

**MULTILINGUALISM AND LANGUAGE PRACTICE OF
MINORITY LANGUAGE BACKGROUND YOUTHS: A CASE
STUDY OF THE ETHNIC KOREAN YOUTHS IN CHINA**

by

Meilan Piao Ehlert

B.A. (honors), Tokyo University of Foreign Studies, 1999

THESIS
SUBMITTED IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF
THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF
MASTER OF ARTS

By Special Arrangement Interdisciplinary Studies
Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences

© Meilan Piao Ehlert 2008

SIMON FRASER UNIVERSITY

Fall 2008

All rights reserved. This work may not be
reproduced in whole or in part, by photocopy
or other means, without the permission of the author.

Approval

Name: Meilan Piao Ehlert
Degree: Master of Arts
Title of Thesis: Multilingualism and Language Practice of Minority Language Background Youths: A Case Study of the Ethnic Korean Youths in China

Examining Committee:

Chair: Dr. George Agnes
Associate Dean, Faculty of Graduate Studies

Dr. Michael Howard
Senior Supervisor
Professor, School for International Studies

Dr. Daniele Moore
Supervisor
Professor, Faculty of Education

Dr. Panayiotis Pappas
Supervisor
Assistant Professor, Department of Linguistics

Dr. Hiroko Noro
External Examiner
Associate Professor, Department of Asia Pacific Studies
University of Victoria

Date Defended/Approved: _____



SIMON FRASER UNIVERSITY
THINKING OF THE WORLD

PARTIAL COPYRIGHT LICENSE

I **hereby grant** to Simon Fraser University Library the right to lend my thesis, project or extended essay[s] (title[s] below) to users of the Simon Fraser University Library, and to make partial or single copies only for such users or in response to a request from the library of any other university, or other educational institution, on its own behalf or for one of its users.

I **further grant** permission to Simon Fraser University Library to keep or make a digital copy for use in its circulating collection (currently available to the public at the "Institutional Repository" link of the SFU Library website <www.lib.sfu.ca> at: <<http://ir.lib.sfu.ca/handle/1892/112>>). I agree that SFU may, without changing the content, translate if technically possible, my thesis/project or extended essays to any medium or format for the purpose of preservation of the digital work.

I **further agree** that permission for multiple copying of this work for scholarly purposes may be granted by me or the Dean of Graduate Studies. It is understood that copying, publication or public performance of this work for financial gain shall not be allowed without my written permission.

While licensing SFU to permit the above uses, I retain full copyright in my thesis, project or extended essays, including the right to change the work for subsequent purposes, including editing and publishing the work in whole or in part, and licensing other parties as I may desire.

Multimedia License:

- Not applicable.** A multimedia license is not applicable to this work.
No separate DVD or CD-ROM material is included in this work.

or

- A DVD or CD-ROM is submitted as part of this work. A multimedia license is required for this work, of which:
- Public performance is permitted:
Multimedia materials that form part of this work are hereby licensed to Simon Fraser University for educational, non-theatrical public performance use only. This license permits single copies to be made for libraries as for print material with this same limitation of use.
 - Public performance is not permitted:
Multimedia materials that form part of this work are hereby licensed to Simon Fraser University for private scholarly purposes only, and may not be used for any form of public performance. This license permits single copies to be made for libraries as for print material with this same limitation of use.

Title of Thesis/Project/Extended Essays:

**Multilingualism and Language Practice of Minority Language Background Youths:
A Case Study of the Ethnic Korean Youths in China**

Author's name
and signature: _____

Date signed: _____



SIMON FRASER UNIVERSITY
THINKING OF THE WORLD

DECLARATION OF PARTIAL COPYRIGHT LICENSE

The author, whose copyright is declared on the title page of this work, has granted to Simon Fraser University the right to lend this thesis, project or extended essay to users of the Simon Fraser University Library, and to make partial or single copies only for such users or in response to a request from the library of any other university, or other educational institution, on its own behalf or for one of its users.

The author has further granted permission to Simon Fraser University to keep or make a digital copy for use in its circulating collection (currently available to the public at the "Institutional Repository" link of the SFU Library website <www.lib.sfu.ca> at: <http://ir.lib.sfu.ca/handle/1892/112>>) and, without changing the content, to translate the thesis/project or extended essays, if technically possible, to any medium or format for the purpose of preservation of the digital work.

The author has further agreed that permission for multiple copying of this work for scholarly purposes may be granted by either the author or the Dean of Graduate Studies.

It is understood that copying or publication of this work for financial gain shall not be allowed without the author's written permission.

Permission for public performance, or limited permission for private scholarly use, of any multimedia materials forming part of this work, may have been granted by the author. This information may be found on the separately catalogued multimedia material and in the signed Partial Copyright License.

While licensing SFU to permit the above uses, the author retains copyright in the thesis, project or extended essays, including the right to change the work for subsequent purposes, including editing and publishing the work in whole or in part, and licensing other parties, as the author may desire.

The original Partial Copyright License attesting to these terms, and signed by this author, may be found in the original bound copy of this work, retained in the Simon Fraser University Archive.

Simon Fraser University
Library
Burnaby, BC, Canada



SIMON FRASER UNIVERSITY
THINKING OF THE WORLD

STATEMENT OF ETHICS APPROVAL

The author, whose name appears on the title page of this work, has obtained, for the research described in this work, either:

(a) Human research ethics approval from the Simon Fraser University Office of Research Ethics,

or

(b) Advance approval of the animal care protocol from the University Animal Care Committee of Simon Fraser University;

or has conducted the research

(c) as a co-investigator, in a research project approved in advance,

or

(d) as a member of a course approved in advance for minimal risk human research, by the Office of Research Ethics.

A copy of the approval letter has been filed at the Theses Office of the University Library at the time of submission of this thesis or project.

The original application for approval and letter of approval are filed with the relevant offices. Inquiries may be directed to those authorities.

Bennett Library
Simon Fraser University
Burnaby, BC, Canada

Abstract

This dissertation explores the interrelation of language, identity, and multilingualism among language minority youths through sociolinguistic and ethnographic lenses. Drawing from the data collected in a case study of six multilingual ethnic Korean teenagers from the *ChaoXianZu* Diaspora in Beijing, China, this study illustrates the interplay of the macro-level conditions and micro-level processes through which these youths negotiate their identities in multilingual contexts. Followed by a debate of the nature of contemporary Chinese nationalism, the study also examines the relationship between nationalism, multilingualism, language, and identities among minority groups in general. The findings suggest that multilingual speakers tend to devalue their own language knowledge, and consequently undermine their own legitimacy as multilingual. In turn, it is suggested that the schools and educators must pay attention to this tendency, which will affect the self esteem and vigorous intellectual development of the minority language background students in this multilingual era.

Keywords: Koreans; Multilingualism; Minorities; Applied Linguistics; Identity; Immigration

Subject Terms: Minority Groups in China; Ethnic Language-Discourse Analysis; Multilingualism; Second Language Acquisition; Poststructuralist Theory (Sociolinguistics); Ethnography of Communication

Acknowledgements

This dissertation would not have been possible without the ongoing guidance and warm encouragements from my advisory committee members, Dr. Daniele Moore, Dr. Panos Pappas, and my senior supervisor Dr. Michael Howard. I truly appreciate with their strong interests in my topic, and their ongoing supports through out the different stages of my research. I am also thankful to Dr. Hiroko Noro, my external examiner, for carefully reading my dissertation and giving me invaluable suggestions for the final revision.

I am very grateful to many people who generously offered me their supports, encouragements, and inspirations to my study, especially Dr. Tsuyoshi Kawasaki, Dr. Kelleen Toohey, Dr. Sarah Hickenbottom, Professor Tai PingWu in the Central University of Nationalities in Beijing China, Vivian Blaker, Thomas Davison, Gwyn Pritchett, Sarah C.H. Piao, Shen ShuZi, Liu ZhenCheng, and my elder brother Piao YongZhe and his family in Beijing China. I would like to thank Sarah Fleming, Don Sturge for their comments on the early drafts of the introductory chapters, and the precious comments from many other anonymous contributors. I would also like to express my gratitude to the six teenager participants and their parents who supported this research by agreeing to share their perspectives and precious stories to this study. Finally, I want to thank my husband Drew and daughter Amy, and all my other family members and friends who have been encouraging me and supporting me with great patience in the past two years during this study. I dedicate this study to you.

Simon Fraser University supported my graduate study through various teaching assistantships for which I am truly thankful.

Dedication

To my family

Table of Contents

Approval	ii
Abstract	iii
Acknowledgements	iv
Dedication	v
Table of Contents	vi
List of Tables	viii
Abbreviations	ix
English Translations of Key Chinese Terms	x
Introduction.....	1
1. Why This Study?	1
2. Goals, Research Position, Research Rationales.....	5
1. Background Info	10
1.1 Overview: Minority Groups in China.....	10
1.2 China's Nationalism and Overall Government Minority Policy	14
1.2.1 China's Nationalism.....	14
1.2.2 Autonomy.....	15
1.2.3 Minority Education Policies, Since 1949.....	17
1.3 The <i>ChaoXianZu</i> People.....	20
1.4 A New Ethnic Korean Diaspora in Beijing	26
2. Language and Identities in the Sociocultural World.....	28
2.1 Identities in Multilingual Context.....	29
2.1.1 Characteristics of Identities	30
2.2 Research on Multilingualism.....	35
2.3 Research on Language Attitudes, Ideologies and Language Policies	38
2.3.1 Language Attitudes and Ideologies	40
2.3.2 Nationalism and Language Ideology.....	43
2.3.3 The Nature of Language Policies	44
2.4 The Impacts of Chinese Nationalism on Multilingualism, Language and Identities of China's Minorities	45
3. Context and Methodology	54
3.1 Context of the Study	54
3.1.1 Theoretical Framework	55
3.2 Research Questions.....	63
3.3 Methodology.....	65
3.3.1 The Participants.....	65
3.3.2 Data Collection.....	68

4. Types of Multilingualism and Their Conditions of Emergence.....	72
4.1 Types of Language Use	73
4.2 The Family: Attitudes toward Multilingualism	79
4.3 The Family: Attitudes toward Ethnicity and Ethnic Language Education.....	81
4.4 Summary.....	84
5. The Stories: The Teenagers.....	85
5.1 Attitudes toward Multilingualism.....	86
5.2 Attitudes toward Ethnicity and Ethnic Language Education.....	87
5.2.1 Mother Tongue(s).....	89
5.2.2 Attitudes toward Attending Formal Ethnic Education Institutions.....	92
5.2.3 School Transferring Experience.....	94
5.3 Authorizing Self: Negotiating Identities through Multiple Languages	99
5.3.1 ‘Legitimate Identity’?.....	102
5.3.2 Chunhee.....	104
5.4 Summary.....	113
6. Conclusions.....	118
Notes	126
Bibliography	129
List of Maps	133
1. Map of China	133
2. Map of the Main Cities/Prefectures in the Northeast Provinces of China where the Korean Nationalities Reside	134
Appendices.....	135
Appendix A. Tables for Chapter 4.....	135
Appendix B. Questionnaires and Interview Questions.....	138
Appendix C. Consent Form for Parents/Guardians	143
Appendix D. Participant Consent Form	145
Appendix E. Study Information.....	147

List of Tables

Table 1.1 China's Minority Groups	12
Table 1.2 Changes in the regional Korean population since 1982	24
Table 3.4.1 Participants' profile	66
Table 4.1.1 Types of Languages and Fluency	135
Table 4.1.2 Ethnic Language Fluency	135
Table 4.1.3 Implicational Scale for the Language Choices	136
Table 4.1.4 Language Choices in Literacy	137

Abbreviations

PRC	People's Republic of China
R. Korea	Republic of Korea, or South Korea
P. D. Korea	People's Democratic Korea, or North Korea
CCP	Chinese Communist Party
EC	Ethnography of Communication Analysis
SN	Social Network Analysis

English Translations of Key Chinese Terms

<i>Zhonghua Minzu</i>	The Chinese people; The united Chinese <i>Minzu</i>
<i>Chao Xian Zu</i>	The ethnic Korean minorities in China
<i>Min Zu</i>	Nationality; Ethnic group
<i>Shaoshu Minzu</i>	Ethnic minorities
<i>Zanzhu Jumin</i>	Temporary resident

Introduction

1. Why This Study?

To understand the issues of identity and how they affect and are affected by social, political, and ethnic divisions, we need to gain insights into the communicative process by which they arise... However, communication cannot be studied in isolation, it must be analyzed in terms of its effect on people's lives... Thus, we must focus on what communication does, how it constrains evaluation and decision making, not merely how it is structured (Gumperz, 1982, p. 1).

It is common for people to assume that there is a correlation between ethnic identity and the level of fluency in an ethnic language. While in practice this is not necessarily true, language and ethnic identity are often strongly connected, especially in small ethnic minority migrant communities. In order to see the complex features of the micro-level identity negotiation process of the individuals in multilingual contexts, it is important to look at both *what they say* and *what they do* in their daily lives. On the one hand, it is important to observe *what they say*, because this is apt to reflect one's ideologies and belief systems that have strong connections with macro-level environments, such as historical, sociocultural, political and economical elements that surround each individual, which may also be strongly interrelated with the development of the community's ideologies and language belief system. As shown in the passages quoted above, Gumperz (1982) notes the importance of analyzing the interrelations between various communications (that inevitably involve languages) and broad social, political and cultural contexts in the studies of identity. In each communication situation, individual speakers are consciously or unconsciously using diverse array of languages,

such as from the formal speech to the casual speech, and from the domestic level languages to the globalized language.

On the other hand, observing what they do is equally important, because *what they say* in the everyday speeches may not be sufficient enough to understand the complexity of multilayered identities and surrounding social cultural aspects of these individuals, as one may miss out some important features of *what they do* in practice, which might be the key to understand the unique characteristics of these communities. In her study about Chonryun Koreans, who are Korean nationalities of North Korea residing in Japan, Ryang (1997) investigates how individuals from this minority group use their socially constituted linguistic capacity and linguistically constructed social resources during the process of formation and negotiation of their new identities. Ryang's study pays close attention to the interrelations between language and ideology as an essential part of the process of each individual's self-identification. For her, looking at people's daily lives (that is, what they do) is very important, because "everyday life is not innocent...as it is full of cultural constructs and penetrated by ideologies dominant in society" (p. 13).

