another dimension to examine the political intersection. I see this political intersection as a unique and interesting phenomenon evolved in the researched school under particular ideologies and structures.

6.2.3 The political

In this section I focus on another dimension of social elements intersecting into school practice: the political. I draw a piece of data to analyse and discuss a transnational network (Ong 1999; Bonton & Gomez 2014) reflected in the political intersection in the CCS. Findings show that a transnational link to the home governmental policy is playing significant roles in the school practice. Here I present a plaque issued by the Overseas Chinese Affairs Office of the State Council to the researched school, awarding it as a ‘Model School for Chinese Education’ as a sample.

Data extract 6.5:



Benton and Gomez (2008, 2014) and Gomez (2007) provide in-depth analyses on transnational phenomena in Chinese diasporas in relation with political and ideological

policies in China. They indicate that ‘China’s new migrants’ feature centrally in transnational studies emerged at ‘the height of revival of mass emigration’ out of China (Benton and Gomez, 2014:1163) since late 1990s. They suggest that the rise of transnational networks has now become accepted wisdom in studies on new Chinese migrants, in the belief that Chinese business is distinguished by its networks. In this study, this transnational networking sees its evidence beyond business area; it is also reflected in educational and socialising contexts like the Chinese complementary school.

[REDACTED]

Recently, this transnational network is coming onto a new stage. After the current president of China, Xi Jinping, came onto his position, an enhanced emphasis on economic development and global investment has been shedding its light throughout China, and over onto Chinese diasporas around the world. In this era of globalisation, it does not take long for the trajectory of influence. With these wider conditions, ‘Chinese migrants in diasporic context suppose a sense of freedom in transnational space, ...some sink roots where it is profitable; others are immobilized by lack of resources. ...the migration machine operates at various levels of intra- and interethnic exploitation, and the exploiters’ ‘patriotic’ attachment to Beijing is in pursuit of vast interest’ (Benton and Gomez, 2014:1164). This interest is particularly shown in this study.

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED] This lack of political link greatly differs that school from the researched school. In the researched school, the political intersection in school practices goes

together with the socio-cultural and the economic embedment, dynamically transforming a complementary school into a socially constructed new space.

This new space distinguishes the context of CCS in contemporary English society from its traditional portrait of an ethnical enclave for merely heritage maintenance. It is creatively constructed and developed from a Chinese language school into a ‘conceptual community’ (Omoniyi 2014). This conceptual community goes beyond the physical Chinese community in the local Chinatown, to opening up for intersection of various cultural, economic and political factors across national boundary, time and space.

In this new space, traditional topics around migration phenomena like the old and the new, the oriental and the western, the central and the periphery, the root and the growth, the home and the host, all can no longer be seen in merely separated or contradictory forms, but rather, are manifested in dynamically intersected practices. Situated local discourses like ‘Chinese ancient poem in Rap’; ‘tasting the Flavour of China in a complementary school hall’; ‘Chinese restaurants owners becomes non-executive school governors’ and ‘a plaque of model school award with political feature’ provide strong evidence for such complex intersections. In discussion on these local discourses, I stress the importance of emphasising a relational interplay among voices across time, space and boundary. I focus on how a physical place like a CCS is being transformed into a creatively-constructed conceptual community through ‘multiple becoming of space’ (Massey, 2005) where various spatial and temporal forces are intersected dynamically in day-to-day practice. To me, this intersecting, creating and transforming process in a CCS is also generating discourses of a new Chineseness in an urban area of Birmingham under current global conditions. In the following section I will focus on discussing this new Chineseness in superdiversity.

6.3 A new Chineseness in superdiversity

In section 2.3.2 of chapter 2 I have provided a review on Chineseness by drawing literature from relevant sociological discussions. As introduced in that section, Chineseness is an ambiguous term. It implies an ever-evolving process of identification with constant updates of definitions. Among the various definitions, Benton and Gomez (2008) propose a discourse of Chineseness in terms of the linguistic and generational differences, the ‘mixed’ heritages, the socio-economic divisions and diverse migration trajectories of those not only from Hong Kong or Mainland China, but also Malaysia, Vietnam, Singapore, Taiwan, Mauritius and elsewhere. This discourse of Chineseness suggests recognition on one of its fundamental features: the diversity and difference.

In this chapter, I aim to provide an updated discussion, which not only includes the diversification characteristic of the evolving Chineseness in Chinese diasporas, but also constitutes recently emerged new accounts of Chineseness in terms of mixing and inclusion. As discussed in literature chapter, superdiversity has become a ‘normalcy’ in major urban areas around the world, such as Birmingham in this study. In such a superdiverse city, the current diversity in the Chinese migration group constantly meets ‘new’ diversity (Meissner and Vertovec, 2015). Due to this characteristic of Chinese diaspora, the focus of studying Chineseness needs to be shifted from seeing diversity as phenomena to on the ongoing process of diversifications. During this diversification process, differences and diversity becomes one dimension of the meanings of Chineseness. Apart from this dimension, there are also situated changing and mixing processes orienting to a wider group inclusion.

Here I provide this multidimensional analysis on Chineseness as a heteroglossia by focusing on the mutual relationship between the local processes of negotiating new Chineseness and the power relations in globalisation. To do so, I look at a recent round-table meeting held in the Chinese community as a social event. I first provide a brief introduction of the conference with the following table.

Table 6.1

The conference of ‘A New Chinese Voice in the Midlands’

| Variables | Information |
|----------------------------|--|
| Conference Topic | Creating a new Chinese voice in the Midlands Chinese community |
| Time | April, 2015 |
| Venue | A conference room in a restaurant located in Chinatown |
| Number of attendants | 17 (3 females, 14 males) |
| Age range | 30 - 75 |
| Generational groups | 4 |
| Language or varieties used | English Cantonese Putonghua Hakka |
| Migration backgrounds | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Migrants from Hong Kong (at least) 30 years ago • British-born second generation of migrants from Hong Kong • Migrants from Mainland China in early and late 2000s |

This meeting was organized by the head teacher Mr Q with a group of Chinese migrants attended. It is held in a meeting room in Mr J (who is already introduced in section 6.2.2 as one of the school non-executive governors)'s restaurant in Chinatown. It was arranged with a typical Chinese routine with the first half as a group lunch and the second half for a round-table discussion. The whole meeting lasted for around 4 hours.

The researcher (I), as the youngest attendant and the only one who does not speak the dominant group language variety, Cantonese, was invited by the organiser – the school head teacher, to take part in and bring out ‘a voice from different area’(the HT’s introduction of me to the group). He introduced me as being a ‘helper who helped the school a lot’ (also from Mr Q’s introduction of me to the group). Before the meeting started, I asked the head teacher whether I could audio-record the meeting with my smart phone for the purpose of research observation, he agreed, and then ‘informed’ the other guests about his consent for the audio-recording. Right after his informing notice, I looked around the guests trying to see if any of them showing reluctance of being audio-recorded. None of them seemed put this on mind that much, I heard ‘yes, yes, that’s ok’ in casual voices. So I set my phone on audio-recording and leave it on the table to record the talk.

It was a very informal atmosphere at the first half. Casual chats around various topics were the dominant discourse. All 17 attendants were sitting around a massive oval shaped table, talking with people next to them in a mix of English, Cantonese, Putonghua and Hakka. I was arranged to sit next to **Mr J**, the restaurant owner, who during the gathering also plays the role of a Cantonese to English interpreter for me. Another guest, **Mr W**, who migrated from Mainland China 13 years ago, and with Putonghua as his first language together with fluent speaking of English and a good comprehension of Cantonese, sat on the other side of me. We talked to each other in Putonghua (between Mr W and me) and English (Between me and Mr

J) during the lunch. Extracts from the interactions among us three and other recordable interactions among all guests are used in the following analysis and discussion.

The 4-hour long meeting provides richly indexical language uses around this superdiverse table. I will now start the analysis with four sub-themes coming out from the data: 1) The changing, 2) The distinction, 3) The mixing, and 4) A new Chineseness in superdiversity.

6.3.1 The changing

Data extract 6.6:

Mr W : 就是之前来英国的时候, 我来的时候, 你想要找到工作, 就一定得会讲广东话。

[At the time of coming to Britain, at the time when I came, if you wanted to find a job, you had to speak Cantonese.]

Jing : 哦, 那就是说在十几年前, 如果不讲广东话, 是找不到工作的, 是吗?

[Oh, so it is saying that around ten years ago, if one didn't speak Cantonese, one couldn't get any job, isn't it?]

Mr W : 嗯, 是的。就是很重要。[Yes, it is. It was very important.]

(Audio-recorded interactive data)

The above fragment of conversation is selected from the interaction between me and **Mr W**. Mr W works as the general manager for **Mr R** (the one I have introduced in section 6.2.2 with his educational bursary applied in the school) in one of Mr R's biggest restaurants. On the round-table meeting Mr W dressed in a set of typical 'black manager suit', he greeted everyone with enthusiastic voice and big smiles. After he sat down next to me, we greeted each other and then I asked him in English whether he spoke any Putonghua. That question of

mine then opened up his floating talk in Putonghua about himself and his experiences in England. Personal stories were constantly being told with enthusiasm and, sort of a kinship, because we were the only two Putonghua speakers with very limited resource on Cantonese speaking on the table. Because the different languages used around the table, our topic later switched on to what language varieties he used in his working setting. We had a long conversation and extract 6.6 was from that talk.

From the conversation, Mr W told me some stories about Chinese migrants at the time when he just came to England 13 years ago. At that time the local Chinese community was ‘the world of Cantonese speakers’ (his original commentary). This situation introduced by Mr W underpins the indication made by Benton and Gomez eight years ago: the settled British-Chinese community largely represents those who migrated from Hong Kong and Southeast Asia in the post-war years (Gomez, 2007). This literature shows the same conclusion as Mr W did in our conversation. Around 10 to 15 years ago, Cantonese-speaking migrants originally from HK were the dominant majority in the Chinese community. Also, at that time of Cantonese being the lingua franca in Chinese community, a person who did not speak the variety would not have opportunity to any jobs in the community context.

However, this above situation was around ten years ago. During this recent decade, something changed. And Mr W witnesses and experienced this change.

Data extract 6.7:

Jing: 那就是说现在在您的工作环境中，您不说广东话，也不会有什么困扰的，是吗？

[So does it mean that right now in your daily working setting, the situation of you not speaking Cantonese is not actually bringing any bothers?]

Mr W : 这还是一个过程。以前大家都是讲广东话的，所以这也是为什么我能听懂广东话 (Laughing)。其实我以前也是讲一点广东话的，很少。后来呢，我的英文提高了很多。渐渐地就变成不用广东话，用英文也可以正常地工作。从那以后，就影响了我学广东话的观念。听懂了，会讲一点儿，然后英文越来越好了，就用英文了。广东话就变得无所谓了。

*[This is a process. In the past, all people spoke Cantonese; this is why I could understand Cantonese without any problems (Laughing). Actually I used to speak a bit of Cantonese, only a little bit. Later, my English got improved a lot. Then Gradually I tended to not use Cantonese. I could carry out my daily work smoothly with English. Since then, my thoughts about learning Cantonese got affected. I understand, and am able to speak a bit, plus my English is getting better and better, so I just use English in work. **Cantonese became like not that much of an issue.**]*

(Audio-recorded interactive data)

What is the change? Mr W gives an explicit answer: ‘Cantonese became like not that much of an issue’. And this change happened in the past ten years. Mr W, a managing person working in a Cantonese restaurant, does not speak Cantonese in his work. This is hardly imaginable in people’s perception about Cantonese restaurants in Chinatown. I was one of these people too. I first was not really convinced by his earlier answer about him not speaking Cantonese in his working place. So I re-asked the question trying to get a confirmation. And he gave the confirmation: Cantonese became like not that much of an issue. Why so? Answers to this question must be sought in relation with the global power relations and the language shift in Chinese diaspora.