Scarce research has been conducted in English on the overseas Korean immigrants and the minority groups of China within the social science and applied linguistics fields, especially those with a focus on empirical studies on multilingualism and the relationship between language and identities. There are two main issues in current minority related studies in China in the field of sociolinguistics. The first issue is the tendency to include the entire minority related matters from the studies in the specific field assumption. The second issue is the absence of research on bi/multilingual practices among minority language groups in China. To begin with, the majority of the studies on

China's minorities carried out in English mostly emphasize matters related to political and economical development of minority groups in China. In turn, they are apt to present misleading information by missing out some important facts, such as sociohistorical and sociocultural aspects of these minorities, which often form essential parts of the foundation in their creation of a unique community ideology and language belief system among the minority nationalities. While acknowledging a substantial and growing quantity of excellent research about the minorities in China carried out in the West, especially by the researchers from the United States, the Australian researcher Colin Mackerras (2003) also notes that the majority of such works are on the Muslim Chinese, namely the Hui people, and the minority groups in the southern part of China. In other words, very few studies focus on the minority groups in the north-eastern part of China. Specifically, Mackerras' (1994, 1995, 2003) studies cover comprehensive aspects on the political and economical development of minority groups in contemporary China. His studies include reviews of China's minority education systems with comparative case studies of three main minority groups, namely, the Tibetians in Tibet, the Uyghurs in Xinjiang, and the ethnic Koreans in Yanbian. However, the study on ethnic Koreans is rather a brief overview. Heberer's (1989) account on China's minority policies is a critical review of the nature of the Chinese Communist Party government's minority autonomy policy throughout China. The study shows distinctive views about China's nationalism, even though it only includes scarce information about ethnic Koreans.

Even the studies on East Asian languages, such as in Japanese, Korean and Chinese, also indicate the trends in political, economical, sociological and structural linguistic views in the matters relating to China's language education for its minorities. Jin and

Liu's (2007) recently edited book entitled "Problems and Solutions in Ethnic Education in the Ethnic Korean Diaspora in China" presents over 25 articles by scholars and researchers from China and South Korea, as well as by the officers from various minority nationality offices in Beijing, Inner Mongolia, and the three north-eastern provinces of China. Although the main theme focuses on minority related issues, especially ethnic Koreans among China's minorities as a whole, the majority of the articles mostly review the problems and issues briefly with ideal stereotypical suggestions as solutions, rather than providing a specific, in-depth critical analysis of the matters subject to questions.

The second issue in current minority related studies in China is the lack of sociolinguistic perspective on bi/multilingualism in China, not to mention the absence of research on bi/multilingual practices among minority language groups. Most linguistic studies are focused on structured theoretical studies and a few sociological and cultural anthropological studies. Yang (2005) also notes that only a few studies on bilingualism and applied linguistics are available in China. In spite of not being based on empirical research, Yang's study provides an excellent insight into English as a third language among China's ethnic minorities. Myers-Scotton's (2006) recent study of multiple voices briefly reviews bilingualism in China from a sociolinguistic perspective, but only from an introductory level; perhaps because the book was written for undergraduate or graduate students interested in sociolinguistics. Ma Rong's (2006) study on China's bilingual education reviews overall government policies regarding minority language education in the People's Republic of China (PRC). The study provides a sociological perspective on China's nationalism and multilingualism in general, with some empirical data from Ma Rong's previous studies on the Mongolian minorities in Inner Mongolia.

An ethnic Korean professor and sociolinguist, Professor Tai, from the department of ethnic Korean language studies, Central University of Nationalities (CUN) in Beijing, informed the researcher during field work in Beijing at the end of 2007 that most of the students in his department prefer to choose their major in the areas of Hanguo-xue (Study of the Republic of Korea or the Korea peninsular, mainly from historical and economical perspectives) and structural linguistics. Professor Tai further informed the researcher that the study of applied linguistics in China is only in its foundation stage. The research information posted on the websites of the research centers of Korean studies in CUN and University of Beijing clearly confirms the trends pointed out by Professor Tai.

2. Goals, Research Position, Research Rationales

This is a qualitative case study on six multilingual, minority high school youths aged between 13 and 18 years who are from an ethnic Korean minority community in Beijing, China, applying a theoretical framework that combines two approaches. That is, based on the poststructuralist perspectives on the relationship between language and identities in multilingual contexts, one approach is the social network approach for analyzing the type of multilingualism and their conditions of emergence within multigenerational contexts, and the other is the Ethnography of Communication approach for the “etic and emic analysis of communications, and sometimes macro- and micro-level analyses of discourse” (Duff, 2002, p. 3). Through the discussion on the research context in Chapter 2, the researcher argues that this combined framework is highly effective in the studies of languages and identities in multilingual contexts.

The primary goal of the study is to examine the sociohistorical, sociopolitical, sociocultural environments that form the background assumptions underlying the current perspectives about the relationship between language and identity on the studies of minority groups in China. Through a case study, this thesis aims to explore the relationship of language and identity within individuals in the minority communities by exploring the key research question of how these multilingual ethnic minority youths assert, reveal, negotiate and (re)construct their identities through various language practices at home and in their peer groups. To achieve these goals, the main tasks were completed by following the four main steps described below:

Step 1: Evaluating the underlying assumptions of attitude/ideology toward language and nationalism

In this step, described in Chapter 1, the underlying assumptions of the nature of nationalism were examined in relation to multilingualism, language and identities among minority groups by asking how community ideology and the language belief system plays out in the modern urban world. Having this objective in mind, the relationship between languages and identities were first investigated through a literature review of the key terms of language attitudes, ideologies and multilingualism in modern society. This is followed by a discussion on how contemporary Chinese nationalism impacts on languages, ideologies and multilingualism among China's minorities in general.

Step 2: Evaluating the alternative theoretical approaches in the studies of multilingualism and identities

This step, related in Chapter 2 of this dissertation, reviews the context of this study that includes the theoretical framework, research questions, and detailed descriptions of the research methodology. Here, two alternative paradigms were first examined, namely the poststructuralist perspectives of language and identities, and the social network approach in the studies of bi/multilingualism in multi-generational contexts. It is argued that the combined framework of the poststructuralist and the social network approach will be highly capable of capturing the complex identities in modern societies, “where language may not only be ‘markers of identity’ but also sites of resistance, empowerment, solidarity, or discrimination” (Pavlenko & Blackledge, 2004, p. 4).

Step 3: Evaluating the types of multilingualism and their conditions of emergence

Through the concepts of the social network analysis framework (Milroy & Li, 1995), and based on the participants’ self reports and identity narratives, observations took place on the patterns of ‘*what they say*’ and ‘*what they do*’ through various types of personal networks and family ties at home, at school and within peer group relations. Then, the families’ attitudes towards multilingualism, ethnicity and ethnic language education were evaluated. Chapter 3 presents the detailed data and analysis of this step.

Step 4: Implication of a sociocultural view for the relationship between multilingualism and identities

Based on the ‘identity narratives’ (Gumperz, 1982; Kanno, 2003; Pavlenko, 2004) of the six multilingual minority teenage participants from ethnic Korean migrant families in Beijing, China, the implications of sociocultural perspectives were explored to

examine the relationship between multilingualism and identities on individual levels. Chapter 4 describes the detailed stories of the six teenagers and the data analysis.

In order to provide a salient background understanding about the target community, which has not been studied extensively in the western academic society, especially in the fields of sociolinguistics and ethnography, this study first presents an overview of the minority groups in China, the overall government minority policies, an overview of the *ChaoXianZu* (ethnic Korean nationality) and the new ethnic Korean Diaspora in Beijing, the capital city of China.

Finally, Chapter 5 provides a discussion and a conclusion on the findings and implications of this study for the emerging fields of applied linguistics, and second and modern language education.

Two main characteristics of this thesis will differ from other studies. Firstly, the main focus of this study will be on the minority language speaking youth from one particular ethnic community, namely, the ethnic Korean youth in China. The second characteristic is the unique life experience and reflections of the researcher of this study. As a third generation *ChaoXianZu* (ethnic Korean nationality), the researcher was born and raised in a local ethnic Korean community in Mudanjiang Region (where the participants of this study are originally from), receiving elementary and secondary level education there. After completion of a technical Japanese-Chinese translator diploma at a Chinese national university in Heilongjiang province, the researcher moved to Beijing as a skilled new resident and worked there until leaving China for Japan at the beginning of 1993. After over seven years of study and work in Tokyo, Japan, the researcher

immigrated to Vancouver, Canada, in 2000. Living and receiving education in Canada, the nation with a historical and political background of promoting multiculturalism and multilingualism, the researcher became aware of the unique Canadian perspectives on this research topic. As it prompted interest to carry out this research, it is deeply believed that the researcher's life experience and reflections will also bring significant values to the quality of this work. For instance, language competency in four languages (Chinese, Korean, Japanese, and English) will enable access to a wider range of literature studies in their original, and will help build in-depth rapport with the participants and their community. As an 'insider' (a member of the ethnic group) and an 'outsider' (a researcher currently receiving her education from a North American university), the researcher is aware of the limitations and possible barriers as described in chapter 2, that may occur during this study, especially during the field studies.

All translations of the original documents written in the languages other than English solely rely on the knowledge of the researcher.

It is the researcher's hope that this study contributes to the emerging fields of applied linguistics and second (or modern) language education.

1. Background Info

1.1 Overview: Minority Groups in China

The People's Republic of China (PRC) is a multilingual and multicultural nation that is home to the Han majority group and various minority groups. Every PRC citizen is designated as belonging to a particular nationality. The 1.159 billion people of the Han majority who make up about 91.59% of the total mainland population are called *Han-minzu* (members of Han nationality). Another approximately 105 million people from minorities such as Manchus, Tibetans, Hui, Mongols and Koreans make up 8.41% of the population people and are known as *shaoshu minzu* (members of minority nationalities) (China National Statistics Bureau, 2001).

The Chinese term *minzu*, designating a nation or nationality, was first used late in the nineteenth century (note 1: In this paper, the term 'minorities' means those people identified as minority nationalities, *shaoshuminzu*, by the government of the People's republic of China since the 1980s – see more Mackerras 1995, p.3). Although the specific attributes of *minzu* have been a subject of controversy, in China, a nationality is defined and identified by its history, language, economic life, common territory and culture. Since the 1970s, the Chinese government has recognized 55 minority nationalities and since the 1980s, '*shaoshu minzhu*' has been used by the PRC government to identify members of those minorities (Fei, 1979; Mackerras 1995, p.3).

Apart from the size of their population, there are many other aspects in which the minorities vary sharply from one another. Although they take up only a small

proportion of the total population, the territories they inhabit are about five-eighths of China's total area. Their territories are thus on the whole very much less densely populated than those inhabited by the Han. Their geographic living areas are located mainly in China's borders, such as Tibet in the south-west near the border's of south-east countries like Vietnam and India across the very high and dry plains, and Xinjiang along the north-east border with the former USSR countries that this north-east desert area still attract numerous worldwide travelers for its famous Silk-road. The western half of China is overwhelmingly minority territory, where the Tibet and Xinjiang autonomous territories are located. The Koreans in the Northeast border are living near the Korean border near Tumen River, and the Mongols are in the North.

The languages spoken by China's minorities range widely. *Hanyu Putonghua* (Mandarin Chinese) is the only common interethnic language. Domestically, *Hanyu Putonghua* became the most commonly used national language, which is no longer only the language spoken by the Han majority. As Ma describes, universal familiarity with Chinese Mandarin Chinese is 'a major trend in the development of society – not a transformation moved forward by human will, but something that will certainly happen sooner or later' (2006, p. 10). Most ethnic minorities except the Hui and Manchu have at least one native language, so China has more than 80 languages and five language families. Yang (2005, p.554) reports that China's minorities can be categorized into the following three types based on the writing system and access to bilingual education:

Type 1 includes five minority groups, the Korean, Kazak, Mongolian, Tibetan and Uyghur with a combined population of over 24 million who had functional writing systems that were broadly used before the founding of the People's Republic of China in

1949, and have had regular bilingual education since then. See the groups with ‘*’ sign in the Table 1 below.

Type 2 includes eight minority groups, the Dai, Jingpo, Lisu, Lahu, Miao, Naxi, Va and Yi, with a combined population of 22 million who had functional writing systems in limited use before 1949, and have had only occasional bilingual education since 1949. See the groups with ‘**’ sign in the Table 1 below.

Type 3 includes the remaining 42 groups with a total population of approximately 60 millions who had no fully functional writing systems before 1949, and have had limited or no bilingual education since then and have Chinese as their primary or only language of instruction.