In Chapter 5, for the discussion on Kerry’s proficiency over Putonghua and her professional identity as a teacher, I have elaborated the wider structure for the rise of Putonghua as the Chinese variety with currency in global markets, and the local shift from Cantonese to Putonghua from school teachers’ perspective, here this shift has its impact shown in the

discourse from a Mainlander Cantonese restaurant manager. This is a completely new norm of the perception on ‘what practice is perceived as appropriate in a Chinese context?’, and ‘what is the appropriate Chineseness that one would perceive in a Cantonese restaurant?’, or ‘who determines the appropriateness of Chineseness?’. In the superdiverse Chinese community, Chineseness is a dynamic perception. It is changing and evolving within the large socio-historical flow without an ending point. It is shaped by the interaction between global structures and local agency. Mr W is one of these agents. His ‘not speaking Cantonese’ practice in a Cantonese restaurant explicitly shows the changing norm of Chineseness from the agent level.

Nevertheless, changing is not the only norm of the evolving process around Chineseness. Within the heteroglossic Chinese migrant group, other voices in the negotiation around Chineseness also have their room. Now I will switch onto the second term to describe the evolving process: the distinction.

6.3.2 The distinction

In this subsection I draw narrative data from Mr W (the Cantonese restaurant manager who has a Mainland origin and does not speak Cantonese in his working setting) and Mr J (the British-born second generation restaurant owner with a Hong Kong origin) to discuss the nuanced distinction that different Chinese varieties (Cantonese, Putonghua, Hakka) can make within the group of Chinese. I first present the data as following.

Data extract 6.8:

Mr W : 其实我很想学广东话, 多一门语言嘛。但就是懒惰, 呵呵呵。(3.0) 但是, 如果想步入这个**文化的圈子**的话, 一定还是要讲广东话。他们就把你当成圈内的人, 要不然的话, 就还是圈外的人。虽然还是 friend, 但是是**圈外的** friend。

[Actually I do want to acquire Cantonese, one more language ma. But just being lazy, heheheh. (3.0) But, if you want to enter the **cultural circle**, you must speak Cantonese; they will take you as one inside the circle. Otherwise you are still the outsider. Though you are a friend, you are the **outsider** friend.]

(Audio-recorded narrative data)

Data extract 6.9:

6.9.a

Mr J: you see, we have two sides on the table here, on that side they are speaking Hakka. I don't know what they are talking about.

6.9.b

Mr J: See, they are speaking Hakka again. I don't understand Hakka. My mum speaks Hakka, I don't speak Hakka.

6.9.c

Jing: Oh dear I don't get them at all.

Mr J: (Chuckles) they switched from Cantonese to Hakka again.

(Audio-recorded narrative data)

Data extracts 6.8 and 6.9 are two sets of segments coming from the conference interaction. Data sample 6.8 is again provided by the conversable Mr W. His utterance clearly marks the indexical meaning of Cantonese around this superdiverse conference table. Use of Cantonese is interpreted as a sign, or a ticket to get inside the 'cultural circle'. If one does not speak fluent Cantonese, like us two, one is the outsider. However, the constraint of not having Cantonese in our language repertoires does not block us two out from this gathering; we are invited as *friends* to join in the group meeting. There exist layers of groupness and kinship indexed from speaking or not speaking a Cantonese. To the dominantly-Cantonese-speaking group with Hong Kong origin, we two are the *outsider friends*. But in the sense of a group among which a 'new Chinese voice in the Midlands Chinese community' is expected to be

created, we are the *insiders*. It is this ‘insider’ positioning that brings us to the conference table. To me, this nuanced and layered distinction of groupness plays as a significant new norm of Chineseness as a heteroglossia, in terms of intra-communal stratification and complexity.

The second set of short narratives is from Mr J again. With his good English with a slight Birmingham accent, and a good manner to keep me the non-Cantonese-speaking researcher feeling less embarrassed for my lack of Cantonese resources in the group, he constantly initiated conversations around a variety of topics in English with me during the lunch time. The short sentences transcribed in Data extract 6.9.a and 6.9.b were uttered by him during the time.

Hakka, another dialect spoke by people from a different area of Hong Kong, is a historical Chinese variety which used to obtain its currency in the very early group of Chinese migrants before 1960s (see Francis et. al 2009 for a discussion; in Chapter 2 and 3 I also provided detailed information on this point). During the history of Chinese language shifting in British context, Hakka was replaced by Cantonese in 1960s under the changing migration mobility. People in the Chinese community who still speak Hakka are positioned as the ‘*old migrants*’ (Mr W’s comment).

In this set of data in extract 6.9, Mr J, as an English-Cantonese bilingual with a good education in Britain and at his early 40s, consciously differentiates the small group of Hakka speakers who are mostly over 60 years old onto ‘the other side of the table’. The dialect itself is also positioned as ‘*his mum’s language* which he himself does not speak’. Moreover, being a Hakka speaker’s son without ability to understand or speak any Hakka, he has no concerns. He calmly claims: ‘I don’t speak Hakka’, and ‘I don’t know what they are talking about’.

And later, when I complain myself for not being able to understand the loud overlapping chats in the group of around 60-year-old male businessmen, Mr J chuckles, and then provided a short narration: ‘they switched from Cantonese to Hakka again’.

From Mr J’s repeated noticing information to me that *they* are speaking Hakka and *he* does not understand and speak Hakka, an English-Cantonese bilingual’s preferred Chineseness is being constructed. In this momentarily constructing process, an English-Putonghua bilingual (I the researcher), is positioned by him as one who can share his commentary in a low voice; while the Cantonese-Hakka bilinguals are being positioned as *they*. Once again a dynamic of identifications around Chineseness is being demonstrated. Mr J’s commentary directs to nuanced differentiation among groups of Chinese speakers, which is being shaped by higher power relations like the history of language shift and the current social status of the four language varieties used by the conference attendants. This local distinction practice once again reveals the heteroglossic feature of Chineseness in a superdiverse social context. Under the umbrella term of Chinese, distinguished intra-community group identifications are dynamically evolving within the larger socio-historical development in the Chinese diasporic context.

6.3.3 The mixing

In section 6.3.1 and 6.3.2, I discussed a heteroglossic evolving process of a new Chineseness in terms of changing and distinction; now I carry on the discussion with a focus on mixing. The term of mixing is not new in migration studies. Here in this chapter, I focus on providing an analytical discussion on samples of mixed local language use, and more importantly, the

social meanings dynamically indexed by the mixed use of language resources. First a greeting event happened at the beginning of the round-table meeting is described as following.

Data extract 6.10:

Mr R: (To all, in loud cheerful voice) Ohhh! Hello! Hello!

(Overlapped greeting voices)

Mr J: Hiya, X (the last character of Mr R's first name).

Mr R: 好啊, 好啊 {in Cantonese} [*all right, all right*].

(Sits down on a seat next to the researcher, has a glance of me and then greets me)

你好, 你好 {in Putonghua: *ni-hao, ni-hao*} [*hello, hello*].

Jing: 哦, 您好, 您好 {in Putonghua: *nin-hao, nin-hao*} [*Oh, hello, hello*].

(After the short greeting, **Mr R** starts chatting with guests on his left side with a loud mix of Cantonese and Hakka)

(Audio-recorded interactive data)

In this interactional data, three interlocutors, Mr R, Mr J and I the researcher, use four different languages or dialects dynamically in a short greeting act. It starts with Mr R coming into the meeting room when most of the guests have already arrived. Mr R swiftly walks into the room, slightly opens up his arms, saying ‘Ohhhhh, Hello! Hello!’ to all the guests *in English*. His greeting triggers a loud overlapped noise of greeting back. Closely attached to the overlapping greeting, Mr J quickly issues a response by using the informal English greeting word ‘*Hiya*’ followed with calling Mr R with only the last character of his first name. This unique way of greeting and addressing Mr R immediately makes a distinction of Mr J’s relationship with Mr R from the other guests’. Mr R is addressed as ‘Mr R’ in Mr W, the

general manager (who works for him)’s voice; he is also ‘Brother R’ in the head teacher’s and other guests’ voices to show their respects to him. Mr J’s special way of addressing him only with the last word of his first name points to a particular closeness and a less hierarchic relationship between them two.

After Mr J’s informal greeting ‘hiya’ in English, Mr R responds *in Cantonese* saying ‘好啊, 好啊 [all right, all right]’ as if Mr J asked him the question of ‘how are you doing?’ And then, Mr R takes his seat on the second chair to my left side (Mr W the general manager who later sat next to me on the left has not arrived yet by then), he has a glance of me, then greets me *in Putonghua*. Without expecting his active greeting, I quickly greet him back in Putonghua with the particular respectful way to address him {note: it is a pity that in English there are no matching words to differ the way he addresses me as 你 *ni* – a pronoun used for more equal or casual relationships, and the way I address him as 您 *nin* – a pronoun to show more respect to elder people or people with higher social status}. After my response, the short greeting event completes. Mr R turns to his left side starting his chat with guests on that side. I get to know that he starts to use *a mix of Cantonese and Hakka* with Mr J’s notification. During this 2 minutes greeting act, Mr R switches his languages from English to Cantonese, and then to Putonghua, and at last to a mix of Cantonese and Hakka. This flexible mix of all language resources from his repertoire interestingly indexes to a dynamic performance around Chineseness showing fluid perceptions about inclusion and differentiation.

Similar as this greeting moment, another interaction among three conference attendants in extract 6.11 also demonstrates the negotiation of Chineseness in terms of inclusion and grouping. In extract 6.11, there are three interlocutors: the head teacher of the school, one of his friends who also provides fund-raising help to the school (as Guest 8 in the extract), and a young Chinese migrant who is a leader of a local Chinese student union (as Guest 3). They

use two Chinese varieties, Cantonese and Putonghua, for a short interaction at the beginning of the meeting.

Data extract 6.11:

HT: 哎, 你好你好, 来, 坐, 坐 {in Putonghua} [*ai, hi, hi, come, take a seat, take a seat*].

Guest 3: 好, 好 {in Putonghua} [*ok, ok*].

HT: 你坐那儿, 那儿 {in Putonghua} [*you sit there, there*].

(HT directs Guest 3 to take a seat next to Mr R, who has introduced Guest 3 into the group)

(Guest 3 sits down on the arranged seat)

Guest 8: (looks at HT) 他講廣東話嘅 {in Cantonese} [*Does he speak Cantonese*] ? =

Guest 3: (sits up straight with hands on knees) =冇問題, 聽懂冇問題 {in Cantonese with Mainlander accent} [*no problem, no problem with understanding*].

HT : (2.0) 隨意, 隨意 {in Cantonese} [*take it easy, take it easy*].

(Audio-recorded interactive data)

In this interaction there are three conference attendants involved: the head teacher (HT) as the conference organiser; Guest 8 – one of the elder Cantonese-speaking businessmen at a similar age as the HT; and Guest 3 – a new comer to the group who stands as the leading person of a local Chinese student union. Guest 3 is a student migrant from Mainland China at his 30s, with a multilingual language repertoire including Putonghua, Cantonese and English. He is introduced by Mr R into the group and is having his first time of meeting the head teacher.

The interaction above happens at the time when Guest 3 just arrived at the room 20 minutes late for the meeting. As soon as spotted him entering the room, the head teacher

enthusiastically calls his name, and welcomes him by standing up and greeting him and also showing his seat. To make Guest 3 feeling more comfortable in a new group, the HT arranges him sitting together with Mr R, the only person Guest 3 knows at the time. Immediately after Guest 3 sits down, Guest 8 asks a question in Cantonese to the HT ‘他講廣東話嘅 [Does he speak Cantonese]?’. It seems that the question plays as a kind of an alarm to Guest 3; he quickly changes his body position, sits straight up with his hands on knees, answering the question in Cantonese with a Mainlander accent ‘冇問題, 聽懂冇問題 [no problem, no problem with understanding]’. After his cautious and swift answer, the head teacher pauses for a moment, then ends up the conversation by saying ‘隨意, 隨意 [take it easy, take it easy]’ in Cantonese.

The HT was speaking to Guest 3 in Putonghua earlier, and now he switches into Cantonese. So it is not difficult to see that this ‘Take it easy’ is not only said to Guest 3 to comfort him from his nerves, but, in my opinion, also said to Guest 8, who issued a question in the sense of asking for an entry *ticket* from Guest 3 for entering the group: ‘Does he speak Cantonese?’. This question from Guest 8 echoes with what Mr W comments on ‘speaking or not speaking Cantonese’ in 6.3.2: ‘if you do not speak Cantonese, you are the outsider friend’. Also Guest 8 is asking the HT the question, rather than directly asking Guest 3 ‘Do you speak Cantonese?’. The indirect way of questioning and the content of the question from Guest 8 immediately reflect his perception of keeping the gate for any entry into the Cantonese-dominant *group*. Closely latched to Guest 8’s enquiry, Guest 3 shows his ticket, he does speak Cantonese, though not that standard. So is there any further kinship brought over to him after he shows the ticket? It is hard to tell by only looking at the interaction. The head teacher’s ‘Take it easy, take it easy’ is ambiguous.

Reflected from this data, the power relations embedded in various language resources are being discursively negotiated around the sense of group inclusion and exclusion under the umbrella of Chineseness. The three interlocutors in this interaction demonstrate distinguished perceptions about the use of Cantonese in meaning making. The short greeting interaction in Putonghua between the HT and Guest 3 at the beginning; Guest 3's switching from Putonghua to Cantonese in answering Guest 8's question regarding his language ability; the head teacher's change from Putonghua to Cantonese for saying 'take it easy'; and the Cantonese-speaking Guest 8's sudden question, all mix together dynamically in the creating of a new Chineseness as a heteroglossia.

In next subsection, based on all these changing, distinction and mixing norms of the dynamically evolving Chineseness in this local context, I provide a discussion on a momentary *new* Chineseness which constitutes all these dimensions. I suggest that this new Chineseness differs from any interpretations of Chinese ethnic identity at other historical moments. It is created as a fluid and complex social construct in local interactions under wider global conditions.

6.3.4 A new Chineseness in superdiversity

This section aims to address the complexity and fluidity of the new Chineseness in superdiversity. To do so I draw two narrative data samples selected from the conference discourse as indexical local voice. First I present a narrative from Mr W, the Mainlander manager who works in a big Cantonese restaurant with a Cantonese-speaking boss (Mr R). Mr W speaks no Cantonese in his daily work as the manager of the Cantonese restaurant. In this narrative, he gives his personal perception about 'who are Chinese'.

Data extract 6.12:

Mr W: 海外的华人，在这儿土生土长的也是华人，来这工作的也是华人，后来的新移民，来这学习的，也是华人，大家都是华人。而且马来西亚人，也是华人。台湾人，他们也是华人。华人，现在有不同意义的华人。(…)照现在的趋势，我感觉吧，再过十年，现在讲广东话的人，都会开始讲普通话。我是这样一个感觉。(…)现在是个混合的状态。年龄，不同年代的人。

[The overseas Chinese, people who were born and raised in here are Chinese, who came here working are Chinese, the recent new migrants, who came here for study, are also Chinese, all of these people are Chinese. Plus Malays, they are Chinese. Taiwanese, they are Chinese as well. Chinese people, now there is a diversity of definitions of Chinese people. (...) Following the current tendency, I feel like, after another 10 years, people who speak Cantonese at the present will then start speaking Putonghua. I have such a feeling. (...) Now it is a mixed situation, age, different generations of people.]

(Audio-recorded narrative data)

Mr W has been working in the local Chinatown with all various groups of Chinese migrants for 13 years. He has an experiential process of ‘struggling with Cantonese → trying to learn some Cantonese while quickly picking up English → achieving a repertoire with good English used for work → stops trying to learn Cantonese’. He witnesses and experiences the multi-layered and multidimensional changes within the local Chinatown during the past decade. This witnessing and personal experience legitimates him to make the prediction and claim in his narrative. He claims that ‘Now it is a *mixed* situation’. He also predicts a *direction* towards which the current *mixed* situation is going to change into in the following decade; a direction that *current Cantonese-speakers will all start using Putonghua*.

Actually, his ‘prediction’ already has its demonstration at the present. In the context of the researched CCS, for example, the Cantonese-speaking-only deputy head teacher, Sarah, is changing her use of Chinese literacy from traditional characters (which are associated with Cantonese) to simplified characters (which are associated with Putonghua) in her emails to the researcher. And the school magazine issued in 2014 was printed exclusively in simplified characters, without a single word in the traditional form.

As shown in Mr W’s narrative, there is a new superdiversified Chineseness at the present. However, this superdiverse Chineseness is not floating in a vacuum space, but rather being tied to the shifting power relations. Hegemony, hierarchy and inequality do not disappear from this superdiverse Chineseness, only the affiliation and presentation of such an ecology change and shift among different varieties, groups of speakers and social categories. During this changing and shifting process, local agents like Mr W, with their life experience from their empirical observation, become able to bring out a voice to express the present, and to predict the future. For Mr W, ‘current Cantonese-speakers will all start using Putonghua in 10 years or so’ is a natural consequence of the evolving process of Chineseness in the diasporic context.

This local practice once again underpins the heteroglossic nature of Chineseness in superdiversity. There is always a monoglossia generated out from socioeconomic and political conditions within a heteroglossic ecology of ideology and identity. Local discourses show that the increasing currency of Putonghua and the upward mobility of Putonghua speakers inevitably lead to a hegemony of Putonghua in the future, while other Chinese varieties including Cantonese and Hakka move to the peripheral status. To understand this heteroglossia of Chineseness, it is salient to historically link the discourses and voices from

the past, the present and for the future, together with the multi-layered social structures and conditions.

Mr W's narrative points to a new interpretation on 'who are Chinese?', now I would like to move on to analyse and discuss another narrative data from the head teacher Mr Q. This narrative data reflects an answer to another question 'What does this new Chineseness do?' in the specific research context.

Data extract 6.13:

Mr Q: What we need is an enhanced Chinese voice. Old generations of Chinese, and new generations of Chinese migrants, integrating together for better communication with the governments. Which government we need to talk with? I say both, the Chinese government, and the local English government – the City Council. Chinese government wants us to build up a link, to introduce investments from China to England, with the focus on Birmingham (@@@@). We have our roots in China, but we also have our lives here in England. It's like we have two mothers, one Chinese mother, and one English mother.

(Audio-recorded HT's conference speech, transcribed based on Mr J's immediate translation from Cantonese to English)

This narrative is extracted from the head teacher's opening speech on the second-half of the meeting after lunch. He gives the speech in Cantonese to address the majority of the audience. Since the researcher's Cantonese is not enough to completely follow the speech, Mr J, who sits right next to me, voluntarily plays the role as an immediate Cantonese-English interpreter. The transcription presented above is based on the recorded interpretation from Mr J, rather

than the HT's original utterance. There is one part where the interpreting voice is too low to be transcribed marked as @@@@.

The HT makes this opening speech for discussions around the conference theme 'Creating a new Chinese voice in the West Midlands Chinese community'. A few key words from this speech later were repeated during the meeting with highlights, for example: 'integrating', 'old and new generations', 'communication to governments', 'both governments', 'roots and lives', 'two mothers'. These key words discursively portray an image of the perceived Chineseness in terms of both political ideology and daily practice. Especially the '*two mothers*' ideological perception vividly demonstrates a 'living-with-difference' (Nowicka and Vertovec, 2014) ecology around the identification of Chineseness. Holding this 'living-with-difference' stance, a multiple intersecting and fluid diversities in everyone's life (Glick Schiller and Çağlar, 2016) are being stressed. There are practical everyday meanings mentioned: 'the investment from China to England, with a focus on the local city'; or 'us to build a link'. The emphasis is on the real work in the real life.

Overall, this new Chineseness in superdiversity is locally-situated. It is a relational, dynamic and complex heteroglossia. It is evolved from the past and presented at now, also pointing to the future. It is superdiverse in nature but also being shaped under and affiliated with particular structures in particular forms at a particular historical moment. Understanding Chineseness in superdiversity as a heteroglossia in late modern world provides a salient discourse in studies on Chinese migrations in globalisation.

6.4 Conclusion

In this chapter, I elaborated different groups of Chinese migrants' local ethnolinguistic discourses with particular foci on the creativity of space, the intra-ethnic fragmentations, and the range of dynamic transnational and transcultural intersections within the created space. I argue that within this space, a conceptual Chinese community is socially constructed via interaction among participants from various groups and generations. Given this intersected variety of identifications, I see that a complex, dynamic and relational Chineseness is being negotiated in terms of changing, distinction, and also mixing. I interpret this pan-Chinese-identification with a fundamental stance of understanding culture, nationality and ethnicity not as fixed social systems but dynamic evolving socio-historical constructs. Chinese migration, which historically and continuously involves various generational groups, results not merely in a change of geographical locations, but also in a dynamic (re)construction of an evolving Chineseness with heteroglossic features embedded. The analysis and discussion in this chapter aim to capture these heteroglossic features of the Chinese identification in the specific context of CCS. In this context with diversity as normalcy in globalisation era, various forms of ethnolinguistic signs are adopted by different speakers of Chinese language, both intra- and inter-ethnic-communally, make distinguished social meanings, such as group inclusion, exclusion and shift of inequality.

Under the changing social structures of globalisation, China's economic growth, and the cross-border trade and investment flow with China as an important component (Benton and Gomez 2014:1156-7), it will be with no legitimacy to interpret Chineseness as homogenous, stereotyped and frozen heritage identity which one can perceive, for example, by simply gazing at the Chinese new year celebration performance in a local Chinatown. Instead, in the

contemporary superdiverse British society, Chineseness is inevitably evolving with new norms constantly emerging. These new norms may direct to higher social status or upwards mobility in a particular group of Chinese migrants; or emplace certain individuals who have been experiencing displacement after migration; or affiliate groups of British Chinese settlers to create mutual benefits. They also may disempower certain types, modes of practice which used to hold the stake. Since this Chineseness in superdiversity is heteroglossic by nature, the only way to understand it is to abandon the 'only-way-interpretation', or in another word, the lineal perspective. Studies on Chineseness in superdiversity stand as significant ways to understand other social phenomena regarding mobility and migration in Chinese diasporas around the world.