Table 1.1 China’s Minorities: the Population and the Main Territories
(based on China’s national census, 2000)

	Minority groups: English term (<i>Chinese term</i>)	Population (person)	Territories
1	Mongols (<i>Meng Gu Zu</i>)*	5,813,947	Nei menggu, Liaoning, Jilin, Hebei, Heilongjiang, Xinjiang
2	Hui (<i>Hui Zu</i>)	9,816,805	Ningxia, Gansu, Henan, Xinjiang, Qinghai, Yunnan, Hebei, Shandong, Anhui, Liaoning, Beijing, Nei Menggu, Tianjin, Heilongjiang, Shanxi, Guizhou, Jilin, Jiangsu, Sichuan
3	Tibetan (<i>Zang Zu</i>)*	5,416,021	Xizang, Sichuan, Qinghai, Gansu, Yunnan,
4	Uyghurs (<i>Wei Wu Er Zu</i>)*	8,399,393	Xinjiang
5	Miao (<i>Miao Zu</i>)**	8,940,116	Guizhou, Hunan, Yunnan, Guangxi, Chongqing, Hubei, Sichuan
6	Yi (<i>Yi Zu</i>)**	7,762,272	Yunnan, Sichuan, Guizhou
7	Zhuang (<i>Zhuang Zu</i>)	16,178,811	Guangxi, Yunnan, Guangdong
8	Buyei (<i>Bu Yi Zu</i>)	2,971,460	Guizhou
9	Koreans (<i>Chao Xian Zu</i>)*	1,923,842	Jilin, Heilongjiang, Liaoning
10	Manchu (<i>Man Zu</i>)	10,682,262	Liaoning, Hebei, Heilongjiang, Jilin, Nei Menggu, Beijing
11	Dong (<i>Dong Zu</i>)	2,960,293	Guizhou, Hunan, Guangxi
12	Yao (<i>Yao Zu</i>)	2,637,421	Guangxi, Hunan, Yunnan, Guangdong
13	Bai (<i>Bai Zu</i>)	1,858,063	Yunnan, Guizhou, Hunan
14	Tu Jia (<i>Tu Jia Zu</i>)	8,028,133	Hunan, Hubei, Chongqing, Guizhou
15	Ha Ni (<i>Ha Ni Zu</i>)	1,439,673	Yunnan
16	Kazakh (<i>Ha Sa Ke Zu</i>)*	1,250,458	Xinjiang
17	Dai (<i>Dai Zu</i>)**	1,158,989	Yunnan
18	Li (<i>Li Zu</i>)	1,247,814	Hannan

19	Li Su (<i>Li Su Zu</i>)**	634,912	Yunnan, SiChuan
20	Va (<i>Wa Zu</i>)**	396,610	yunnan
21	She (<i>She Zu</i>)	709,592	Fujian, Zhejiang, Jiangxi, Guangdong
22	Gaoshan (<i>Gao Shan Zu</i>)	4,461	Taiwan, Fujian
23	Lahu (<i>La Hu Zu</i>)**	453,705	Yunnan
24	Sui (<i>Sui Zu</i>)	406,902	GuiZhou, GuangXi
25	Dongxiang (<i>Dong Xiang Zu</i>)	513,805	Gansu, Xinjiang
26	Nakhi (<i>Na Si Zu</i>)**	308,839	Yunnan
27	Jingpo (<i>Jing Po Zu</i>)**	132,143	Yunnan
28	Kyrgyz (<i>Ke Er Ke Zi Zu</i>)	160,823	Xinjiang
29	Tu (<i>Tu Zu</i>)	241,198	Qinghai, Gansu
30	Daur (<i>Da Han Er Zu</i>)	132,394	Nei Menggu, Henilongjiang
31	Mulao (<i>Mu Lao Zu</i>)	207,352	Guang Xi
32	Qiang (<i>Qiang Zu</i>)	306,072	Si Chuan
33	Blang (<i>Bu Lang Zu</i>)	91,882	Yunnan
34	Salar (<i>Sa La Zu</i>)	104,503	Qinghai
35	Maonan (<i>Mao Nan Zu</i>)	107,166	Guangxi
36	Gelao (<i>Ge Lao Zu</i>)	579,357	Guizhou
37	Xibe (<i>Xi Bo Zu</i>)	188,824	Liaoning, Xinjiang
38	Achang (<i>A Chang Zu</i>)	33,936	Yunnan
39	Pumin (<i>Pu Mi Zu</i>)	33,600	Yunnan
40	Tajik (<i>Ta Ji Ke Zu</i>)	41,028	Xinjiang
41	Nu (<i>Nu Zu</i>)	28,759	Yunnan
42	Uzbeks (<i>Wu Zi Bie Ke Zu</i>)	12,370	Xinjiang
43	Russian (<i>E Luo Si Zu</i>)	15,609	Xinjiang, Heilongjiang
44	Ewenki (<i>E Wen Ke Zu</i>)	30,505	Nei Menggu
45	De'ang (<i>De Ang Zu</i>)	17,935	Yunnan
46	Bonan (<i>Bao An Zu</i>)	16,505	Gansu
47	Yugur (<i>Yu Gu Zu</i>)	13,719	Gansu
48	Jing (<i>Jing Zu</i>)	22,517	Guangxi
49	Tatars (<i>Ta Ta Er Zu</i>)	4,890	Xinjiang
50	Derung (<i>Du Long Zu</i>)	7,426	Yunnan
51	Oroqen (<i>E Lun Chun Zu</i>)	8,196	Heilongjiang, Nei Menggu
52	Hezhen (<i>He Zhe Zu</i>)	4,640	Heilongjiang
53	Monba (<i>Men Ba Zu</i>)	8,923	Xizang
54	Lhoba (<i>Luo Ba Zu</i>)	2,965	Xizang
55	Jino (<i>Ji Luo Zu</i>)	20,899	Yunnan

Notes: (1) This table is created based on the info from the year 2000 China's National Census in the Year Book of the P. R. China, 2006. (2) English Term for each minority group in China based on the translation listed in Wikipedia, retrieved on November 29, 2008 from http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/list_of_ethnic_groups_in_china.

1.2 China's Nationalism and Overall Government Minority Policy

1.2.3 China's Nationalism

Despite the variations in policy among the Guomintang, Chinese Communist Party (CCP) and the others who controlled China in the twentieth century, in one area they have been in striking agreement, is that all have wished to retain the unity of China. The Guomintang government, which had control over China during the period of 1910 and 1949, recognized essentially five Chinese nationalities: the Han, the Tibetans, the Manchus, Monggols and Hui or Muslims. These categorizations, which were shared by Sun Yat-sen and Chiang Kai-shek, took no account of the numerous peoples of southern China, such as the Miao, the Bai and the Zhuang, or of some of those of the North – for example, the Koreans of Yanbian in Jilin province. Sun Yat-sen's policies in the latter part of his life were based rather closely on those of the Soviet Union, which meant that he was inclined to accept notions of self-determination and autonomy for the minorities. However, Chiang Kai-shek was strongly against such ideas on the grounds that they reeked of communist influence. In contrast to the Guomintang, the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) recognized the minorities not only in the Manchus, Tibetans, Hui and Mongols, but also a range of southern nationality peoples and the Koreans of the northeast (Mackerras 1995, 2003).

When the CCP came to power in 1949, it immediately declared a policy towards the minorities based on the notion of China as a multinational unitary state. China did not consist of united republics, as the Soviet Union conceived itself, but was one republic

with numerous nationalities. The 'multinational unitary state' involved two notions in balance against each other. The minorities would enjoy a degree of autonomy, but must remain part of China, secession being absolutely forbidden under any circumstances.

Upon the PRC's liberation in 1949, the initial intention of Chairman Mao and his policy makers in the Chinese Communist Party has primarily stressed the political equality of all China's nationalities, with ethnic minorities' languages as a basic political right of minority peoples and having equal and legitimate status with regard to usage (Fei, 1979; Mackerras, 2003; Yang, 2005; Ma, 2006). For instance, the government helped to create writing systems for ethnic minorities that previously had had none just after the founding of the People's Republic of China. However, as Ma (2006) notes, "this policy may have been somewhat short-sighted when viewed in terms of long-term language development" in terms of analyzing the trends in world language development and changes in the usefulness of languages in reality.

1.2.2 Autonomy

CCP's overall policy of autonomy towards its minority nationalities means that, although secession from the PRC is absolutely forbidden, a certain degree of self-government is permitted to the minorities. Autonomy meant that 'the minorities would enjoy the right to some political control over their own areas, with members of the relevant minority holding positions of political power' (Mackkeras, 1995, p.136). In cultural terms, the minorities had the right to use their own languages and to preserve their traditional literatures and arts. Within the basic policies of the PRC, concessions and exemptions were made in certain social areas, including the sphere of family life.

Mackerras further reports, the 1982 constitution has a good deal to say on the subject of autonomy for the minority areas, including not only in the political and economic but also in the cultural spheres. It lays down that the government head of all such areas must be a member of the relevant nationality. In addition, it stipulates the right of minorities to use their own spoken and written languages, including in government and the law. In 1984 the Chinese government adopted a Law on the Autonomy of Nationality Areas, which in essence followed, expanded and strengthened the 1982 Constitution's view on autonomy. The law allocates quite a bit of space to matters of concern to the present book in the field of culture. The chapter on 'the right of autonomous organs' devotes several articles to education, literature, and the arts. Article 36 declares that 'these organs may determine the education system at all levels within the areas under jurisdiction, including the content of the curriculum, the language of instruction and the methods of student recruitment, provided that they follow the state's general educational direction and stay within PRC law. Article 38 asks the autonomous organs to develop literature and arts in the forms and with the features special to the nationalities (1995, p.11). Herberer (1989) also confirms, that

“the subsequent Law of Regional Autonomy of Nationalities of the People's Republic of China of 1984, based on the corresponding articles of the 1982 constitution, serves as a guideline for all legislation for ethnic minorities...Compared to other regulations since 1949, the new law provides distinctly broader rights of self-administration, and defines more specifically the functions and rights of certain administrative bodies, as well as outlines the interrelations between bodies of self-administration and higher authorities of the state”. (pp. 41-43).

1.2.3 Minority Education Policy in PRC, since 1949

Education is of enormous significance in the raising of new generations. As the heart of an education system, curriculum reflects the aims and objectives of a governing party to develop and control the ideology of its subordinates and their future generations. The education system of minority groups play an essential role on the dominant government, as it is a key segment for the policy makers to control and prevent any possible ethnic conflict, as well to secure its border areas in the long term. As the brain centre of this education system, curriculum development reflects the aims of each governing political party in various periods. The same as many countries and regions in the world, the controlling strategy of minority nationalities has been a major governing subject for the People's Republic of China since its establishment on October 1, 1949. The main changes to China's minority education system reflect the aims and conflicts of the Chinese Communist Party during each historical era. The summary following is based on the studies of Australian scholar Mackerras (2003) and Korean Chinese scholar Yuan (1995), in which will introduce the minority education curriculum reforms during PRC's three major historical periods: the initial 17 years since the Establishment of PRC, cultural revolution period, globalization and innovative reform era since the early 1980s.

- *Initial 17 year since the Establishment of PRC, 1949-1966*

In 1951, CCP held its first national conference on education among the minorities, examined the problems and came up with some conclusions, the main ones being that education among the minority must be in accordance with the CCP's ideology, scientific

and mass-based, and also foster the special features of the nationalities. In late 1950s saw a swing back to a policy less tolerant of minority differences and more insistent on Chinese cultural unity. One sign of this was major conference held in September 1958 on publishing among the minorities, the sponsors of which included the Ministry of Education. Although textbooks in minority languages were still allowed, the emphasis was on demanding socialist, communist and patriotic ideology, patriotism referring not to love of their own minority but to the Chinese nation as a whole.

- *Cultural Revolution, 1966-1976*

A new, decisively different and drastically less tolerant policy on education towards the minorities was imposed during this period. Based on the assumption that the class struggle was the main contradiction within society, the Cultural Revolution aimed to promote proletarian and socialist education among the minorities, as well as internationalism and patriotism – which as of September 1958 meant love of China as a whole, rather than relating to the individual minorities. As his analysis about this period, Mackkeras claims that “the effects of such a policy were to downgrade the use of minority languages and to suppress any sense of minority consciousness. At no time in the twentieth century has the suppression of ethnic identities been sharper in education than during the Cultural Revolution. On the other hand, the number of schools promoting basic literacy in Chinese is expanded” (Mackkeras, 1995, p.134).

- *Globalization and Innovative Reform Era since the early 1980s*

In February 1981, the Ministry of Education and the State Nationalities Affairs Commission co-sponsored a further conference that confirmed and laid down policies on

education in accordance with the principles of autonomy. A new Department of Nationalities Education was set up within the Ministry of Education, with corresponding organizations at various levels in relevant places throughout the country. Minorities were to be allowed to use their own language in education, and some latitude was allowed for autonomous curricular. In addition, funds were allocated for special schools and teacher training programs for the minorities.

Since a large number of specialized and skilled workers are necessary for building the economies in the minorities regions, and since skilled Han workers are often reluctant to move to these areas, skilled workers must be trained from among the local population. However, the standards of minority education are generally very low. “Nationality schools”, in which the language of the local minority or minorities is the language of instruction, have been restored or new ones established in recent years in minority regions. In the upper grades of the nationality schools, however, instruction is often in Han Chinese because there are only a few textbooks available in the minority languages (due to shortages of materials and money) and no local teaching personnel. Functionaries and the narrow stratum of intellectuals of minority origin actually prefers that their children attend Han schools and speak Chinese because in institutions of higher education (with exception of a few in Yanbian, Xinjiang, Inner Mongolia, Tibet, and some other regions) Chinese is the language of instruction just as it is in administrative seats and in the cities (Mackkeras, 1995). Specialized training and advanced training therefore require a higher level of competence in Han language than in a person’s own native minority language. Minority applicants do have advantages over Han applicants in higher education. Many universities have set up courses to help prepare minority

applicants for the examinations, for which their passing grade is lower than for Han. Eleven Nationalities Institutions (minzu xueyuan – special universities) offer specialized courses for students from minority regions if they agree to return to their region.

1.3 The *ChaoXianZu* People

The *ChaoXianZu* people, ethnic Korean minority group in China are relatively the latecomers to China. Begun with a small group settlement in the north-eastern part of the lands governed by Qing dynasty, the first influx of Korean immigrants occurred toward the end of the seventeenth century. Sizeable numbers did not come until the middle of the nineteenth century, especially after 1869, when a major famine occurred in northern Korea (Schwaz, 1984, p.207). Later, Koreans crossed the border as the Japanese began to consolidate their grip on Korea in the early years of the twentieth century. According to Jin (1995), the immigrant movements of Koreans to China divide into the three major periods:

Period 1 (~ 1909): Approximately from the ease of the Boarder Restriction Order since Kanghuado Treaty in 1627 to Jiandao Agreement in 1909 between the Qing and the Korean government. During this period, these pioneer Korean immigrants contributed greatly in the development of rice-cultivation in northeast China at that time.

Period 2 (1909 – 1930): The Qing-Korea Kando Agreement in 1909 motivated many Koreans to migrate to China. The process was later promoted and enforced strongly by the Japanese Imperial government for mining, railway construction projects and rice production in northern China. During this period, the

migration pattern changed from individual migration to family migration (Tsurushima, 1993).