Chapter 7

CONCLUSION

7.1 Introduction

This concluding chapter summarises the findings of the study and discusses their implications for research and practice of language education in Chinese diasporic contexts. In section 7.2 I return to my research questions and show how I answered them individually. In section 7.3 I explore the contribution of this research to the further development of theory and methodology in sociolinguistics and linguistic ethnography, as well as to the improvement of practice and pedagogy in Chinese complementary school education. In the last section 7.4 I provide a final reflection to address the constraints of this research and suggest a few lines of research for future studies.

7.2. Answering the research questions

The aim of my research is to investigate what and how language ideologies, teachers' professional identities, and identification of Chineseness are being constructed and negotiated in and around a Chinese complementary school community. The analytical focus of this project is to look at the discursive daily use of different semiotic (including linguistic) signs and forms among the CCS teachers and other adult members. The purpose of the study is to

provide an in-depth description and interpretation on multilingualism in relation to migration, ethnicity, education, identity, and social communication, which I hope to be a useful reference for further sociolinguistic research on the context of Chinese diaspora in globalisation and superdiversity. I now return to my research questions and demonstrate how this research project responds to each of them.

7.2.1 What language ideologies are constructed, negotiated and developed by the adult participants in the Chinese complementary school?

Findings show that a stratified ecology of language ideologies is presented by Chinese teachers in their contextualised interactions with other participants. This diversity of language ideologies around Chinese-English bilingualism and different Chinese varieties coexist and interplay in discursive ways around language shift and power negotiation. With the foci on speakers and their sociolinguistic repertoires, this study demonstrates how Chinese teachers display, propose, reproduce, negotiate and contest legitimacy and authority over certain forms of language use in their daily practices. Shaped by the historically, politically and socio-economically informed ‘orders of indexicality’(Blommaert 2010:37), different forms and patterns of teachers’ local language use in the CCS context index to certain historically-informed linguistic mobility, inclusion and exclusion to certain membership, as well as new norms of inequality and hierarchy. In this study, ‘separate bilingualism’, ‘translanguaging’, ‘hegemony of a standardised variety’ and a ‘monolingualism for ethnical pride’ are found as the significant normative components of the complex ecology of language ideologies. To interpret the different norms within this ecology of language ideology, I adopt the idea of

‘language as pride and/or profit’ (Heller and Duchêne, 2012) to show a complex and dynamic dialogism of language ideologies playing in the CCS context.

For example, in the trope of ‘pride’ there are various layers of meaning reflected from the local multilingual practices in the CCS. One of them is the idea of seeing the CCS as a unique constructed space (or an ethnical enclave) which is closely associated to heritage maintenance, ethnical identity and separate bilingualism relates to the trope of ‘pride’ among some school participants. For these teachers, ‘Chinese-only’ in the classroom certainly is maintaining the pride of heritage identity. However, from a different aspect, for another group of participants in the school, feeling ‘pride’ also refers to a smooth settlement into the local British society and the monolingual preference of English (to obtain higher social and cultural capitals in the local English world). Especially the second generation and later descendants of Chinese migrants usually hold strong consciousness of their British settlement or citizenship which means an identity of being a member of the nation-state of Britain. Being a fluent monolingual speaker of English becomes very salient in construction of the ‘pride’ of this type. In addition, on the intra-language level, the standardising use of Putonghua among different groups of Chinese migrants also demonstrates an ideology of pride. Local discourses like ‘Speaking Putonghua!’ or ‘We all need to learn Putonghua’ are revealing the reconstruction of legitimacy and hierarchy between the two Chinese varieties: Cantonese and Putonghua, in relation to the sense of ‘national and/or ethnical pride’.

Meanwhile, the trope of ‘profit’ also sees layers of language ideologies in the CCS setting. First, within the Chinese-English bilingualism, for most British Chinese migrants, English is the profitable language for necessary settlement in the UK, for instance, to find a joy or achieve a higher educational degree. Those Chinese who do not have enough resource of English are highly likely to be marginalised onto the periphery of English society, for

example, the early Chinese migrants from the South-East coast villages. Apart from this, the study also shows a more recent language trend in relation to language as ‘profit’ among the Chinese community. As discussed in Chapter 4, the power shift from Cantonese Chinese to Putonghua Chinese in diasporic contexts has caused a growing tendency of seeing Putonghua as the language with ‘profit’ globally and locally. In the preference of ‘profit’, teachers pursue the aim of teaching for direct benefits and capability. These benefits and capability are believed as can be transferred into money or upward social mobility, such as having a good profitable job back in China (or in the global market related to China) years later. With this ideology students are persuaded to learn the language because it is useful. This local phenomena of Putonghua ‘as pride’ on one layer of the ecology and as ‘for profit’ on another demonstrates the interweaved relationship of the two tropes, they are not dichotomously separated.

7.2.2 How do Chinese language teachers perform and negotiate their professional identities in complementary school teaching practices?

Findings show that in the CCS context, Chinese teachers momentarily perform and negotiate their professional identities based on their evolving subjective perceptions about being a teacher, the changing structures of Chinese diaspora and their trajectory experience and settlement in the host society. In their local interpretation on their TPIs, they draw resources across border, time and space to claim and negotiate preferred identity. The shifting power relations among different language varieties, groups, generations, and categories are seen as influential on Chinese migrants’ emergent performance and negotiation of TPI in the CCS.

First, a contrast between Cantonese teachers and Putonghua teachers is seen in the researched school. As earlier migrants with a relatively long history of being marginalised onto the social periphery after their migration into the UK, Cantonese teachers present their TPIs with metaphors like ‘helper’, ‘service provider’ or ‘guide’ to suggest an ambiguity in professional identities as teachers. They tend to remain on a humble self-image in the school setting. Contrarily, some Putonghua teachers (who have obtained relatively more recent and successful settlement in England and have developed flexible linguistic repertoires) tend to perform different professional identities. In the study this group of Putonghua teachers are defined as the ‘new speakers’ (Jaffe, 2015b) in the changing Chinese diaspora under globalisation. With the ability and confidence to flexibly draw all linguistic resources for their daily use, these new speakers perform a strong, confident and elite identity as experienced Chinese teachers in the CCS.

Second, another layer of analysis shows that teachers’ professional identities closely link to the language shift from Cantonese Chinese to Putonghua Chinese and the changing legitimacy and hierarchy embedded in this language shift. Cantonese teacher Kerry who has the Putonghua proficiency tends to identify herself as having advantages for claiming strong and confident professional identity, while other Cantonese teachers without such a particular linguistic resource tend to lower their expectations on their teacher prestige.

Nevertheless, the heteroglossic stratification of teacher identity presented in the researched school does not always connect to successful negotiations. This study also presents a discussion on the ‘anxiety of belonging to nowhere’ in relation to CCS teachers’ professional identity. I drew on Bakhtin’s description of displacement (Bakhtin, 1981a) and Hall (2014)’s discussion on using ‘authenticity’ as a ‘shorthand excuse’ (p263) to interpret Steve’s strong

claim for TPI, who takes the CCS as a fall-back social space away from the unsatisfactory migration experiences to claim teacher hegemony in classroom and a strong teacher identity.

7.2.3 How do local multilingual practices reflect the ethnic identification of ‘Chineseness’ in and around the Chinese complementary school?

In chapter 6 I have provided a data analysis and discussion on the ethnical identification of Chineseness in the CCS context. All the evidence shown in chapter 6 questions and challenges the common assumption on ‘who and what are Chinese?’. In this study Chineseness is seen as no longer merely being related to a cultural heritage which links the Chinese diaspora to the homeland in the past, or to the abstract referential signs of Chinese culture or identity (such as the specific architectural styles in a Chinatown, the Chinese take-away food, or the lion dance on Chinese New Year celebrations, etc.). Chineseness in this discussion no longer implies boundedness to a given minority community marginalised into a certain area of the city or a relatively lower social class. Neither does it remain harmoniously stable among the collective group with similar values, beliefs, and customs shared. Rather, diasporic Chineseness in superdiverse urban areas (such as Birmingham) involves a heteroglossia of identifications which associates to various levels (individual, communal, ethnical or national) and domains (generations, business, education, economics or politics) of sociocultural discourses.

In this study, the heteroglossia of Chineseness compounds the use of ‘Raping a Chinese classic poem’ in the textbook of the researched school; the cross-time-and-space cultural exhibition of ‘The Flavour of China’ in the hall of the researched school; and also the

intersection of economic and political resources and/or constraints into the educational space of the CCS. All these small local phenomena in a CCS context reveal important transformative new norms of Chineseness.

While these new norms of Chineseness are being generated, the Chinese complementary school is also being transformed from a marginalised informal language school and an ethnical enclave to a conceptual Chinese community, performing important economic and political functions. These economic and political functions, under the global conditions of high mobility and closer connection, endow the Chinese complementary school new social meanings across the diaspora, the local host society and the home country. For example, as shown in chapter 6, these new functions help raising the profile of such an ‘informal’ school to the governmental CPPCC meeting (as discussed in chapter 6, page) back in China; empowering the school to mediate various levels of meeting among the economic-political forces from China, the Chinese embassy and the local society of Birmingham. Throughout the process of intersection and the trajectory of influence, the identification of Chineseness is being reconstructed and negotiated into a heteroglossic ecology. Within this ecology, some norms of ‘being and becoming Chinese’ direct to higher social status or upwards mobility; some emplace certain individuals who have experienced displacement after migration; some affiliate groups of people for creating mutual benefits; while some others may disempower certain types, modes of practice which used to hold the stake.

7.3 Contribution of the study

In this section I present a discussion on the potential contribution of this research to relevant knowledge from two perspectives. First I talk about how this study can provide a useful

reference in developing the theory and methodology in sociolinguistics and linguistic ethnography. Then I propose a few points of the contribution of this study to further development of practice and pedagogy in CCSs.

7.3.1 Contribution to theory and methodology

Theoretically

This study contributes to the research field of sociolinguistics of globalisation and migration. Firstly, by adopting heteroglossia as the epistemological framework, this study emphasises both the internal and external complexity of linguistic evolution in the context of Chinese diaspora at late-modern time. It applies the theory of heteroglossia into social science topics including migration, ethnicity, identity and education. It illustrates Bakhtin's view of social phenomena as a stratified and dialogic ecology with which different normative values and categories of practice are being dynamically negotiated among groups of people.

There are particularly a few points that I would like to highlight as contribution. For example, under the heteroglossic lens, instead of taking the stance of opposing the ideology and practice of translanguaging against the heritage-focused monolingual ideology, I argue for understanding 'translanguaging' and 'Chinese-only monolingualism' as both important and meaningful in the context of CCS and Chinese diaspora in the UK. In this discussion, a dialogism of 'pride' and 'profit' is proposed to conceptualise the ideological tensions playing in the context: certain linguistic signs and forms are associated to 'pride' in certain groups of Chinese speakers at certain historical times, while other uses of language are linked to 'profit' under the ideology of language commodification. Within such dialogism, a preferred situated

monoglossia does not lose its means on the way towards welcoming translanguaging and transformation.

Besides, this research also brings an innovative discussion on the concept of ‘Chineseness’ with sociolinguistic data. This discussion de-freezes Chineseness in diasporic worlds from merely a heritage cultural discourse to a dynamically evolving social construct. It emphasises that such an ethnical concept needs to be understood and interpreted as an ever-changing process during which different signs and meanings travel across and embed in the past, the present and the future. It argues that the discourse of Chineseness as a heteroglossic social construct makes an innovative contribution to the literature on sociolinguistic studies on Chinese diaspora. It also offers important empirical description for understanding and interpreting intercultural communication, and transnational exchanges between China and the UK.

Methodologically

As a linguistic ethnographic case study, this research contributes to the further development of LE as a social science approach by highlighting the importance of researcher’s role in ethnography and public engagement in academic studies. First, it documents a complete fieldwork procedure during which the researcher’s knowledge, experience, skills, sensibility and reflexivity have been demonstrated as essential to the productive data collection and analysis. It unfolds how the researcher’s voice can be embedded in participant observations to enrich the description and interpretation of the local phenomena. Second, it highlights the importance of field notes in ethnographic studies with evidences of field note vignettes being salient in analysis of audio or visual data. It demonstrates that a systematic and complete record of fieldwork and fine-grained field note analysis are fundamental elements in an

ethnographic description and interpretation. Third, under the etic-emic dialectic this study brings cross-time-and-space socio-historical elements into interpretation on the small semiotic signs. It shows that in research on diasporic contexts drawing information from globalisation plays a significant role in discussion on local multilingual practices. Fourth, this study also provides a reference of bringing academic research into the local neighbourhood and other social departments. As discussed in methodology chapter, with the researcher's involvement in events organised by the local Chinese community in Birmingham and the Chinese embassy, this research project provides an example of engaging academic research into social public from various levels. Last, it also presents a discussion on the achievement and dilemmas in access negotiation and relationship establishment, which can be referred in further studies on British Chinese diasporic communities.

7.3.2 Contribution to the development of CCS: practice and pedagogy

This research provides empirically grounded insights for analysing as well as informing policy and practice of bi/multilingual education in the Chinese diaspora. Throughout the thesis I have elaborated the current strengths and limitations of the multilingual educational heteroglossia based on evidence gathered from the case school. I suggest that this study can contribute towards the development of practice and pedagogy in CCSs in the following ways:

Practice

- It helps raising awareness on the intercultural and intracultural complexity regarding Chinese diaspora and CCS in Britain, which can be useful for better understandings and communications between the home society, the diaspora and the host society.

- It provides an informing description of the recent changing structure of Chinese community among various generations of Chinese migrants and different Chinese varieties. This original account offers potential reference for policy making regarding Chinese language education and intercultural communication between China and the UK.
- It brings a new discourse of the Chinese complementary schools which broadens the social meanings of such schools, It argues that CCSs are not only culturally, educationally, and socially important, but also politically and economically significant. It presents a detailed case profile of such schools to show how these schools significantly impact the Chinese diaspora as a mediation to bridge China and the local British society.
- It discusses the tension-filled interactions between different Chinese language varieties and their speakers in the CCS context and its impact on Chinese language education. By displaying different voices from the home country, the host society, the community and the educational institution (which are showed as often contradictory) in the analysis and discussion, it calls for new reflections on the local practices in a CCS and new definitions of Chinese language and community in diasporic settings.

Meanwhile, more specifically, findings of this research also help to identify and address factors that may be fostering or hampering Chinese language teaching and learning in diasporic contexts, providing insights that may, for example, inform classroom pedagogy, the planning and practice of teacher training, as well as Chinese language curricula development. The following points are provided to address contributions from this facet.

Pedagogy

- Developed from previous empirical studies, this research presents an updated discussion on the flexible bi/multilingualism within complementary school context. It calls for further awareness on translanguaging as a basic norm of contemporary multilingual world, especially in the complex environments of migration in superdiversity. It appeals for language teachers working in CCSs being prepared and trained with professional capability to adopt a flexible multilingual ideology in their teaching practice. It provides useful evidence which can be used for running seminars or workshops for the purpose of teacher training or curriculum design.
- At the same time, it appeals for understanding separate bi/multilingualism and its specific socio-historical entitlement in particular social categories. It argues that, due to the distinguishable nature of complementary schools and the strong link between language and identity in such an educational context, separate bi/multilingualism also needs to be compounded as valuable and meaningful for the constructions of certain identities. Rather than simply criticising the ‘mother-tongue only’ pedagogy as unrealistic or inefficient, the discussion in this study explains the historical, economic and political reasons for such pedagogy and opens up a rationale for its implementation in classrooms. It aims to interpret separate bi/multilingualism as a salient and meaningful norm of the CCS environment in relation to participants’ social identities. Practically this discourse can help CCS participants understand the historical generation of this ideology and pedagogy, and thus find acceptable ways to improve classroom teaching. For example, providing brief reports linking theoretical

discussion to ‘Chinese-only’ pedagogy to individual teachers for reflexive thinking on the teaching outcome and possible self-assessment.

- Furthermore, this study reveals the importance of teacher training in such informal educational institutions. Compared to the large scale (some leading CCSs in the UK have an enrolment of hundreds of students) and their significant social functions, in such schools the lack of professional teacher training and the non-guaranteed teaching quality still remains as a hindering drawback. This study provides particular contributions on this issue. It documents examples of teacher’s talk, classroom organisation, teacher-students relationship negotiation, students’ reaction and feedback to different types pedagogy and teaching styles, etc. Some of these local practices are proved to be highly motivating and successful in class with young learners, while some can be viewed as warning or avoidable. All these samples, together with the researcher’s analysis, can be edited into useful materials for further design for exact teacher training programs. For example, seminar discussions and training workshops around the topic of translanguaging can be organised in cooperation between the CCS and educational institutes in the local neighbourhood, to introduce the flexible ideology and pedagogy and explain what it can do in classroom.

7.4 Final reflections

In this study, a heteroglossic lens helps to address the conditions of globalisation and superdiversity in analyses on the local sociolinguistic practice in a Chinese complementary school and the Chinese diasporic community. Discussions on language ideologies, teachers’

professional identities and the ethnical identification of Chineseness in Chapter 4, 5, 6 are all based on interpreting small semiotic signs and forms dialogically, indexically and historically in relation with wider conditions. The global/local and etic/emic dialectic enables this interpretation to emphasise both the postmodern criticality and the influence of wider historical, economic and political structures. It calls for understanding the Chinese speakers' daily interaction as emergent and momentary; but, at the same time, not as floating in a vacuum mixture of fragments. It explores the performance of the heteroglossic social mechanism and its impact on the very local emergence; as well as the reflectivity of the local emergence and its accumulated influence on social developments.

This study also highlights the cross-boundary connectedness of spaces and places under the globalising condition, such as linking a Chinese complementary school, the city where it locates, the wider Chinese community, and the political and economic forces back in China. It also emphasises the chronotopically linkage among different historical stages of Chinese migrants' construction on ideology and identity. By combining sociological knowledge, ethnographic approach and sociolinguistic analytical methods, this investigation provides an interdisciplinary paradigm which demonstrates that Bakhtin's concept of heteroglossia is very useful for understanding the complex, stratified context of CCS and Chinese diaspora in the UK. It provides an original reference for further sociolinguistic studies on 'multilingualism in migration and diasporic contexts'.

This research can also be extended into a cross-boundary comparative study on the multilingual practices Chinese migrants conduct in different settings, such as at their study or working place in England, in their hometown back in China when they are on holiday, and at a third place where they travel to for career commitment or personal leisure. It will be interesting to look at the relationship between multilingualism and the 'global citizen'

identity construction. Another way forward based on this research is to investigate heteroglossia, ideology and identity in the multilingual urban areas back in China, looking at how non-Chinese bi/multilingual speakers (i.e. British youths who travel to China for study or work) perform and negotiate their identities in their sojourning lives in China. It will bring another interesting description and interpretation on the impact of globalisation on people's transnational mobility and identity. It also will be interesting to extend this study to further research focusing on the business and economic section (i.e. the local Chinatown) in Chinese diaspora in England, to look at the impact of global mobility and the current UK-China relationship on the local practices and cross-boundary communication.

REFERENCES

- Agar, M. H. (2008). *The Professional Stranger: An Informal Introduction to Ethnography* (2nd edition). Bingley: Emerald Group Publishing.
- Agha, A. (2007). *Language and Social Relations*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press. Chapter 1, 4, 5, 8.
- Ang, I. (1993). To be or not to be Chinese: Diaspora, Culture, and Postmodern Ethnicity. *Southeast Asia Journal of Social Science*, 21(1), 1-19.
- Ang, I. (2001). *On Not Speaking Chinese: Living between Asia and the West*. London: Routledge
- Ang, I. (2014). Beyond Chinese groupism: Chinese Australians between assimilation, multiculturalism and diaspora, *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 37(7), 1184-1196.
- Appadurai, A. (1996). *Modernity at Large: Cultural Dimensions of Globalization*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press. Chapter 1, 2, 3, 7, 9.
- Archer, L., and Francis, B. (2007). *Understanding Minority Ethnic Achievement: Race, gender, class and 'success'*. London: Routledge.
- Archer, L., Francis, B., and Mau, A. (2009). 'Boring and stressful' or 'ideal' learning spaces? Pupils' constructions of teaching and learning in Chinese supplementary schools, *Research Papers in Education*, 24(4), 477-497.
- Archer, L., Francis, B., and Mau, A. (2010). The cultural project: diasporic negotiations of ethnicity, identity and culture among teachers, pupils and parents in Chinese language schools, *Oxford Review of Education*, 36(4), 407-426.
- Arnesen, A-L. (2003). Construction of an 'outsider': Contradictions and ambiguities in institutional practices, in D. Beach, T. Gordon and E. Lahelma (eds.), *Democratic education: Ethnographic challenges* (pp. 66-79). London: Tufnell Press.
- Bailey, B. (2012). Heteroglossia, in M. Martin-Jones, A. Blackledge, and A. Creese (eds), *The Routledge handbook of multilingualism* (pp. 499-507). London: Routledge.
- Baker, C. (2001). *Foundations of bilingual education and bilingualism* (3rd edition.). Clevedon: Multilingual Matters. Chapter 1, 4, 5, 6, 17, 18, 19.
- Bakhtin, M. (1981a). Discourse in the Novel, in M. Bakhtin: *The dialogic imagination: Four essays* (ed. by M. Holquist, trans. by C. Emerson and M. Holquist) (pp. 259-422). Austin: University of Texas Press.