Period 3 (1930 – 1945) : Organized migration was part of an effort to remove the poor Korean people from Korean peninsula by Chosen Sodokufu, the Japanese supervisory government in Korea.

It is estimated that there were 1,700,000 Koreans in China in at the end of World War Two (Han & Kwon, 1993). The 1953 PRC census reports there were 1,120, 000 Koreans in China at that time. Thus, it can be assumed approximately 580,000 Koreans left China between the end of Anti-Japanese War (1945) and the establishment of PRC (1949), while over millions of Koreans decided to settle in China. The Korean minorities lived peacefully with the Han majority groups and the other minority groups in the region, without any serious cultural conflict with other nationality groups. It maybe, firstly because of the shared anti-Japanese emotion with the residents in China, and secondly due to the fortunate fact that no aboriginal people lived in those areas where they initially migrated and settled (Jin, 1995).

Since the establishment of PRC, Koreans have been officially categorized as a major minority group in China, with voting rights and their own ethnic education system. In addition to Yanbian Korean Nationality Autonomous Prefecture in Jilin province, many Korean nationality counties and townships have been established in various parts of China's Northeast, including seventeen in Heilongjiang, five in Liaoning, and one in Inner Mongolia (Zheng and Cui, 1995, p.278). There were 504 Korean villages in the province of Heilongjiang in 1990 (Yuan, 1995, p.3). Together with the Uygurs in Xinjiang, the education system of the Korean minority is the most advanced of all

minorities (Mackerras, 1995 & 2003). In 1988, there were 1132 Korean elementary schools with 140,000 students in Jilin, Heilongjinag, Liaoning, and Inner Mongolia and 191 junior and senior high schools with 85,000 students. In Yanbian Korean Autonomous Prefecture, there are five government funded post secondary institutions, including the comprehensive Yanbian University and other institutions specializing in agriculture, medicine, art, and farming. In addition, there are three privately funded universities in Liaoning and Jilin province. Primary teacher training institutions are Yanbian number 1 Normal Institution, and Heilongjinag Wuchang Normal Institution (Yuan, 1995, p.6) in which both Chinese and Korean are languages of instruction in these institutions.

While ethnic Koreans in China are not a major factor in China's overall relationship with either North or South Korea, they have actively promoted economic dealings with South Korea. Many Koreans in China still have relatives in North Korea and some cross the border to bring financial and other assistance. As Mackerras (2003) describes, "the Korean population has thus contributed positively to China's relations both with North and South Korea since the 1990s and negative factors are very few" (p. 174).

Today, Korean minorities are still living in the "Dongbei San-sheng", China's three Northeast provinces: Jilin, Liaoning and Heilongjiang. Before the major innovative reform era, as shown in table 1.1, over 98% of ethnic Korean population was concentrated in this region until the end of the 1980s. In the year 2000, over 92% of Korean minorities are still residing in the areas

The rapid socio-cultural, economic and political reforms triggered various positive and negative changes to these ethnic Korean groups in China. The freedoms given by the reform policies to operate their own companies or work internationally brought significant wealth to the Korean community. Formal diplomatic relationship between China and Republic of Korea (South Korea) in 1992 also provided myriad advantages to talented bi-/multilingual ethnic Korean people settling down in large cities where they could find good job opportunities. The ease of China's residential control system lead to a rapid development of the real estate industry, and also allowed many successful middle class ethnic Korean people to buy apartments in the cities where they held temporary resident status. Many ChaoXianZu people are actively working in international labour markets, as well as contributing to domestic migration to China's central cities and the highly developed South-East coastal region, from their traditional residential regions in the three North-East Chinese provinces. Between 1990 and 2000, more than 60,000-70,000 Koreans immigrated internationally to South Korea or other countries, including many females (Jin, 2007; Kim, 2003; Zheng, 2003). For instance, there was a 63,940 population decrease in the province of Heilongjiang between the 1990 census and the 2000 census. Compared to data of 1990, over 14.13% of the Korean population in Heilongjiang migrated domestically or internationally.

Among the three traditional ethnic Korean residential regions, Liaoning is the only province showing a population increase - perhaps because of its geographical location near the coast bordering both Japan and the Korean peninsula. For an example of domestic migration, according to the 2000 national census, there are over 585,000 minority nationality people (that consist of 4.3% of the entire city population) currently

residing in Beijing, and it shows a 41.4% population increase compares to the 1990 census. Among Beijing's minorities, four minorities show top population growth: the Manchus with 85,000 growth, the Huis with 2.9 growth, the Monggo's with 21,000 growth, and the Koreans with 13,000 growth. With 20,369 growth in 2000, the ethnic Korean nationality shows a 13,000 population growth since 1990, and became the 4th top minority group in Beijing with high population growth in between the 1990 and the 2000 national census.

Table 1.2 Changes in the Regional Korean Population since 1982 (unit: person)
(based on China's national census, 2000)

	1953	1964	1982	1990	2000
Total population	1,120,405	1,339,569	1,765,204	1,923,361	1,923,842
Heilongjiang	231,510 20.663%	307,591 22.961%	431,644 24.45%	452,398 23.52%	388,458 20.19%
Jilin	756,026 67.477%	866,627 62.54%	1,181,964 62.54%	1,181,964 61.45%	1,145,688 59.55%
Yanbian (in Jilin province)	551,025 49.180%	623,136 46.517%	754,567 42.75%	821,479 42.71%	842,135 43.77%
Liaoning	132,869 11.859%	146,513 10.937%	198,252 24.45%	230,378 11.981%	241,052 12.53%
Neimenggu (Inner Mongolia)		18,838 1.406%	17,580 0.995%	22,641 1.177%	21,859 1.136%
other			13,654 0.785%	33,216 1.726%	126,785 6.590%

Source: Jin B.G., 2007, p.17

The new changes motivate the ethnic Korean people to reshape their life styles from a rural-centered style to an urbanized life style. On the one hand, the changes offer the privileges to the migrant families to enjoy the wealth of opportunities, such as better job opportunities and more advanced educational environment for the children.

On the other hand, the changes have brought some negative impacts to this community in general, such as the following challenges that the ethnic Korean minority groups in China are facing today.

- 1) “Zero or negative population growth” in the past two decades. As shown in table 1.1, there is negative population growth of -481 between the 1990 and 2000 censuses.
- 2) Decreasing number of “*Chao-xian-zu Ji-ju-chun*”, ethnic Korean autonomous villages and townships. It is one of the major concerns, considering Korean villages and townships are the main bases for preserving cultural tradition among this community.
- 3) Decreasing perception of maintaining traditional ethnic culture in the newly developed urban ethnic Korean communities, that occurred mainly due to the lack of municipal support and the smaller number of minority group in the big cities.
- 4) Challenges in maintaining the legitimacy of ethnic identity due to the increasing number of the Korean-Han interethnic marriages.
- 5) Providing a good quality in ethnic language education for the next generation is one of the key concerns in the groups, especially in the newly developed urban migrant communities like the ones in Beijing. An ethnic Korean scholar in the

Central University of Nationalities in Beijing China, B.G. Jin expresses his concerns about the development of ethnic education among China's Korean minority nationalities. According to his recent publication (2007), for instance, in the province of Heilongjiang, one of the three main areas where Korean nationalities reside in the PRC, there were 382 ethnic Korean bilingual elementary schools in the province in 1990. However, the number of schools drastically reduced to 51 in 1997 (an 80% decrease), and the 77 secondary schools in 1990 reduced to 15 in 1997 (a 79.3% decrease) (2007, p.6).

1.4 A New Ethnic Korean Diaspora in Beijing

Government reforms brought new freedom for citizens to operate their own companies or work internationally, and these activities generated wealth among ethnic Korean minorities in China. The ease of China's residential control system led to a rapid development of the real estate industry, which also allowed many successful middle class ethnic Korean people to buy apartments in the cities where they hold temporary resident status.

Ethnic Koreans are one of the top four minority groups that show rapid population growth in Beijing since 1990. According to the 2000 national census, there are over 585,000 minority nationality people (4.3% of the total city population) currently residing in Beijing, and this figure is a 41.4% population increase compared to the 1990 census. Among Beijing's minorities, four minorities show top population growth: the Manchus with 85,000 growth, the Huis with 2.9 growth, the Monggols with 21,000 growth, and the Koreans with 13,000 growth. With 20,369 in 2000, the ethnic Korean nationality shows a 13,000 population growth since 1990, and became the 4th top minority group in Beijing

with high population growth in between the 1990 and 2000 national census. According to a recent study by Jin - a leading ethnic minority demographic researcher from the Central University of Nationalities in China, there are approximately 60,000-70,000 ethnic Korean people currently living in Beijing (2007, p.18). Although they do not concentrate in living in one area, these migrant people are mainly living in the North-East side of districts or the nearby suburbs: Chao-yang, Hai-dian, Feng-tai districts.

Near the Beijing international airport, “Wangjing Korean Town” is a newly developed ethnic Korean residential area, in existence since 1995 and currently with over 10,000 ethnic Korean residents. The majority of the newly migrated middle class ethnic Koreans are living or conducting business in the high quality residential and office buildings, including the families of the participants of this study. Scores of students and business people from South Korea are also living and working there, which made the town become the heart of current and traditional ethnic Korean culture in Beijing. The business signs in this town are mostly displayed solely in the Korean language or in both Korean and Chinese, which makes the visitors feel like they are in a street in the city of Seoul, Korea.

2. Language and Identities in the Sociocultural World

Historically, numerous social sciences scholars exploring the interrelations between languages and identities show strong connections among languages, ideologies and identities (Gumperz, 1982; Grosjean, 1982; Fishman, 1989; Ryang, 1997; Kramsch, 1998; Kanno, 2003; Pavlenko & Blackledge, 2004; Blommaert et al., 2005; Myers-Scotton, 2006). By presenting various intriguing ‘situated talks’ related to the social contacts of immigrants in the United States of America, Gumperz (1982) shows how ideology enters into face-to-face speaking practices to create an interactional space in which the subconscious and automatic sociolinguistic processes of interpretation and inference can generate a variety of outcomes and make interpretations subject to question. He argues that language plays a significant role in the [re]construction and maintenance of social identity and ethnicity. In her investigation about the close relationship between language and culture, Claire Kramsch (1998) argues that language symbolizes cultural reality because language is a system of signs in which has a cultural value, as the speakers often identify themselves and others through their use of language, and as they view their languages as a symbol of their social identity. In their notion of identities and agencies in figured worlds, Holland, Lachiotte, Skinner and Cain (1998, p.284) also points out that the identities and the activities attributed to the individuals in the figured worlds are always actively “forming

and reforming in relation to historically specific contexts that come to bear the marks of these contexts and their politics” .

In sum, to study the relationships between languages and identities, it is important to look at multiple aspects that are involved and impact these complex relationships. For instance, it is necessary to carefully review the terms, characteristics and processes of negotiating identities in multilingual contexts, while it is also essential to examine the nature of multilingualism and nationalism, and the correlations between language attitudes and ideologies, and nationalism. Reviewing the underlying assumptions related to the above key concepts will be a necessary process in understanding the situation regarding the focal teenagers of this study and their communities in China, as presented in the later chapters.

2.1 Identities in Multilingual Context

Since individuals often shift and adjust ways in which they identify and position themselves in distinct contexts, the best way to understand identities is to approach them as a whole, instead of looking at a single aspect or subject position. It is because, with their astonishing capabilities, human beings are constantly engaging themselves in the myriad ‘figured worlds’ within social and cultural constraints. Poststructuralist inquiry also highlights the complex nature of identity formation that involves multiple aspects, such as age, race, class, gender, generation, social status etc. Blommaert, Collins, and Slembrouk (2005) see language as an ideological object, and meaningful human behavior as indexically organized actions. For them, the reason why people view social processes as culturalized is because of this indexicality; that is, various complicated, significant and

explicable human behaviors are indexically organized into potentially meaningful symbols for them.

As an essential element of one's identity, ethnicity plays important role for each member of a language group, whether he or she belongs to the minority or majority group. Thus, before moving on to the characteristics of identities, the interrelation between ethnicity and languages is firstly examined here. Ethnicity has been commonly regarded as an aspect of identity, even in the early studies of language and identity. In Gumperz' (1982) volume on language and social identities, two concepts of ethnicity are presented as follows:

Individuals build upon residual elements of shared culture to revive a common sentiment upon which they found ethnically based interest groups, ethnic identity thus becomes a means of eliciting political and social support in the pursuit of goals which are defined within the terms of reference established by the society at large...The old ethnic ties found their linguistic expression in loyalty to a language other than that of the major society. The new ethnic identities rely on linguistic symbols to establish speech conventions that are significantly different. These symbols are much more than mere markers of identity (Gumperz, 1982, pp. 5-6).

If a separate language is available to the minority ethnic group, such as Spanish for Chicano English speakers, the selection of a different language for different purposes can be used to signal ethnic identity and signifies different membership (Fought, 2002).

2.1.1 Characteristics of Identities

By combining the social constructionist view with poststructuralist theory, Pavlenko and Blackledge (2004) present five characteristics of identities that are particularly important for the proposed framework: location within particular discourses and ideologies of language; embeddedness within the relations of power; multiplicity,

fragmentation, and hybridity; the imagined nature of 'new' identities; and, finally, the location within particular narratives. They locate identities discussed within particular discourses and ideologies of language and identity - in agreement with a social constructionist view, and argue that the way people use linguistic resources, such as to mark their own identities and to assess how others use them, are directed by their ideologies of language and identity.

a. Identities as embedded within power relations

Based on poststructuralist thinking, in particular Bourdieu (1991)'s model of 'symbolic domination'¹, Pavlenko and Blackledge (2004) analyze the real-life influence of discursive categories as embedded within the power of regional and universal relations. By examining the least visible power, they consider symbolic power as being invisible, because it can only be employed by those who are not aware of being subject to it or even that they themselves are using it. Blackledge's chapter in this volume describes an example in Britain, showing how British English dominates other languages, because it is viewed as being more legitimate, and therefore provides greater access to symbolic resources. That is, it is from this position that the British government calls for compulsory enrollment in English classes and demands naturalization language testing for those who wish to permanently settle down in Britain as spouses of British citizens.

b. Multiplicity, fragmentation, and hybridity

While acknowledging multiplicity as an important aspect of identities, Pavlenko and Blackledge (2004) and their volume authors point out that sometimes 'fragmentation and splintering give birth to new, hybrid, identities and linguistic repertoires'. While

acknowledging the views of poststructuralist philosophers who posit the notion of ‘hybridity as the third space’ that enables the appearance of new or alternative identity options”, such as Bhabha (1990), they further explain that “the recognition of the emerging nature of identity, and of identity fragmentation, de-centering, multiplicity, and shifts, are oftentimes exacerbated by transnational migration” (p. 17).

c. Identity Narratives

While confirming the crucial role that imagination plays in the process of creating new identity options, Pavlenko and Blackledge (2004) also note the key roles that identity narratives play in the process of identity formation and negotiation. In her chapter in this volume, Pavlenko explains why turn-of-the-twentieth-century immigrant memories may depict second language learning and the relationship between language and identity differently from contemporary cross-cultural autobiographies. She resorts to a sociohistoric analysis of the situations, based on the rhetorical analysis of the phrases and narrative plots selected from the two sets of narratives produced by the immigrant autobiographers at the beginning and end of the twentieth century.

d. Identity negotiations

To make the process of negotiation visible, Pavlenko and Blackledge (2004) differentiate between the ongoing construction and performance of identities in multilingual contexts (cf. Auer, 1998b) and the negotiation of identities which takes place only when certain identities are contested. To analyze how identities are shaped, produced, and negotiated, Pavlenko and Blackledge and their volume authors adopt the

'positioning theory' (Davies & Harré, 1990; Harré & van Langenhove, 1999), which enables them to bring together the views of identities as located in discourses and as situated in narratives. They argue that, even though agency and choice are essential in positioning, it is crucial to emphasize reflective positioning where individuals are often challenged by others, finding themselves in a continual conflict between their self-chosen identities and those imposed on them by others. In their notion of negotiation of identities, Pavlenko and Blackage note that

an interplay between reflective positioning, i.e. self-representation, and interactive positioning, whereby others attempt to position or reposition particular individuals or groups. Such negotiation may take place in oral interaction where an attempt at a controversial reflective positioning may be immediately challenged, or in print whereby the challenge in the form of repositioning may be temporally delayed. Moreover, they notes that negotiation does not necessarily involve two or more physical parties, but it may also take place within individuals, resulting in changes in self-representation (2004, p. 21).

Holland et al.'s (1998) notion of a myriad of figured worlds presents various overlapping imagined worlds which "take shape within and grant shape to the coproduction of activities, discourses, performances and artifact" (cited in Toohey, 2007, p. 51). In these figured worlds, the individuals construct and reform their identities through various practices by asserting and revealing themselves as actors in a particular figured world. For Holland et al., the improvisations and the self-governing symbolizations are the two most significant actions of human agency, because improvisation is one of the margins of human agency in the figured worlds, while the

self-directed symbolizations symbolize the creation of the possibilities of a modest agency.

In a recent chapter, Toohey (2007) also introduces Holland et al.'s concept of a figured world to analyze identities and human agency in sociocultural worlds. In this chapter, she notes that identities/resources/practices are constantly negotiated and formed in spite of the limitations of particular socio-cultural, political and economic aspects. This is because the learners are always interconnected to other people and also through complex relations with their resources and practices. Correspondingly, Toohey explains that the meaning of the 'same' resource may count for different meanings in another figured world, and the 'same' person may have completely different identities in the various figured worlds in which they live, based on varying social positions, desires and investments; and the practices reveal various faces in the figured worlds as well. In her notion, language is a 'resource' (an agency) that a 'person' (the agent) utilizes in order to reveal and assert his or her identities through various active 'practices' in the figured worlds in which the person lives.

Blommaert, Collins and Slembrouk (2005) present identities in a multilingual context through the notion of space and scale through the interrelation with multilingual competence. For them, the notion of scale emphasizes the ideas that, through the processes in the situated interaction from one scale to another, spaces are organized and categorized in relation with one another, form into layers (status groups), especially when racial, social class backgrounds or a specific regional language begin to affect the situated interactions. They argue that space is part of 'context', and 'context' is not a passive 'decor' but an active, agentive features of communication, because "entering such space

involves the imposition of the sets of norms and rules as well as the invoking of potentially meaningful relations between one scale and another (e.g., the local versus the national or the global)”, and this has effects on what people can or cannot do, as well as their identities, both self-constructed and imposed by others (p. 203).

2.2 Research on Multilingualism

The study of multilingualism is a comparatively new field, begun in the past three decades. As discussed in the earlier sections, only a few studies of multilingualism among minority groups in China have been carried out. One thing that needs to be mentioned here is the absence of research on multilingualism in general. Myers-Scotton (2006) points out the following reasons for this fact: one is because of the perceived low status of bilingualism among the general public in those countries with a single long-established official or national language, and, the other is because of the lack of support for bilingualism by the people in power. Myers-Scotton notes that the members of the dominant group expect the minorities to learn the nation’s dominant language² and to forget about learning their own languages, if they want to fit into the general norms of society. Consequently, these attitudes often encourage the stigmatization of the ethnic languages.

Why study multilingualism? What is its role? Can supporting multilingualism, in practice or in education, reduce the tension between the majority and minority groups? Does bilingualism reduce the divergent attitudes of the two groups? Hoffmann (2001) reports the increasing recognition of multilingualism in psycholinguistic studies on second and third language acquisition and bilingualism. In his account on life with two

languages, Grosjean(1982) discusses bilingualism in society. He argues that, in strongly nationalistic countries where minorities are repressed, bilinguals reflect the attitudes of the two groups in question; that is, they are negative toward the minority group and positive toward the majority group. He further argues that compared to monolingual members of a minority group, bilinguals have more bias toward the minority group, as they tend to be more negative about the majority group and more positive about the minority group.

Clarifying the definition of multilingualism may also reveal the importance of studying multilingualism. The authors like Cenoz and Genesee (1998) see multilingualism as the final result of the process of acquisition of several non-native languages, thereby clearly making it an attribute of the individual. Jeffner (1997) also sees multilingualism as a variant of bilingualism in her discussion of linguistic variety in individuals. Although she writes mainly from a perspective of second language acquisition and bilingualism, Jeffner looks beyond at learners acquiring third or fourth languages, and in this context employs the term multilingualism.

In their notion of ‘truncated multilingualism’, Blommaert, Collins and Slembrouk’s (2005) account about communicative competence in multilingual contexts emphasizes the constitutive and agentive power of ‘space’. In organizing patterns of multilingualism, they argue that multilingualism is not “what individuals have and don’t have, but what the environment, as structured determinations and interactional emergence, enables or disables” (p. 197). For them, it is because the ‘space’ has constitutive and agentive power in communicative power in multilingual contexts. Consequently, ‘truncated competence’ often occurs as a key characteristic of multilingualism, in which

the designated language competence often depends on scalar judgment which may be affirmed as valued assets or rejected as having no language. Thus, their notion of 'truncated competence' is how highly developed multilingual individuals can feel, and be, communicatively incapacitated when they are 'out of space' as 'they don't speak your language', 'they don't speak any language', or, from a different perspective, because they lack the specific multilingual resources and skills required in that place. Blommaert et al. further argue that individuals continue (and may even expand) their repertoires and skills, even though the function and value of the resources and skills in that particular situation may be readjusted. Finally, in their discussion on 'truncated multilingualism' (p. 205), Blommaert et al. note that the challenges of individuals are often revealed as their challenges in dealing with multilingualism. For them, the linguistic repertoires of these individuals are examined based on how they adjust themselves to the norms, regulations and expectations of their contexts. In other words, analyzing a group of various types of individuals is the key objective of studies of multilingualism.

Authors like Myers-Scotton (2006) see bilingualism as the natural consequence of socio-political powers that establish various groups and their boundaries. She defines bilingualism as the ability to use two or more languages. With an assumption that bilingualism may be based on reading or writing as well as speaking, Myers-Scotton (2006, p. 44) considers speaking to be most essential in her definition of bilingualism, which indicates "the ability to use two or more languages sufficiently to carry on a limited casual conversation", but she does not set specific limits on proficiency or how much the speaker in question is speaking or demonstrating comprehension of another

speaker. This definition does not rule out some people who can use a second language in specialized ways, and it can be applied to the case of multilinguals.

In summation, regardless of viewing bi/multilingualism as the natural result of the socio-political forces that motivates the establishment of diverse groups and their boundaries, or as the final consequence of the process of acquisition of several non-native languages, it is important to point out that the interrelation between microlevel process and macrolevel context. In other words, the (re)construction and (re)negotiation processes of the identities of bi/multilingual speakers are greatly impacted by the sociopolitical, cultural and economic environments that surround them in the various stages of their lives. This study adopts the definition and basic understanding of Myers-Scotton's definition of bi/multilingualism, as her definition can be applied to the situation of the multilingual youths in this study.

2.3 Research on Language Attitudes, Ideologies and Language Policies

At the macro-level of groups and nation states, both attitudes and ideologies are tied up with notions of nationalism ...Language may be the most "visible" symbol of a group...Language attitudes and ideologies may have an emotional basis, but even then, they almost always have an instrumental basis as well – just because you can't avoid speaking and the varieties you can use are admission tickets to membership in various groups...Thus, because 'language' is so 'visible' and because it has this instrumental value, groups and even nation states can be easily persuaded to mobilize to protect or advance their language (Myers-Scotton, 2006, pp. 111-112).

As recognized by poststructuralist theory, language ideologies and identities have strong connections with the politics of power relations in communities and societies, in

fractional, contestable, instable, and mutual ways under the social and historical conditions (Pavlenko and Blackledge, 2004). One of the significant functions of language is its role as the medium for articulating assessments across groups and therefore for expressing power, besides its role as the medium of expressing ideas (Bourbieu 1991, cf. Myers-Scotton, 2006, p. 115). In his account on language and social identity, Gumperz (1982) also points out that 'isolated situation-bound communication' diversities at individual levels may consolidate into ideological differences which in turn become value laden; thus, whenever challenging communication problems occur, the value laden ideological differences generate further diversities in symbolizing one's identity (p.3).

. Globalization not only promotes an ideology of uniformity in production and marketing, but also promotes the growing power of various languages that are already established as the languages of wider communication, whether in a single country or in the world. That is, English is a good example of such a language. The more people use a language, the more value the language retains, because languages are not only in competition, but they are also in unequal competition. In his interpretive study of the rationale for existing (and possibly future) language policies, De Swaan (2001) anchors an analysis with the idea of language groups in competition in a global context, he stresses the notion that languages should be thought of as 'collective goods' (p. 5, cf. Myers-Scotton, 2006, p. 372). Languages as economic goods for two reasons: one is their adequate supply, and the other is their durability (Myers-Scotton, 2006). In modern society, it became the reality that, both ethnicity and language spread through the majority of social life, therefore, ethnicity will impact the direction of modern language

planning, the latter will only affect modern culture planning and identity planning, as pointed out by Fishman (1989) in his two integrative essays on nationalism and language.

In sum, it is essential to investigate the relationship between language attitude and ideology, and how nationalism impacts the economy of language power, attitudes towards languages which eventually affect the language ideology of individuals and communities.

2.3.1 Language Attitudes and Ideologies

Language attitudes and ideologies are strongly connected with language identities, even though they share similarities and differences. Myers-Scotton (2006) sees a common ground between attitudes and ideologies as they both consist of evaluations that relate to how the speakers make different conclusions from the evaluations, while she also points out how the speakers use these evaluations varies in the broader political sphere. For her, attitudes about languages are more unconscious assessments, because the attitudes involve the evaluations that individual speakers make concerning the values of a particular language. Myers-Scotton adds that language ideologies are single-sided perceptions of languages and their uses that are constructed by a specific group in their interests, because such constructed ideology is easily raised in the level of consciousness.

It is not surprising to see various attitudes towards the languages spoken by various ethnic groups in a multi-nationality nation-state where different language groups coexist, for example in China, Canada, and United States. In these ‘imagined communities’ (Anderson, 1983, 1991), language attitude plays an essential role in the lives of the users of these languages. It is because language is associated with attitudes and values held by

its speakers and also by people who do not know the language, while it functions both as a communication device and a symbol of a group identity (Grosjean, 1982).

Attitudes toward languages often reflect the attitudes against the users of those languages (Grosjean, 1982; Gumperz, 1982; Fishman, 1989; Milroy & Li, 1995; Dabene & Moore, 1995; Pavlenko & Blackledge, 2004; Myers-Scotton, 2006). When one particular language obtains official status, it virtually always becomes the solitary language of public administration and instruction, while the roles of other languages become negligible (Myers-Scotton, 2006). When two languages are in contact, one is usually considered to be more prestigious than the others¹, even though in a few communities, attitudes toward the two or more languages in contact may equally be positive, especially when both of the languages have high status globally, like English and French in Canada. However, it may be possible for a once-stigmatized language to become valuable and recognized. A negative attitude toward a language can be changed to a positive one by a government's formal acknowledgment of a language, a country's independence or enhanced autonomy, or by the work of linguists, civil rights movements and social scientists (Grosjean, 1982). In the case of the ethnic Korean language in China, as with other minority languages, its domestic status underwent steep up and downs since the CCP came in power in the mid-twentieth century. In the initial years of the liberation, the status of the ethnic Korean language was very high along with China's strong relationship with Kim Il-Sung's government of North Korea. Nonetheless, most of the ethnic Korean schools reduced the teaching hours of Korean language classes due to great pressure from the Chinese government that required all ethnic schools to increase studies of Mandarin Chinese, Mao's socialism and Marx's communist philosophical

studies. Since the innovative reform era began in the 1980s, and especially since the establishment of the formal diplomatic relationship with South Korea in August 1992, the strong economic power of South Korea helped to raise the status of the ethnic Korean language to high peaks in China. The increasing number of applicants of the KSL (Korean as Second Language) proficiency examination in China in the past decade is a good example. This has been conducted in China once every year from 1997, and the KSL proficiency examination assesses the applicants' comprehensive Korean language skills, such as vocabulary, grammar, reading and writing. According to a news³ release by the Korean Cultural Services China (KCSC)⁴ on September 18, 2008, the number of applicants in China for the KSL proficiency examination in 2006 had increased to 30,270, which is more than 13 times compared to the number (2,274 applicants) in the initial year of the examination. When the researcher first arrived in Beijing to work as a Japanese-Korean-Chinese translator and a sales representative for a tourism company in Beijing in 1988, it was not very surprising for her to explain to her curious colleagues and Han Chinese friends about the Korean customs and foods that the tourists or business people from Korea often inquired about. However, in the past few years, whenever the researcher visited her family in Beijing, she was often impressed by the enriched 'Korean' knowledge of her former colleagues who used to spend a long time in understanding the Korean culture. Furthermore, she was amazed by the many the taxi drivers who greeted her in Korean.