- Bakhtin, M. (1981b). Forms of Time and of the Chronotope in the Novel, in M. Bakhtin: *The dialogic imagination: Four Essays* (ed. by M. Holquist, trans. by C. Emerson and M. Holquist) (pp. 84–258). Austin: University of Texas Press.
- Bakhtin, M. (1986). *Speech Genres and Other Late Essays* (ed. by C. Emerson and M. Holquist, trans. by V. W. McGee). Austin: University of Texas Press.
- Barabantseva, E. (2016). Seeing beyond an ‘ethnic enclave’: the time/space of Manchester Chinatown, *Identities*, 23(1), 99-115.
- Bauman, Z. (1992). *Intimations of Postmodernity*. London and New York: Routledge. Chapter 2, 3, 9.
- Baynham, M. J. (2003). Narratives in space and time: Beyond ‘backdrop’ accounts of narrative orientation, *Narrative Inquiry*, 13(2), 347-366.
- Beck, U. (1992). (trans by M. Ritter). *Risk Society: Towards a New Modernity*. London: Sage. Part 2 and 3.
- Beck, U., Giddens, A. and Lash, S. (1994). *Reflexive Modernization: Politics, Tradition and Aesthetics in the Modern Social Order*. Stanford: Stanford University Press.
- Beijarrd, D., Meijer, P.C. and Verloop, N. (2004). Reconsidering research on teachers’ professional identity. *Teaching and Teacher Education*, 20(2), 107-128.
- Bemong, N. and Borghart, P. (2010). State of The Art, in N. Bemong, P. Borghart, M. De Dobbeleer, K. Demoen, K. De Temmerman, and B. Keunen (Eds.), *Bakhtin’s Theory of the Literary Chronotope: Reflections, Applications, Perspectives*. Gent: Academia Press.
- Benton, G. and Gomez, E. T. (2008). *The Chinese in Britain 1800–Present: Economy, Transnationalism, Identity*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Benton, G. and Gomez, E. T. (2014). Belonging to the nation: Generational change, identity and the Chinese diaspora. *Ethnic Racial Studies*, 37(7), 1157-1171.
- Blackledge, A. (2005). *Discourse and Power in a Multilingual World*. Amsterdam/ Philadelphia: John Benjamins Publishing. Chapter 1 and 2.
- Blackledge, A. and Creese, A. (2008). Contesting ‘language’ as ‘heritage’: Negotiation of identities in late modernity. *Applied Linguistics*, 29(4), 533-554.
- Blackledge, A. and Creese, A. (2010). *Multilingualism: A Critical Perspective*. London: Continuum.
- Blackledge, A. and Creese, A. (2014). Heteroglossia as Practice and Pedagogy. In A. Blackledge and A. Creese (eds.) *Heteroglossia as Practice and Pedagogy* (pp. 1-20). Springer.

- Block, D. (2008). On the appropriateness of the metaphor LOSS. In P. Tan & R. Rubdy (eds.) *Language as Commodity: Global Structures, Local Marketplaces* (pp.187–203). London: Continuum.
- Block, D. (2014). *Social Class in Applied Linguistics*, Oxford and New York: Routledge, Chapter 1,2,3,4.
- Blommaert, J. (2005). *Discourse: A Critical Introduction*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Blommaert, J. (2007). On scope and depth in linguistic ethnography, *Journal of Sociolinguistics* 11(5), 682–688
- Blommaert, J. (2010). *The Sociolinguistics of Globalization*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Blommaert, J. (2011). Small print: reflections on multilingual literacies in the global south. *Journal of Comparative and International Education*, 41(2), 293-299.
- Blommaert, J. (2013a). Citizenship, language, and superdiversity: towards complexity. *Journal of Language, Identity and Education*. 12(3), 193-196.
- Blommaert, J. (2013b). Complexity, accent and conviviality: Concluding Comments. *Applied Linguistics*, 34(5), 613-622.
- Blommaert, J. (2015a). Chronotopes, scales, and complexity in the study of language in society. *Annual Review of Anthropology*. 44, 105-116.
- Blommaert, J. (2015b). Commentary: Superdiveristy old and new. *Language and Communication*, 44,82-88.
- Blommaert, J. and Dong, J. (2010). *Ethnographic fieldwork: A Beginner's guide*. Bristol, Buffalo, New York: Multilingual Matters.
- Blommaert, J and Rampton, B. (2011). Language and superdiversity. *Diversities*, 13(2), 3-21.
- Blommaert, J. and Varis, P. (2011). Culture as accent. *Tiburg Papers in Culture Studies*. Paper 18.
- Bourdieu, P. (1986). The Forms of Capital. In J. Richardson (Ed.) *Handbook of Theory and Research for the Sociology of Education*. New York, Greenwood, pp 241-258.
- Brah, A. (1996). *Cartographies of Diaspora: Contesting Identities*. London: Routledge.
- Bucholtz, M. (2003). Sociolinguistics and authenticity: An elephant in the room- Sociolinguistic nostalgia and the authentication of identity. *Journal of Sociolinguistics*, 7(3), 398-416.
- Bucholtz, M. and Hall, K. (2005). Identity and interaction: A sociocultural linguistic approach. *Discourse studies*, 7(4-5), 585-614.

- Bucholtz, M. and Hall, K. (2008). All of the above: New coalitions in sociocultural linguistics, *Journal of Sociolinguistics*, 12(4), 401-31.
- Bucholtz, M. and Hall, K. (2010). Locating Identity in Language. In C. Llamas and D. Watt (eds.) *Language and Identities* (pp. 18-30). Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.
- Busch, B. (2015.) Expanding the notion of the linguistic repertoire: on the concept of *Spracherleben* – the lived experience of language. *Applied Linguistics*
- Canagarajah, A. S. (2011). Codemeshing in academic writing: Identifying teachable strategies of translanguaging. *Modern Language Journal* 95, 401-417.
- Canagarajah, A. S. (2013). *Translingual Practice: Global Englishes and Cosmopolitan Relations*. Abingdon and New York: Routledge.
- Castells, M. (2010). *The Rise of the Network Society: The Information Age: Economy, Society and Culture Volume 1*(2nd edition.). Wiley-Blackwell Publishing. Chapter 2.
- Chow, H. (2004). The effects of ethnic capital and family background on school performance: a case study of Chinese-Canadian adolescents in Calgary. *The Alberta Journal of Educational Research*, 50(3), 321-26.
- Chun, A. (1996). Fuck Chineseness: On the ambiguities of ethnicity as culture as identity, *Boundary 2*, 23(2), 111–38.
- Clifford, J. (1994). Diasporas. *Cultural Anthropology*, 9(3), 302-338. American Anthropological Association
- Copland, F. and Creese, A. with Rock, F. and Shaw, S. (2015). *Linguistic Ethnography: Collecting, Analysing and Presenting Data*. London: SAGE.
- Copland, N. (2003). Introduction: sociolinguistics and globalisation. *Journal of Sociolinguistics* 7(4), 465-472.
- Creese, A. (2008). Linguistic Ethnography, in King, K.A. and Hornberger, N.H. (eds), *Encyclopedia of Language and Education (2nd Edition), Volume 10: Research Methods in Language and Education*, 229–241.
- Creese, A. (2010). Linguistic ethnography. In L. Litosseliti (Ed.). *Research Methods in Linguistics* (pp.138-154), Continuum.
- Creese, A. (2011). Making local practices globally relevant in researching multilingual education. In Francis M. Hult and Kendall A. King (eds) *Educational Linguistics in Practice* (pp. 41-55). Bristol: Multilingual Matters.
- Creese, A. and Blackledge, A. (2010a). Towards a sociolinguistics of superdiversity. *Zeitschrift für Erziehungswissenschaft* 13(4), 549-572.
- Creese, A. and Blackledge A. (2010b) Translanguaging in the bilingual classroom: a pedagogy for learning and teaching. *Modern Language Journal*. 94(1), 103 –115.

- Creese, A. and Blackledge, A. (2011). A Flexible and Separate Bilingualism in Complementary Schools. *Journal of Pragmatics* 43(5), 1196–1208.
- Creese, A. and Blackledge, A. (2015). Translanguaging and identity in educational settings. *Annual Review of Applied Linguistics*, 35, 20-35.
- Creese, A., Bhatt, A., Bhojani, N., and Martin, P. (2006). Multicultural, heritage and learner identities in complementary schools. *Language and Education*, 20 (1), 23-43.
- Creese, A. and Martin, P. (2006). Interaction in complementary school contexts: Developing identities of choice: an introduction. *Language and Education*. 20(1),1-4.
- Creese, A and Wu, C-J (2008). Classroom discourses in Chinese complementary schools. in Erfurt, J., Budach, G. and Kunkel, M. (eds.) *Lernen in zwei Sprachen/Learning in two languages/ Apprendre dans deux langues*. Frankfurt: Peter Lang
- Creese, A., Wu, C-J. and Blackledge, A. (2009). Folk stories and social identification in multilingual classrooms, *Linguistics and Education*, 20(4): 350-365.
- Creese, A. Tukhi, J. and Blackledge, A. (2015). Metacommentary in Linguistic Ethnography. In J. Snell, S. Shaw and F. Copland (Eds.) *Linguistic Ethnography: Interdisciplinary Explorations* (pp. 266-284). Palgrave Macmillan.
- Crow, G. P. and Allan, G. (1995). Community types, community typologies and community time. *Time and Society*, 4(2), 147-166.
- Dailey-O’Cain, J. and Liebscher, G. (2011). Language attitudes, migrant identities and space, *International Journal of the Sociology of Language*, 2011(212), 91-133.
- Duchêne, A. and Heller, M. (eds). (2012). *Language in Late Capitalism: Pride and Profit*. New York and Oxford: Routledge. Chapter 1,2,3,6.
- de Vaus, D.A. (2001). *Research design in Social research*. London: Sage. pp1-33.
- Emerson, R. M., Fretz, R. I. and Shaw, L.L. (1995). *Writing ethnographic fieldnotes* (2nd edition). Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Erikson, E. H. (1968). *Identity, Youth and Crisis*. New York: W. W. Norton Company.
- Erickson, F. (1986). Qualitative methods in research on teaching. In Merlin C. Wittrock (ed.), *Handbook of research on teaching* (3rd ed) (pp. 119-161). New York: Macmillan.
- Erickson, F. (1990). Qualitative methods. In R.L. Linn and F. Erickson (Eds.) *Research in teaching and learning* (Vol.2, pp.77-195). New York, Macmillan.
- Fairclough, N. (2013). *Critical Discourse Analysis: The Critical Study of Language*. Oxon and New York: Routledge.
- Francis, B., Archer, L. and Mau, A. (2009). Language as capital, or language as identity?

- Chinese complementary school pupils' perspectives on the purposes and benefits of complementary schools. *British Educational Research Journal* 25, 4, 519–53.
- Francis, B., Archer, L. and Mau, A. (2010). Parents' and teachers' constructions of the purposes of Chinese complementary schooling: 'culture', identity and power, *Race Ethnicity and Education*, 13(1), 101-117.
- Gal, S. (2006). Migration, minorities and multilingualism: Language ideologies in Europe. In C. Mar-Molinero & P. Stevenson (eds.), *Language ideologies, policies and practices. Language and the future of Europe* (pp. 13–27). Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.
- García, O. (2007). Foreword. In S. Makoni & A. Pennycook (eds.), *Disinventing and reconstituting languages* (pp. xi–xv). Clevedon: Multilingual Matters.
- García O. (2009). *Bilingual education in the 21st Century: A global perspective*. Oxford: Wiley.
- García, O. (2010). Linguaging and ethnifying. In J. Fishman & O. García (eds.), *Handbook of Language and Ethnicity: Disciplinary and Regional Perspectives* (2nd ed.), vol. 1, (pp. 519–535). New York: Oxford University Press.
- García, O. (2011). Educating New York's bilingual children: Constructing a future from the past. *International Journal of Bilingual Education and Bilingualism*, 14(2), 133-153.
- García, O. and Li, Wei (2014). *Translanguaging: Language, Bilingualism, and Education*. London: Palgrave.
- Gee, J. P., Allen, A-R., and Clinton, K. (2001). Language, class, and identity: teenagers fashioning themselves through language. *Linguistics and Education*, 12(2), 175-194.
- Georgakopoulou, A. (2007). *Small stories, Interaction and Identities*. Amsterdam and Philadelphia: John Benjamins Publishing. Chapter 4 and 5.
- Giddens, A. (1990). *The Consequences of Modernity*. Cambridge: Polity Press.
- Giddens, A. (1994). Risk, trust, reflexivity'. In U. Beck, A. Giddens, and S. Lash (eds.), *Reflexive Modernization: Politics, Tradition and Aesthetics in the Modern Social Order*, Stanford University Press, Stanford.
- Giddens, A. (2002). *Runaway World: How Globalisation is Reshaping our Lives*. London: Profile Books. Chapter 1.
- Gill, M. (2011). Authenticity. In J. Ostman and J. Verschueren (eds.) *Pragmatics in Practice: Handbook of Pragmatics Highlights*, Vol 9, 46-65. Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins.