2.3.2 Nationalism and Language Ideology

Nationalism has great powers not only in limiting the effectiveness of a nation's development, but also in strongly affecting the attitudes and ideologies toward languages among the members of a community - regardless of the size of the communities, that is, an ethnic minority group, or a country. For instance, the emerging nationalism has helped to unify such multi-ethnic states like India and China.

The term nationalism means 'a politically mobilizing and state-seeking ideology' (Safran, 1999, p. 78, cited in Myers-Scotton, 2006, p. 111). Ideologies are patterns of belief and practice, which formulate some existing arrangements become accepted and others not, as defined by Myers-Scotton (2006). For her, ideology is a means of language maintenance, because a group's ideology about its language is symbolized through a group sense, which can play a crucial role in impacting the group's sense about its language and its maintenance.

Fishman (1989), in his two integrative essays on nationalism and language, sees nationalism as an ethno-central ideology with major political outcomes, instead of looking at nationalism as political ideology with major ethno-cultural inputs. He sees nationalism as an ideology which aims to unite a group and encourage its interests by coordinating that group around a more inclusive ethno-cultural uniqueness and elaborating its distinctive beliefs, values, and behaviors. The definition of nationalism, for Fishman, is "the organizationally heightened and elaborated beliefs, attitudes, and behaviors of societies acting on behalf of their avowed ethnocultural self-interests" (1989, p. 109). He points out two characteristics of nationalism, one is a 'broader unity', and

another is its pressure on the ‘authenticity’ of the beliefs, values, and behaviors that typify the community of reference: On the one hand, ‘broader unity’ coexists with more limited and sometimes more essential experiences and awareness, since it coexists with narrower and more primary and ones among diverse groups and communities. Conversely, the stressed ‘authenticity’ in nationalism is expected to employ the organizations and the approaches of ‘massification’, when the pressured legitimacy searches for “an ethnocultural solution for the rootlessness and meaningness” which scientifically centred “massification itself provokes” (Fishman, 1982, p.111). Moreover, Fishman sees a common ground between nationalism and nationism⁵ in light of the stereotype about the myth of a common origin, when both struggle to validate this myth. That is, they endeavor to generate a better match between the conceptual understanding of sharing the same cultural/biological origin, and the fact that they are sharing the interdependence in the real worlds, whenever they strive to confirm the position of language in such endeavors.

2.3.3 The Nature of Language Policies

No matter how ‘the nation states - large communities are largely imagined’ (Anderson, 1983), the policies that all members of a nation state rely upon when they speak in various out-group interactions are very real (Myers-Scotton, 2006). In her comments about the politics of language policies in representative nation states, Myers-Scotton argues that those policies may not reveal the best interests of all groups in the population. She points out the three ironies arise in any discussions of language policy: the first irony is that ‘language policies are not necessarily really planned – in the sense of being based on the available objective evidence’, and the second irony is that ‘even

when governments set language policies, they are not necessarily followed'. (p.375); the third irony is that, regardless the popularity of the research and debates with regards to language policy and planning in the business of academia, 'the theories and analysis of academics do not seem to count much when policies are decided by governmental bodies – at least they haven't had much impact in the past' (p. 376).

The mechanism of language planning creates and assigns superior powers to some languages, while stigmatizing other languages, especially the minority languages. Myers-Scotton notes status planning, corpus planning, and acquisition planning⁶ as the three sub-categories of language planning, which are largely controlled by the government in power. This is because the decision making process of identifying a language as the official language, which assigns superior power to that particular language, is often controlled by the dominant party who also controls all the administration processes of the languages, for instance, the promotion, acquisition and reforms of the languages.

2.4 The Impacts of Chinese Nationalism on Multilingualism, Language and Identities of China's Minorities

The existence of bi/multilingualism is a fact of the life for many minorities in China, and linguistic diversification is just as prominent as other kinds of diversification in this nation. Minority language policy has varied widely at different times and with different political moods since the establishment of the PRC. China's minority language policy seems to be the key guideline for the development of bilingual education among minority communities. In turn, the burning questions that need to be asked here are what

is the nature of China's nationalism, and how does it impact multilingualism, languages and identities of these minorities in China?

China's nationalism has inevitable impacts on the development of community ideology and language belief system of the teenagers and their families in this study. The minority policies of the three major Chinese governments since the beginning of the twentieth century expressed their wishes of maintaining China as a united nation, which led to a national ideology that attempted to make all nationality group members a 'Chinese' citizen. For instance, it is required to use the Chinese (nation)-wide curriculum throughout its elementary and secondary public school systems in the PRC. In the minority autonomous regions, although ethnic language is encouraged as one of the key mediums of language instruction in the classroom, Mandarin Chinese is included in the K-12 public school curriculum as mandatory for the minority children.

The new language belief system of the ethnic minority migrant communities in the industrialized urban centre in China is triggered by the new sociopolitical and socioeconomic changes during the innovative reform era since the mid 1980s. These changes may be the stimulation of the major shift in the 'symbolic capitals'⁷ (Bourdieu, 1991) among the *ChaoXianZu* people in the new Korean Diaspora in Beijing. Under China's closed door national policy and the CCP's unique communist ideology education from the PRC's establishment in 1949 to the early 1980s, with the exception of the cultural revolution period, the minority community members generally placed higher values in the cultural capitals (that is, ethnic language education) and the social capitals (that is, social status), before the economic capitals (that is, material goods). However,

since the 1990s, the value of the economic capitals has taken precedence over the cultural capitals in this new era.

Various factors demonstrate that bi-/multilingual education among China's minorities is still undergoing hurdles and that ethnic language education is going through challenges through this industrialization process (Yang, 2005; Ma, 2006; Jin and Liu, 2007)). Social-economic aspects including the changes of national minority education policy have brought numerous benefits to this community, and at the same time, the changes have also negatively affected the social cultural development of these people, including the language choices of the minority language background teenage students and their parents. In the researcher's recent fieldwork among ethnic Koreans in Beijing, some community leaders, teachers and parents expressed their concerns about the ethnic language education crisis in the community since China's industrialization began at the end of the 1980s.

Some indicators during the industrialization process since the 1980s show the crisis of the ethnic language education among minority communities. Although his report focuses on the study of English as a third language among China's minorities, the factors presented by Yang (2005) mostly support the rising issues of China's ethnic language education. In this insightful article, Yang examines the teaching and use of, as well as the attitude towards, English among China's ethnic minorities. He argues that "English has yet to find its way into most of the minority communities in the western China", and provides an in-depth analysis of the status quo of English as a third language among the largely rural ethnic minority communities in Western China (2005, pp. 557). Yang presents two key pieces of evidence in the examination of the major contributing

factors: a description of their limited teaching/use of, and less than favorable attitudes toward English. Yang notes the following four contributing factors that have had a negative impact on the English Language Training and Learning in the minority regions: a lack of government funding, a low perceived value of English, Chinese-minority language bilingual education and Chinese-only instruction, and the challenge of learning a linguistically distant third language.

In line with Yang's observations, similar phenomena can be observed among ethnic Korean minorities in China today. Some recent studies (Yang, 2005; Ma, 2006; Jin & Liu, 2007; Zheng, 2007) have indicated ethnic language crises among China's ethnic Korean minority groups. The tendency of wishing to have Mandarin Chinese as L1 for the young generation is one of the top reasons reported. The key factors that contribute to the negative impact on the ethnic language education in the minority communities, especially in the non-autonomous ethnic Korean Diaspora, can be summarized with three interrelated factors. The first is a lack of government funding which is observable in teaching facilities, instructional equipment, teacher training and teaching materials. Almost all the parents of the informants of this study, as shown in chapter 4, claimed that one of the key factors for them to send their children to study in Chinese schools is because they generally have better facilities and higher quality teaching staff compared to ethnic Korean schools.

The second factor is the power struggle between becoming educated in Mandarin Chinese or other languages among China's minorities. This appears to be one of the key factors that impact the development of the community language belief system. The domestic and worldwide status of each language is varied. For instance, most of the

informants in this study expressed their beliefs that the worldwide status of English is much more competitive than Japanese or Russian. On an individual level, it seems that these minority students and their parents primarily consider the practical value of each language by the time they determine the student's language learning priorities. The practical value of learning the L1 ethnic language is comparatively low among minority students, compared to L2 Chinese language and L3 foreign language, such as English and Japanese. It is a common fact in China that high proficiency in L2, that is [*Hanyu*] Mandarin Chinese, an interethnic common language in China, is an unspoken mandatory subject for any ambitious minority students who believe that fluency in Mandarin will lead them to a bright future in China.

One of the main reasons for the development of this language belief system is the increasing practical values of Mandarin Chinese in the Chinese society, especially during the innovative reform era that started in the early 1980s. For instance, although recently added stipulations allow minority students to take the University Entrance examination in their own language, this idea does not seem to have been implemented. For example, according to Yang (2005), presently in Xinjiang,, the language of instruction in college is generally Chinese, and only a small number of college classes may actually be taught in Uygur and Kazak. The score on the HSK (Hanyu Shui-Ping Kaoshi), a Chinese proficiency test for non-native speakers, is now part of the admission and graduation requirements. To be admitted into a college, a minimum score of Band 5-6 on the HSK is required, whereas to graduate, it is Band 7-8. Every year, some college students fail to graduate because of their low HSK scores. A similar situation is also observed among the

ethnic Korean university students in north-east China, where the majority of Chinese people traditionally reside.

Communication with the Han people in the local community and access to the resources such as the media and government and business etc. make one's life difficult in China without knowing this interethnic common language. Nevertheless, minority applicants do have advantages over Han applicants in higher education. Many universities have set up courses to help prepare minority applicants for examinations; however, their passing grades are lower than those for the Han. National institutions in major Chinese cities offer specialized courses for students from minority regions if they agree to return to their region. Yet, the government officers and the narrow stratum of intellectuals of minority origin actually prefer that their children attend Han schools and speak Chinese. Perhaps this is because, Chinese is the language of instruction in institutions of higher education, just as it is in administrative seats and in the cities, except for a few in Yanbian, Xinjiang, Inner Mongolia, Tibet, and some other regions (Mackerras, 1995). The reality is that most specialized training and advanced training requires a higher level of competence in the Han language than in a minority language.

The third factor is the difficulty in learning Korean while learning Chinese and English (or other foreign languages). The current trend of China's bilingual education leaves little room for ethnic language learning by minority students, while placing greater time allocation on learning L1 and L2 and/or L3 from the early school years. Chunhee (see chapter 4.3 for further details), a Chinese/English/Korean/Japanese speaking young ethnic Korean high school student interviewed during the fieldwork in Beijing during the month of December 2007, informed the researcher that she could only read and listen to

Korean in spite of her 6 years of formal ethnic Korean schooling through a fulltime private elementary school system, because she was “too busy in surviving in the Chinese high school to keep up good grades”. She said that she felt very shameful about her speaking and writing skills in Korean, as it prevents her from communicating with some of her relatives and Korean students from school.

In conclusion, it seems that, on the one hand, the ideal setting for the Chinese government on the planning and establishment of bilingual education policy is not implemented properly in reality. Ideally, China’s language policy would recognize that bilingualism is a fact of life that is good for the nation, and linguistic diversification is just as essential as other kinds of diversification. In reality, however, China’s current situation reveals that the policies are not implemented well at the local levels, and the minority language education is facing challenges due to the lack of planning, guidance, and meaningful financial supports from the government. Perhaps this is due to the tendency, as Ma (2006) notes, that policy makers are apt to make “facile generalities and trying to implement policies that apply a single solution to a wide range of situations on the discussion of minority languages and bilingual instructions” (p.23). Until the central and local governments come up with timely and efficient implementation plans that help the minority groups to overcome the obstacles, China’s multilingual education and the ethnic language minority students will continually struggle with the languages and their identities.

On the other hand, the aim of policy makers of the Chinese government is to structure all minority groups, the people who live in various figured worlds of their own cultural traditions, into one United China, a huge 'figured world' (Holland et.al., 1998) or an 'imagined world' (Anderson, 1991). To do so, the policy makers (the playmakers of the figured world) are attempting to develop a structured system, such as the system similar to Myers-Scotton's (2006) three sub-categories of language planning- status planning, corpus planning and acquisition planning--that assigns superior power to Mandarin Chinese. As a result, all minority children in this imagined figured world of 'united China' are required to learn the basic 'game' rules, by being educated through the major learning tool, the China-wide united curriculum through the nine-year compulsory primary and secondary public school system. In turn, the ones cannot not follow the key rules are disqualified by the playmakers. That is, for instance, the ones who can not perform with high competency in Mandarin Chinese will have limited access to good jobs in any part of China, not to mention the government administrative positions, even within minority autonomous prefectures or regions, where government officers are required to be bilingual. Accordingly, as revealed in its minority education system, managed by the playmakers, namely the CCP policy makers, China's nationalism has strong impacts and control on the development of the community ideology (to build up a united China) and the language belief system (defining power relationships among Mandarin, ethnic languages, English or Japanese) among the minority groups in China.