- Gillis, C., & Johnson, C. L. (2002). Metaphor as renewal: re-imagining our professional selves. *The English Journal*, 91(6), 37-43.
- Glick Schiller, N. and Çağlar, A. (2016). Displacement, emplacement and migrant newcomers: rethinking urban sociabilities within multiscalar power, *Identities*, 23(1),17-34.
- Goffman, E. (1959). *The Presentation of Self in Everyday Life*. New York: Doubleday. Chapter 1.
- Gomez, E. T. (2007). Family firms, transnationalism and generational change: Chinese enterprise in Britain and Malaysia. *East Asia*, 24,153-172.
- Grinevald, C., & Bert, M. (2011). Speakers and communities. In P.K. Austin and J. Sallabank (Eds.), *Cambridge handbook of endangered languages* (pp. 45–65). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Gumperz, J. (1964). Linguistics and social interaction in two communities. *American Anthropologist*, 66(6), 137-153.
- Gumperz, J. (1982). *Discourse strategies*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Gumperz, J. (1986). Interactional sociolinguistics in the study of schooling. In J. Cook-Gumperz (ed) *The Social Construction of Literacy* (pp.45-68). Cambridge: CUP.
- Gumperz, J. and Hymes, D. (1972). *Directions in Sociolinguistics: The Ethnography of Communication*. New York: Holt, Rhinehart and Winston.
- Hall, S. (1990). Cultural, identity and diaspora. In J. Rutherford (Ed.) *Identity, community, culture, difference* (pp.222–37). London: Lawrence & Wishart.
- Hall, K. (2014). Hypersubjectivity: Language, anxiety, and indexical dissonance in globalization. *Journal of Asian Pacific Communication* 24(2), 261-273.
- He, A. W. and Xiao, Y. (2008). *Chinese as a heritage language: Fostering rooted world citizenry*, National Foreign Language Resource Centre, University of Hawai'i at Manoa.
- Heller, M. (1999). *Linguistic minorities and modernity: A sociolinguistic ethnography*. New York, NY: Longman.
- Heller, M. (2001). Critique and sociolinguistic analysis of discourse. *Critique of Anthropology*, 21(2), 117-141.
- Heller, M. (2002). Globalization and the commodification of bilingualism in Canada. In D. Block and D. Cameron (eds.), *Globalization and Language Teaching*, London: Routledge, 47–63.

- Heller, M. (2003). Globalization the new economy, and the commodification of language and identity. *Journal of Sociolinguistics*, 7(4), 473-492.
- Heller, M. (2006). *Linguistic Minorities and Modernity (2nd Ed)*, Continuum.
- Heller, M. (2007). Bilingualism as ideology and practice. In M. Heller (ed.), *Bilingualism: A social approach* (pp. 1–24). Basingstoke: Palgrave.
- Heller, M. (2008). Doing Ethnography. In Li Wei and M. Moyer (Eds.) *The Blackwell Guide to Research Methods in Bilingualism and Multilingualism* (pp. 246-262), Blackwell.
- Heller, M. (2010). The Commodification of Language. *Annual Review of anthropology*, 39,101-114.
- Heller, M. (2011) *Paths to Post-nationalism: A critical Ethnography of Language and Identity*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Heller, M. & M Martin-Jones (eds) (2001). *Voices of Authority*. New Jersey: Ablex.
- Heller, M., & Duchêne, A. (2007). Discourses of endangerment: Sociolinguistics, globalization, and social order. In A. Duchêne & M. Heller (eds.) *Discourses of endangerment. Ideology and interests in the defence of languages* (pp. 1–13). London: Continuum.
- Heller, M. and Duchêne, A. (2012). Pride and Profit: changing Discourses of Language, Captical and Nation-State. In A. Duchêne and M. Heller (eds.) *Language in Late Caplitalism: Pride and Profit*. Oxon, New York: Routledge.
- Holquist, M. (2002). *Dialogism*. Oxon, New York: Routledge. Chapter 2, 3, 7.
- Hornberger, N. H. (1994). Ethnography. *TESOL Quarterly*, 23:160-165.
- Hornberger, N. H. (1995). Ethnography in linguistic perspective: understanding school processes. *Language and Education* 9(4). 233–248.
- Hornberger, N. H.(2006). Nichols to NCLB: Local and global perspectives on U.S. language education policy. In O. García, T. Skutnabb-Kangas, & M. E. Torres-Guzmán (Eds.), *Imagining multilingual schools: Languages in Education and Globalization* (pp. 223-237). Cleveland, UK: Multilingual Matters.
- Hornberger, N. H.(2007). Multilingual language policies and the continua of illiteracy: an ecological approach. In O.Garcia and C.Baker (eds.). *Bilingual Education: An Introductory Reader*(pp. 177-94). Clevedon, Buffalo and Toronto: Multilingual Matters.
- Hunt, C. (2006). Travels with a turtle: metaphors and the making of a professional identity, *Reflective Practice*, 7(3), 315-332.

- Hymes, D. (1971). *On Communicative Competence*, University of Pennsylvania Press, Philadelphia.
- Hymes, D. (1972) Models of the interaction of language and social life. In J. Gumperz & D. Hymes (eds) *Directions in Sociolinguistics: The Ethnography of Communication* (pp.35-71). Oxford: Blackwell.
- Hymes, D. (1980). Language in education: forward to fundamentals. From *Language in education: Ethnolinguistic essays*. Washington: Center for Applied Linguistics.
- Jacobs, G. and Slembrouck, S. (2010). Notes on linguistic ethnography as a liminal activity. *Text and Talk*, 30(2), 235-244.
- Jaffe, A. (2015a). Staging language on Corsica: Stance, improvisation, play and heteroglossia. *Language in Society*, 44,161-186.
- Jaffe, A. (2015b). Defining the new speaker: theoretical perspective and learner trajectories. *International Journal of the Sociology of Language*. 231, 21-44.
- Jaffe, A. Koven, M., Perrino, S. and Vigouroux, C. (2015). Introduction: Heteroglossia, performance, power, and participation. *Language in Society*, 44, 135-139.
- Jaworski, A. (2012). Metrolingual art: Multilingualism and heteroglossia, *International Journal of Bilingualism*, 18(2):134-158
- Jørgensen, J. N. (2010). The sociolinguistic study of youth language and youth identities. In J.N. Jørgensen (ed.) *Love Ya Hate Ya: The Sociolinguistic Study of Youth Language and Youth Identities* (pp.1-14). Newcastle upon Tyne:Cambridge Scholars Publishing.
- Kramersch, C. (1998). The privilege of the intercultural speakers. In M. Byram and M. Fleming (eds.) *Language Learning in Intercultural Perspective: Approaches through Drama and Ehnography* (pp. 16-31). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Kramersch, C. (2012). Imposture: A Late Modern Notion in Poststructuralist SLA Research. *Applied Linguistics*, 33(5), 483-502.
- Lewis, G., Jones, B. and Baker, C. (2012). Translanguaging: developing its conceptualisation and contextualisation. *Educational Research and Evaluation*, 18(7), 655-670.
- Li Wei (2006). Complementary schools, Past, Present and Future. *Language and Education*, 20(1), 76-83.

- Li Wei (2007). Chinese. In D. Britain (ed.) *Language of the British Isles* (pp.308–324). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Li Wei (2011a). Moment analysis and translanguaging space. *Journal of Pragmatics*, 43(5), 1222–1235.
- Li Wei (2011b). Multilinguality, Multimodality, and Multicompetence: Code-and Modeswitching by Minority Ethnic Children in Complementary Schools. *The Modern Language Journal*, 95(3), 370-384.
- Li Wei (2013). Negotiating funds of knowledge and symbolic competence in the complementary school classrooms. *Language and Education*, 28(2), 161–180.
- Li Wei (ed.) (2016). *Multilingualism in Chinese Diasporas Worldwide*. New York and Oxon: Routledge.
- Li Wei and Wu, C-J. (2009). Polite Chinese children revisited: creativity and the use of codeswitching in the Chinese complementary school classroom. *International Journal of Bilingual Education and Bilingualism*, 12 (2), 193-211.
- Li, Wei and Wu, C-J. (2010). Literacy and socialisational teaching in Chinese complementary schools. In V. Lytra & P. Martin (eds) *Site of Multilingualism* (pp.33–44). Stoke-on-Trent: Trentham Books.
- Li Wei and Zhu Hua (2013a). Diaspora: Multilingual and intercultural communication across time and space, *ALLA Review* 26, 42-56.
- Li, Wei and Zhu, Hua. (2013b). Translanguaging identities and ideologies: Creating transnational space through dynamic multilingual practices amongst Chinese university students in the UK. *Applied Linguistics*, 34(5), 516-535.
- Li, Wei, Zhu, Hua and Wu, C-J. (2009). Doing Britishness: Multilingual practices, creativity and criticality of British Chinese children. In Thomas, N. P. (ed) *Children, Politics and Communication: Participation at the Margins*. Bristol: Policy Press.
- Li, J., Juffermans, K., Kroon, S. & Blommaert, J (2012). Chineseness as a moving target Intermediate report for the HERA Project, Tilburg Case Study. *Tilburg Papers in Culture Studies*, paper 19.
- Lytra, V. (2013). From kebabçı to Professional: The Commodification of Language and Social Mobility in Turkish Complementary Schools in the UK. In A. Duchene, M. Moyer, and C. Roberts (eds.) *Language, Migration and Social Inequalities: A Critical Sociolinguistic Perspective on Institutions and Work* (pp.147-170), Bristol, Buffalo and Toronto: Multilingual Matters.
- Lytra, V. and Martin, P. W. (2010). *Sites of Multilingualism: Complementary Schools in Britain Today*. Stoke-On-Trent: Trentham Books.

- Makoni, S., and A. Pennycook (2007). Disinventing and reconstituting languages. In S. Makoni and A. Pennycook (eds.), *Disinventing and reconstituting languages* (pp. 1-41). Clevedon: Multilingual Matters.
- Mandel, E. (1975)[1999]. *Late Capitalism*. Verso Classics. UK: Trowbridge and Esher. Chapter 16 and 17.
- Marcus, M. (1995). Ethnography in/of the world system: the emergence of multi-sited ethnography. *Annual Review of Anthropology*, 24, 95-117.
- Martin-Jones, M. (2016). Researching language-in-education in diverse, twenty-first century settings. *Language and Education*, 30(2), 186-195.
- Massey, D. (2005). *For Space*. London: SAGE. Part 5.
- Mau, A., Francis, B. and Archer, L. (2009). Mapping politics and pedagogy: Understanding the population and practices of Chinese complementary schools in England. *Ethnography and Education*, 4(1), 17-36.
- McCarty, T. (2015). How the Logic of Gap Discourse Perpetuates Education Inequality: A View from the Ethnography of Language Policy. *Journal of Linguistic Anthropology*, 25(1), 70-72.
- Mead, G. H. (1934). *Mind, Self and Society: From the Standpoint of a Social Behaviourist*. Chicago, London : Chicago University Press.
- Meissner, F. and Vertovec, S. (2015). Comparing super-diversity. *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 38(4), 541-555.
- Mockler, N. (2011). Beyond 'what works': understanding teacher identity as a practical and political tool. *Teachers and Teaching*, 17(5), 517-528.
- Morley, D. (2000). *Home Territories: Media, Mobility and Identity*. London and New York: Routledge. Chapter 7, 8,9,10,11.
- Nowicka, M. and Vertovec, S. (2014). Introduction, comparing convivialities: Dreams and realities of living-with-difference. *European Journal of Cultural Studies*, 0(0), 1-16.
- Omoniyi, T. (2014). A borderlands' perspective of language and globalization. *International Journal of the Sociology of Language*, 227, 9-23.
- Ong, A. (1993). On the edge of empires: Flexible citizenship among Chinese in diaspora. *Positions*, 1(3), 745-748.
- Ong, A. (1999). *Flexible citizenship: the Cultural Logics of Transnationality*. Durham: Duke University Press.

- Pavlenko, A., & Blackledge, A. (2004). New theoretical approaches to the study of negotiation of identities in multilingual contexts. In A. Pavlenko & A. Blackledge (eds.), *Negotiation of identities in multilingual contexts* (pp. 1–33). Clevedon: Multilingual Matters.
- Peirce, C. S. (1991). (ed by Hoopes, J.). *Writings on Semiotic*, Chapel Hill and London: The University of North Carolina Press. Chapter 3.
- Pennycook, A. (2007). *Global Englishes and Transcultural Flows*. London: Routledge.
- Pennycook, A. (2012). *Language and Mobility: Unexpected Places*. Bristol, Buffalo and Toronto: Multilingual Matters. Chapter 2.
- Pennycook, A. and Mitchell, T. (2009). Hip Hop as Dusty Foot Philosophy: Engaging Locality. In H. S. Alim, A. Ibrahim, and A. Pennycook (Eds.) *Global Linguistic Flows: Hip Hop Culture, Youth Identities, and the Politics of Language*. New York and London: Routledge.
- Pennycook, A. and Otsuji, E. (2014). Market Lingos and Metrolingua Francas. *International Multilingual Research Journal*. 8(4), 255-270.
- Pike, K. L. (1967). *Language in Relation to a Unified Theory of the Structures of Human Behavior* (2nd edition). The Hague: Mouton.
- Rampton, B. (1995). *Crossing: Language and ethnicity among adolescents*. London: Longman.
- Rampton, B. (2006). *Language in Late Modernity*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Rampton, B. (2007). Neo-Hymesian linguistic ethnography in the United Kingdom, *Journal of Sociolinguistics*, 11(5), 587-601.
- Rampton, B. (2010). Speech Community. In J. Jaspers, Östman, J-O, and Verschueren, J. (Eds) *Handbook of Pragmatics Highlights Volume 7*. MLA.
- Rampton, B. (2011). From ‘Multi-ethnic adolescent heteroglossia’ to ‘Contemporary urban vernaculars’. *Language & Communication* 31, 276–294.
- Rampton, B., Roberts, C., Leung, C and Harris, R. (2002). Methodology in the analysis of classroom discourse. *Applied Linguistics*, 23(3), 373-392.
- Rampton, B., Maybin, J. and Roberts, C. (2015). Theory and Method in Linguistic Ethnography. In J. Snell, S. Shaw and F. Copland (Eds.) *Linguistic Ethnography: Interdisciplinary Explorations* (pp. 14-50). Palgrave Macmillan.

- Rapley, T. J. (2001). The art(fulness) of open-ended interviewing: some considerations on analysing itnerciwes, *Qualitative Research*, 1(3), 303-23.
- Richards, K. (2003). *Qualitative Inquiries in TESOL*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Robertson, R. (1992). *Globalization: Social Theory and global Culture*. London: Sage. Chapter 1,2, 3,9.
- Robertson, R. (1995). Globalization: Time-Space and Homogeniety-Heterogenity. In M. Featherstone, S. Lash, and R. Robertson (eds.), *Global Modernities*, London: Sage, pp.25-44.
- Robson, C. (2002). *Real World Research: A Resource for Social Scientists and Practioners-researchers (2nd edition)*. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Rymes, B. (2014). *Communicating Beyond Language. Everyday Encounters with Diversity*. London: Routledge.
- Seargent, P. (2009). Language ideology, language theory, and the regulation of linguistic behaviour, *Language Sciences*, 31(4), 345-359.
- Seale, C. (1998). Qualitative interview, In C. Seale (ed.) *Researching Society and Culture* (pp. 202-216), London: Sage.
- Silverstein, M. (1977). Cultural Prerequisites to grammatical analysis. In M. Saville-Troike (ed.), *Linguistics and Anthropology: Georgetown University Round Table on Language and Linguistics*, (pp. 139-51). Washington: Georgetown University Press.
- Silverstein, M. (1980). Shifters, linguistic categories and cultural description. In K. Basso and H. Selby (eds.) *Meaning in anthropology* (pp.11–55). Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press.
- Silverstein, M. (2003). Indexical order and the dialectics of sociolinguistic life. *Language and Communication*, 23(3-4), 193–229.
- Shipman, M. (1997). *The Limitations of Social Research (4th edition)*. London and New York: Longman. Part 1 and 2.
- Steinby, L. and Klapuri, T. (eds.) (2013). *Bakhtin and His Others: (Inter)subjectivity, Chronotope, Dialogism*. London and New York: Anthem Press. Introduction chapter, Chapter 1, 4,7, 8.
- Swain, M. (1983). Bilingualism without tears. In M. Clarke & J. Handscombe (Eds.), *On TESOL 82: Pacific perspectives on language learning and teaching* (pp. 35–46). Washington, DC: TESOL.

- Thrope, H. (2012). The ethnographic interview in the sports field: towards a postmodern sensibility, In K. Young and M. Atkinson (eds) *Qualitative Research on Sport and Physical Culture* (pp51-78). Bingley: Emerald Group Publishing.
- Tickle, L. (2000). *Teacher Induction: The Way Ahead*. Buckingham and Philadelphia: Open University Press.
- Tsgarousianou, R. (2004). Rethinking the concept of diaspora: mobility, connectivity and communication in a globalised world. *Westminster Papers in Communication and Culture*. 1(1), 52-65.
- Tölölian, K. (1991). The Nation State and its Others: In Lieu of a Preface. *Diaspora* 1(1),3-7.
- Tusting, K. and Maybin, J. (2007). Linguistic ethnography and interdisciplinary: Opening the discussion, *Journal of Sociolinguistics* 11(5), 575–583.
- Tu, W-M. (1991). *The Triadic Chord: Confucian Ethics, Industrial East Asia, and Max Weber: Proceedings of the 1987 Singapore Conference on Confucian Ethics and the Modernization of Industrial East Asia*, Singapore: Institute of East Asian Philosophies.
- Usher, R. (1996). A Critique of the Neglected Epistemological assumptions of Educational Research. In D. Scott and R. Usher (eds.) *Understanding Educational Research* (pp. 9-32). Oxford: Routledge.
- Vertovec, S. (2006). Migrant transnationalism and modes of transformation. *International Migration Review*, 38(3), 970-1001.
- Vertovec, S. (2007). Super-diversity and its implications. *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 29(6), 1024–1054.
- Vice, S. (1997). *Introducing Bakhtin*. Manchester: Manchester University Press.
- Volkman, M. J. & Anderson, M. A, (1998). Creating professional identity: Dilemmas and metaphors of a first -year Chemistry teacher. *Science Education*, 82(3), 293-310.
- Wang, S. C. (1996). Improving Chinese language schools: Issues and recommendations. In X. Wang (ed.) *A view from within: A case study of Chinese heritage community language schools in the United States* (pp. 63–67). The National Foreign Language Center. Monograph Series.
- Wang, C. (2005) Review of and reflection on the standardization of Chinese language., *Applied Linguistics*, 2(1), 45-62.
- Wang, G. (2009). Chinese history paradigms. *Asian Ethnicity*, 10(3), 201-216.

- Watson-Gegeo, K. A. (1988). Ethnography in ESL: Defining the essentials. *TESOL Quarterly*, 22(4), 575-92.
- Wortham, S. (2001). Language ideology and educational research. *Linguistics and Educational Research*, 12(2), 253-259.
- Woolard, K. (1998). Introduction: Language ideology as a field inquiry. In B. Schieffelein, K. Woolard, and P. Kroskrity (Eds.) *Language Ideologies* (pp. 3-47). Oxford University Press.
- Wu, H., Palmer, D. & Field, S.L. (2011). Understanding teachers' professional identity and beliefs in the Chinese heritage language school in the USA, *Language, Culture and Curriculum*, 24(1), 47-60.
- Yeh, D. (2014). Contesting the 'model minority': racialization, youth culture and 'British Chinese'/'Oriental' nights. *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 37(7), 1197-1210.
- Yin, R. K. (2009). *Case Study Research: design and methods (4th edition)*. Los Angeles: SAGE.
- Yeng Seng and Lim Seok Lai (2010). Global Mandarin. In V. Vaish (ed.) *Globalization of Language and Culture in Asia: The impact of Globalization Processes on Language* (pp.14-33). London and New York: Continuum.
- Zhou, M. & Li, X-Y. (2003). Ethnic language schools and the development of supplementary education in the immigrant Chinese community in the United States. *New Directions for Youth Development*, 2003(100), 57-73.
- Zhu, H. & Li, W. (2014). Geopolitics and the changing hierarchies of the Chinese language: Implications for policy and practice of Chinese language teaching in Britain. *Modern Language Journal*, 98(1), 326-39.

Appendix 1

Research questions at different stages

| | |
|--|--|
| July, 2012 Before PhD study | Investigating bilingual pedagogies in Chinese complementary schools in the UK: <ol style="list-style-type: none">(1) Teachers' ideologies of bilingualism and their pedagogical classroom practices;(2) The influence from parental language ideologies on this bilingual education. |
| July, 2013 Beginning of fieldwork | <ol style="list-style-type: none">(1) How do teachers employ, contextualize and reproduce language ideologies in their Chinese teaching practices in complementary schools in the UK?(2) How do teachers identify themselves as language teachers teaching Chinese as a heritage language in the UK?(3) What are the development needs for these educators to become professional language teachers in this particular educational context? |
| April, 2015 First phase of thesis writing | <ol style="list-style-type: none">(1) What language ideologies are constructed and developed in teachers' practices in a Chinese complementary school?(2) How do Chinese teachers perform their professional identities in complementary school teaching practices?(3) How is Chineseness being negotiated in a Chinese complementary school? |
| January, 2016 Final stage of thesis writing | Heteroglossia, ideology and identity in a Birmingham Chinese complementary school: a linguistic ethnography: <ol style="list-style-type: none">(1) What language ideologies are constructed, negotiated, and developed by the adult participants in the Chinese complementary school?(2) How do Chinese language teachers perform and negotiate their professional identities in complementary school teaching practices?(3) How do the local multilingual practices reflect ethnic identifications of 'Chineseness' in and around the CCS? |