It is intriguing to the following chapters to explore the question of, within the limited constrains of macro-level context, how do the multilingual ethnic Korean minority teenagers (re)construct and (re)negotiate their identities through their relationship with their languages.

3. Context and Methodology

3.1 Context of the Study

This study focuses on the relationship between language and identities among youths of a minority language background. This chapter reviews various theoretical approaches related to the study of languages and identities in multilingual environments. The main focus is on the reviews of poststructuralist theory, in particular, the Ethnography of Communication (EC) and the Social Network (SN) approaches; however, alternative approaches to studying identities in multilingual contexts will also be provided.

Prior to moving on to the review of the theoretical framework, the importance of examining multi-generational perspectives will be outlined in order to look at the main features of the identity negotiation process of ethnic minority youths. Forming an identity on social landscapes takes time, that is, “public and institutional time” (Holland et. al., 1998, p.284). In her study, Ryang (1997) takes a three generational perspective, because she considers that “the development of a social (belief) system takes a long time” and the formation of identity within individuals follows various stages in their lifecycle (p. 13). In their research on the bilingualism and the speech patterns of adolescents, some authors in the field of sociolinguistics also acknowledge the importance of looking at intergenerational perspectives in the studies of the languages of minorities (Li, 1994; Milroy & Li, 1995; Dabene & Moore, 1995; Milroy, 2000; Fought, 2002), although they are apt to focus on language changes and variations of the youth and their families. For

instance, Dabene and Moore (1995) studied bilingualism among migrant people in France, and emphasize the language choices and code-switching phenomenon rather than the relationship between language and identity. Milroy and Li (1995) studied the language choices and code-switching patterns of three generations of Chinese immigrant families living in London England. Both the above sociolinguistic studies in France and England, by using social network analysis approaches, report the importance of multi-generational perspectives on the studies of minority groups and individuals in order to see broader features of bilingualism and language practices of teenagers and their surrounding environment.

3.1.1 Theoretical Framework

Poststructuralist Approach and other Alternative Approaches in the Studies of Identities in Multilingual Contexts

In their volume on the negotiating identities in multilingual contexts, Pavlenko and Blackledge(2004) review poststructuralist and critical theory in sociolinguistics. They note that the poststructuralists emphasize the legitimization and devaluation of particular identities in today's global and regional political economic context. Poststructuralist work emphasizes the role of power in the process of categorization. They further note that recent postconstructuralist perspective thought points to 'splits and fissures in categories previously seen as bounded or dichotomous and brings into focus hybrid, transgendered, and multiracial identities that have previously been ignored' (p. 13).

Pavlenko and Blackledge and their volume authors focus on the examination of how languages are appropriated in the construction and negotiation of particular identities,

instead of evaluating the reasons for language choices. They report their conclusion with four central themes of negotiation of identities in multilingual contexts:

firstly, that linguistic and identity options are limited within particular sociohistoric contexts, even though they are continuously contested and reinvented; secondly, that diverse identity options and their links to different language varieties are valued differently and that sometimes it is these links rather than the options per se that are contested and subverted; thirdly, that some identity options may be negotiable, while others are either imposed (and thus non-negotiable) or assumed (and thus not negotiated); and, finally and most importantly, that individuals are agentive beings who are constantly in search of new social and linguistic resources which allow them to resist identities that position them in undesirable ways, produce new identities, and assign alternative meanings to the links between identities and linguistic varieties (2004, p. 26).

Over the past few decades, the community of practice (C of P) perspectives has become another common approach to language minority research. Lave and Wenger (1991) began to explore the consequences of self-development in and through activities. They were concerned with 'situated learning' in 'communities of practice'; that is, how newcomers are included into socially enduring and complex activities. Kanno (1999) also shows her fascination in Lave and Wenger's notions of community of practice in the legitimate peripheral participation (LPP), especially regarding their views that look at the identities from the perspective of the community of practices by conceptualizing learning as part of increasing participation in the practices. The initial participation of newcomers in a community shows relative restrictions; however, their practices become correspondingly more complex and involved once they become more familiar with the knowledge and the skills in their local practices.

Holland, Lachiotte, Skinner and Cain's (1998) notion of 'figures worlds' also posit a theory of how individuals develop a sense of identity and a sense of agency in that

identity. For them, communities of practice redirect the practices and productions of working groups because of the strong interrelation between power/knowledge or position/knowledge within the social groups. They see congruence between Lave and Wenger's notion of the community of practice and their notion of the figured worlds, in how identities become important outcomes of participation in the communities of practice which are akin to their notion on the identity formation process as active participation in activities organized by myriad figured worlds. As they describe,

by modeling possibilities, the imaginary world can inspire new actions; or, paradoxically, their alternative pleasures can encourage escape and withdrawal from action....Many of the activities that engage human energy and interest have an imaginative component. Figured world rests upon people's abilities to form and be formed in collectively realized 'as if' realms....People have the propensity to be drawn to, recruited for, and formed in these figured worlds, and to become active in and passionate about them....People's identities and agency are formed 'dialectically and dialogically' in these figured worlds....Figured worlds take shape within and grant shape to the coproduction of activities, discourses, performances, and artifacts. A figured world is peopled by the figures, characters, and types who carry out its tasks and who also have styles of interacting within, distinguishable perspectives on, and orientations toward it. (Holland et al., 1998, pp. 49-51).

a. The Ethnography of Communication

The Ethnography of Communication (EC) examines "the norms of communicative conduct in different communities, and deals with methods of studying these norms", as described by Peter Trudgill in his foreword as the Series Editor of Saville-Troike's (1989) account on the EC approach. This approach combines the comprehensive knowledge which is derived from various disciplines of social science, such as social cultural anthropology, sociology, linguistics, and education (Saville-Troike, 1989; Duff,

2002). Inspired by the original works of Dell Hymes (e.g. 1962, 1972 and 1974), the grounding studies that initiated the EC framework, Saville-Troike introduces the key terms, focuses, and analytical issues that relate to this approach. With Duff's (2002) words, the EC approach combines the 'etic and emic analysis of communication, and sometimes macro- and micro-level analyses of discourse as well' (p. 3). In her discussions about the four key features that the EC shares with some applied linguistic studies, Duff points out two distinctive characteristics that EC approach presents: one is its focus on cross-cultural communication patterns, and the other is the repeated use of data triangulation in order to ensure the participants' perceptions toward the practices within their culture.

EC approach serves as a guide for collecting and analyzing descriptive data to examine how the meaning of speech events is socially constructed (Saville-Troike, 1989). Considering its function as a cultural form situated socially, EC treats language as the most crucial aspect within the framework. Saville-Troike points out that the primary focus of this dynamic approach is to explore regularities of language use, especially to examine the 'patterns and functions of communication, nature and definition of speech community, [and the] means of communicating, components of communicative competence', as well as the interrelation between languages and their broad socio-cultural environment (p. 11). The *speech community*, that is, how communicative acts are systematically designed and categorized and how these speech events interact with other systems of culture, is the main focus of the ethnography of communication. The *communicative competence*, in Saville-Troike's term, entails the speakers' knowledge of the language code, as well their prior knowledge of 'what to say to whom, and how to say

it appropriately in any given situation' (p. 21). In turn, the 'shared knowledge', the social and cultural norms that all the members of a community are assumed to have, that enables them to utilize and understand linguistic forms, is considered the main aspects of this communicative competence. For her, the linguistic, interactional, and cultural knowledge are the three most significant categories among the wide range of 'shared knowledge', that assure an appropriate level of communication competence of the speakers.

Describing and analyzing the communication requires looking at the discrete entities which have some kind of recognizable boundaries. Hymes(1972) suggests '*situation, event, act*' as the top three units for the description and examination of the communication (sf. Soville-Troike, 1989, p. 26). For Soville-Troike, the *communicative situation* is 'the context within which communication occurs', and the *communicative event* is 'the basic unit for descriptive purposes', and the *communicative act* is normally coterminous with a single interactional function' such as a referential comment, an instruction, or a demand, and 'may be either verbal or non-verbal' (pp. 26-27). As one of the primary strategies in the EC approach, Duff recommends to reduce data during its collection, analysis, and the final reporting processes, because of the logical challenges of conducting the 'macro and micro analysis and etic and emic perspectives' in many empirical research (2002, p. 6). For example, she suggests narrowing down the main events, informants, and the discourse types through out times and locales.

b. Social network Approach

From the two key theoretical approaches, this study will adopt the social network analysis, an approach inspired by the main form of inquiry described by Milroy and Li (1995) and Dabene and Moore (1995). Milroy and Li (1995) note that the strength of the social network approach lies in observing a broad range of social variables related to bilingual speech in a small scale community, such as a Chinese immigrant community in England. Social network analysis can observe social variables such as generation, gender, and occupation; therefore, it is capable of capturing more general patterns of code-switching language choice. Moreover, the social network approach can deal “in a principled way with the bilingual behavior of ‘anomalous’ individuals whose language patterns are unlike those of their peers, in that they can be shown to have contracted different types of personal network structure” (Milroy & Li, 1995, p. 155). In their study on two European immigrant communities in France, Louise Dabene and Daniele Moore (1995) report that social network analysis illustrates the bilingualism and the speech patterns of migrants. In particular, they note that this approach can capture the key features of language practices of immigrant teenagers, such as their intra-family communication and the in-group youths’ and adolescents’ specific vernacular.

Milroy (2002) also informs that the social network approach links the community with the interactional level by focusing on the everyday behavior of social actors, and generation and network-specific conversational patterns. Milroy further notes that a fundamental postulate of social network analysis is that individuals create personal communities which provide a meaningful framework for solving the problems of daily life. Furthermore, these personal communities are constituted by interpersonal ties of

different types and strength, and structural relationships between links can vary. Particularly, the persons to whom ego is linked may also be tied to each other to varying degrees – ego being the person who, for analytic reasons, forms the ‘anchor’ of the network. For Milroy, if a network consists chiefly of strong ties, and those ties are multiplex or many-stranded, and if the network is also relatively dense – i.e. many of the ego’s ties are linked to each other – then such a network has the capacity to support its members in both practical and symbolic ways.

Although this study is limited to the examination of the broader meaning of the types of language used by multilingual youths in Beijing, instead of looking at their conversational speech patterns that network analysis has traditionally focused on, as Milroy (2002) notes, the social network approach has the key strength of linking the community with the interactional level in focusing on daily behavior of social actors, and multiple generations. The main characteristic of the participants in this study is that they are all multilingual youths being raised in middle class, migrant, ethnic minority Korean families in Beijing. Even though the family members are quite mobile, they have strong ties with the local ethnic Korean communities in Beijing and with the Korean communities in their hometown in Mudanjiang. In turn, social network analysis will be applicable for examining the multi-generational communication phenomena through complex webs of network structures of the subjects of this study, through examining each participant’s at-home communication, and the in-group youths’ specific vernacular at individual levels.

Since this fieldwork in China began in December 2007, the researcher has become aware of some limitations of social network analysis among the previous studies using

this approach. On the one hand, this approach has highlighted some difficulties in dealing with certain factors in migrant groups, as did some informants in this study. Specifically, social network analysis is highly effective for the investigation of dynamic social variables in a community where members are not mobile and have strong daily connections in the community. However, it can not capture fully the complexity of the variables at stake among mobile participants with looser community ties, such as middle-class ethnic Korean migrants in Beijing who are constantly traveling between two or three or multiple worlds on a daily basis. Benefitted by China's innovative economic policy and open policy since the early 1980s, and China's strong political and economical connection with South Korea, these groups of people have reached middle class within a very short period of time since migrating to Beijing. By utilizing their bi/multilingual skills, most of them are self-employed and run companies, mainly for tourism, import and export industries, or work for government offices or Japanese and Korean companies.

On the other hand, social network analysis fails to grasp some dynamic phenomena, such as the central role that the internet plays in today's youth communication. For instance, the internet has essential impact on some of the teenage informants in this Beijing study, such as Japanese animation and comic book watchers spending tremendous amounts of time in communicating in a virtual world. In this huge imagined community of "Japanese Anime/Comic Watchers", the members are strongly connected through their practices of animation and comic book watching. Consequently, in this imagined figured world of the Anime Watcher Community, one of the most important requirements of revealing its valid memberships is *what they do* rather than *who they are*

in the social world. In other words, their social status or where they live or how old they are not very important for membership in this virtual community.

Things seemed more complex than initially planned, as it was observed that some phenomena could not be explained by the social network analysis framework. Implementation of other frameworks may help to fully appreciate the complexity of identity development through language practices of these multilingual migrant youths in Beijing. For instance, besides the combination of the Ethnography of Communication approach, the notion of community of practices (C of P, Lave & Wenger, 1991; Kanno, 2003; Toohey, 2005) may well assist in looking into the identities of newcomers through their active practices in the community. Additionally, the notion of figured worlds (Holland et al., 1998; Toohey, 2007) may also enhance the examination in light of viewing the languages as agents during the process of identity formations through the individuals' active participation in their social plays and practices within various overlapping imagined figured worlds. The notion of space and scale (Blommaert et al., 2005) would be an aid in analyzing the multilingual competencies of the participants.

In spite of some drawbacks in the approach, social network analysis is a highly competitive approach that has enabled this study to capture the key features of the complex relationships of the languages and the multilayered identities of the teenagers in China with multilingual minority language backgrounds.

3.2 Research Questions

Many researchers would agree that the importance of having salient research questions in a study is not only to help keep the study on a proper track, but also because

those questions have the magic power of leading them to some thrilling new questions.

The key question of this thesis is, that

- how do the multilingual *ChaoXianZu* (ethnic Korean) youths assert, reveal, negotiate and (re)construct their multilayered identities through their relationships with their multiple languages in their language practices and discourses?

In relation with the above main question, the study finds it is necessary to ask the following sub-questions:

- 1) How do contemporary Chinese nationalism impacts languages and identities of China's minorities? How are the community ideology and the language belief systems developed in the *ChaoXianZu* minority community in Beijing? How are they revealed in the case of the focal multilingual ethnic Korean teenagers through *what they say* and *what they do*?
- 2) What are the relationships between the ethnic language competency and the degree of ethnicity? How are they revealed in the case of the focal teenagers in present study?
- 3) How their parents' perspectives toward multilingualism impact the focal teenagers' attitudes toward multilingualism, and their motivations in the selection, and the learning of multiple languages? How is it revealed in the case of the focal teenagers in this study?

3.3 Methodology

3.3.1 The Participants

The recruitment of the participants was mainly through word-of-mouth referrals. The participants were initially contacted through phone calls, based on lists of over 70 families referred by two local ethnic Korean alumni organizations from Mudanjiang. After the initial phone screening, eight teenagers and their parents were considered to meet the key criteria of this study and they agreed to participate in further in-person interviews. After the interviews, only six teenagers (see Table 3.3.1 for details) were found to be suitable for this study. The final informants of this study are strictly selected according to the following key criteria:

- 1) The participant is an ethnic Korean teenager who is currently attending Junior or Senior high school in Beijing, China;
- 2) He/she speaks at least three languages, including Korean;
- 3) Both his/her parents are ethnic Koreans from the Mudanjiang region, and one or both parents who received K-12 formal ethnic Korean education in China;
- 4) Born and raised in a middle class family¹ who in the past 10-12 years have migrated to Beijing from Mudanjiang, Heilongjiang province (one of the three North-East provinces where Koreans traditionally reside in the PRC).
- 5) His/her family status in Beijing is *Zanzhu Jumin* (temporary resident).

Table 3.3.1 Participants' profiles

Participant	Age	Gender	Grade	Years in Beijing	Languages Spoken	Ethnic Language Education
Chunhee	17	female	G 12	12	CEKJ	G 1-6
Ranhee	16	female	G10	8	CKE	G1-3
Mina	14	female	G10	7	CKE	G1-3
Ryoung	15	female	G10	9	CEK	at home
Sang	13	male	G7	11	CEK	at home
Lan	13	female	G7	10	CEK	at home

Notes: (1) This table is based on the information gathered through the participants' self-reports on the Participants Questionnaire I and II. (2) On the description of the "languages" spoken by participants, C stands for Chinese, K stands for Korean, E stands for English, and J stands for Japanese. The sequences of the languages are placed according to the reported fluency² of each language.

During the process of participant recruitment and data collection, tremendous emotional challenges were experienced by the researcher as an insider - a Chaoxianzu, born and raised and educated in China, and as an outsider - educated both in Japan and North America and revisiting China after a long absence from her first homeland for over one and a half decades. As an insider, the researcher often felt isolated from the community and seen as a 'stranger' by the people she thought she knew well. Frankly, the researcher was very shocked as she was initially very enthusiastic and confident about the fieldwork in China. For example, when making a phone call to the potential participants, she became hesitant after a few not-very-successful cold calls that were initiated based on contact lists obtained from a few Mudanjiang regional ethnic Korean high school alumni associations in Beijing. The researcher was unable to build rapport with the potential participants very well. When discussing these concerns with her family

and friends in Beijing, they helped the researcher out a lot by contacting their acquaintances. In most cases, they rang them first to introduce the researcher to the families. The success rates from these word-of-mouth referrals were very positive, as most of them were then happy to talk to the researcher and some even referred their friends as well.

Why was it difficult for the researcher to build good connections with the people in her 'original' community – the community she has known since birth? This question constantly arose during and after the fieldwork. Initially, it was difficult to figure out why, as the researcher was very positive about her telemarketing skills, considering she had worked as a telemarketer for over three years in Japan for a major international telephone company that offered all employees an excellent training package during employment. The researcher also shared her experience with some of the parents and the participants who were interviewed. Some of them pointed out that she looks/sounds/acts like 'a foreigner', but 'a familiar foreigner'. In the past fifteen years, the researcher had tried to maintain contact with family and friends in China; however, she may not have paid enough attention to 'the community' and to the amazing sociopolitical and economic changes in China. In addition, she was aware of speaking more with a South Korean accent, which is closer to the Seoul dialect than the ones that she used to use in China, and which are still used by the ethnic Koreans in the Mudanjiang region (speaking Yanbian dialect that is close to the dialect spoken by the people in the Hanyangbukdo prefecture, a north-east coastal region on the Korean peninsula).

On the positive side, being seen as 'an outsider', a familiar 'foreigner' enabled the researcher to see many things that she was not aware of when living in China among

these ChaoXianZu people. All the education received in Japan and Canada trained the researcher to maintain a professional perspective in order to view the phenomena with critical eyes.

3.3.2 Data Collection

The initial data collection task was completed in a four-week fieldwork session in Beijing during the month of December 2007. The following three methods were used:

(1) *Participant Self-report Questionnaires*: Three types of questionnaires³ were used.

The first questionnaire covers basic personal information and its goal was to provide preliminary screening to select eligible informants for the semi-structured in-person interviews. Accordingly, the initial participant screening process was completed primarily by phone. Questionnaires II and III were filled in by the participants before the in-person interview for the purpose of collecting more detailed information about the teenage informants' in-school and afterschool activities, and their views of multilingualism and ethnicity.

(2) *Semi-structured Audio Recorded Interviews*: During the preliminary participant screening process, the researcher spoke to the parents of teenagers from 70 families. Using Questionnaire I, the preliminary screening was mainly conducted by phone and only a few were done in person. Both the teenagers and one or both of their parents were invited to participate to the interviews. All interviews were recorded. Each interview lasted between one and a half to two hours, and was conducted at the participants' home or the parents' offices.

(3) *Participant Observation*: After the interviews, some families invited the researcher to lunch or dinner gatherings and they agreed that she could use the data gathered from this event. Both the parents and the teenagers were very open during this unstructured event and they were more relaxed than during the recorded interviews. Detailed field notes were made right after each event.

Including a brief language assessment of their skills in Korean, English and/or Japanese, the individual interview with the teenagers generally took one hour to one and a half hours. With the parents, each interview lasted approximately the same time or much more, although it did not include any language assessment, perhaps because most of the parents wanted the researcher to join them for lunch or dinner after the interviews. The researcher generally tried to accept the invitation as these occasions were considered as a good way to know the participants in more relaxed, and natural ways. Most of the time, the teenagers attended the meal, but they left first as soon as they had finished their food. Before accepting the invitation, the researcher confirmed that she could include some conversations during the meal times in her study as the data would be a good quality source from the participant observations. All the families who invited me to these extra occasions generously gave full consent to use the data. The researcher informed them that she would send the script to them once all the writings were completed, and before sending the paper to the publisher.

The parental interviews were interactive, and most of the parents preferred speaking in Korean with some Chinese code-switching. As with skilled bilingual parents, they responded in both languages, depending on the type of language that the researcher used for the questions. The teenagers, however, preferred speaking in Chinese during the

majority of the interview process, even though the researcher purposely alternated questions in the different languages that they said they could speak. That is, the teenagers who had received formal ethnic Korean education were asked questions in Korean first. Both Mina and Ranhee tried to answer in Korean first, but they switched their responses to Chinese as soon as they felt they did not have enough Korean vocabulary, which often lasted after 3-5 minutes of conversation. Chuneo refused to answer in Korean; however, she never hesitated to answer in Chinese and English, and occasionally in Japanese. The interviews began with some warm-up question like, “Who is your role model in your family?” (see appendix: interview questions). The questions can be divided into three categories: Multilingualism, Ethnic Language Education, and Self-identification.

The follow-up process was conducted via e-mails and phone from January to March 2008. Some participants’ answers were clarified through contacts made from Canada. During the initial interviews, the participants and their parents agreed that I could contact them for any new questions or further clarification that may be necessary. Regarding the e-mails, some participants replied very efficiently; however, some of the teenagers were reluctant to respond to the e-mails, so the researcher had to call them for follow-up.

Upon completion of data collection, and inspired by the key steps of Robert Stake’s(1994) guidelines for the qualitative case researchers, the data were organized and triangulated, and critical discourse analysis was conducted to enable investigation into the hidden ideological meanings that were revealed in the particular views and statements by the participants. Then, the participants’ common issues and patterns of experience were identified in order to develop assertions or generalizations about the case study. Stake

points out the following six major conceptual responsibilities of qualitative case researchers: 1) bounding the case, conceptualizing the object of study; 2) selecting phenomena, themes, or issues that the research questions emphasize; 3) seeking patterns of data to develop the issues; 4) triangulating key observations and bases for interpretation; 5) selecting alternative interpretations to pursue; 6) developing assertions or generalizations about the case (p. 244).

4. Types of Multilingualism and Their Conditions of Emergence

The main focus of this chapter is to understand the types of multilingualism and their conditions of emergence through the observation of the type of language used by teenagers and the interviews with their families. Inspired by the concept of the social network framework (Milroy & Li, 1995; Dabene & Moore, 1995; Milroy, 2000), section 3.1 attempts to observe the types of language used by six multilingual ethnic Korean migrant teenagers in Beijing. Based on participant self reports (questionnaires I and II), the patterns of how each teenager was communicating with others through various types of personal networks and family ties were observed at home, at school and within peer group relations.

Sections 3.2 and 3.3 are based on data collected from the individual interviews of the parents of the teenage participants, which include a total of 11 parental responses. The highest education levels of the parents were university Bachelor degrees, and most of the parents had college level education, except one with a high school diploma. All the male parents are self-employed in Beijing, and half of the female parents are working for foreign companies in Beijing, and the other half were also self-employed. All adult participants are skilled Korean/Chinese speaking bilinguals, including the Korean/Chinese/Japanese (or English) trilingual. All parents had a good command of Mandarin Chinese language skills and showed active contact with mainstream Chinese societies, which contrasted with the stereotyped perceptions of lower Chinese language competence of ethnic minority women from local regions. Interviews with the parents

were conducted both in Korean and Mandarin Chinese. Interestingly, the researcher found that their responses to the topics relating to professional experience or socio-political, socio-economic aspects were in Chinese, while the greetings and the casual conversations were conducted in Korean. Perhaps this is because of the origin of the families, a small region located in south-west part of Heilongjiang province, where there are fewer ethnic Koreans compared to Yanbian ethnic Korean autonomous prefecture in Jilin. Compared to their children, most of the parents have much higher ethnic Korean language competency than their language skills in Mandarin Chinese.

4. 1 Types of Language Use

This section describes the types of languages used by the teenagers, based mainly on their self reports through Questionnaire I and II (see the Appendix B). Inspired by Milroy and Li's (1995) social network analysis approach to language use of immigrant communities, this questionnaire aimed to investigate the patterns of language use by these teenagers through three important social network environments: in the family, at school, and in afterschool activities. The main concern was to explore how these social networks impact their languages, by observing how and who they are talking to, and which type of and in what degree that their languages are used in each network.

All speakers show high competence in using Chinese, and more competency in English compared to Korean, except Chunhee, Ranhee and Mina who received formal ethnic language education from ethnic schools, as shown in Table 4.1.1 Types of Languages and Fluency (see Appendix A). Chunhee and Mina's overall ethnic Korean language competency is much higher than Chunhee's, although Chunhee is the one who

received the highest grades in her formal ethnic language education. Nonetheless, Chunhee' listening and reading skills in Korean are highly competitive (see Table 4.1.2 in the Appendix A). The other teenagers, who only rely on home-based ethnic language education, showed low competency in ethnic Korean language skills in general, except for some basic listening skills.

All of the participants reported that they were receiving ethnic language education through either a formal ethnic Korean school system or at home by their parents. Of the three who were only receiving Korean language education at home, their ethnic language competence was very limited compared those three who attended some formal Korean education system (see Table 4.1.2 Ethnic Language Fluency, in the Appendix A). For instance, Ryoung has been living with her parents, both fluent Korean and Chinese bilinguals, until junior high school level. Even though her parents were speaking to her in Korean and she often visited her grandparents in their hometown, she could not read or write Korean. As anticipated, her listening skill is much higher than her speaking. She said could understand parts of Korean videos, especially the family and romance comedies that she regularly enjoyed watching with her mother. In speaking, she could barely speak a full sentence in Korean other than Creole sentences like "bub mugea" (have meal), "mul mugea" (eat water), that is, sentences with a missing particle or wrong verb. She could not use the short form (for casual speech) and the long form (for formal speech) structure for the verbs.

Both Sang and Lan left their hometown at a younger age compared to the other participants. Sang was living with his mother in Beijing while attending school, as his father was working out of town. His mother speaks to him mostly in Korean and he

replies in Chinese. Sang visits his grandparents very often during the school breaks, and apart from his grandfather, he mostly speaks in Chinese with his cousins in his hometown. He thinks that as a Korean he must know how to speak Korean, but he regrets that he does not have many opportunities to practice Korean in Beijing, even when he visits his grandfather in his hometown. When he watches animation or reads comic books, he prefers Chinese and English. He conveyed his passion in English, as he seems to enjoy learning English, and said that he often takes the initiative to talk to English speaking students during international club activities at school.

Lan migrated to Beijing when she was one, and attended Chinese kindergarten and schools in Beijing. At home, her father spoke Korean to her, while her mother spoke Chinese to her. As her father was self-employed, often working outside the home, Lan spent more time with her mother who could not teach her much Korean as her mother was educated in a Chinese school. Lan often visits her grandparents in her hometown, and they talk to her in Korean a lot. Although she has limited ethnic language skills, she expressed her passion in learning Korean in the future. With her mother, Lan often watches Korean movies with Chinese subtitles. Moreover, Lan likes to watch Chinese and English animations.

Regarding their personal network ties and language use through these ties, all six teenagers show high competence in using Chinese outside the home, and also tended to use more Chinese with the younger generations (see Table 4.1.3 Implicational Scale for the Language Choices, in the Appendix A). It seems they are still communicating in ethnic Korean with their parents and grandparents, which mostly assumes that the older generations talk to them in Korean and they reply to them in Chinese or in another

language with which they feel more comfortable. In the interviews, the teenagers and their parents indicated that the teenagers do not have enough contact with ethnic Korean speaking friends and relatives as much as they could in their hometown since moving to Beijing.

It was very interesting to observe the literacy levels of each of their languages through school and afterschool activities. Generally, the six teenagers have stronger literacy skills in Chinese, and much higher skills in English compared to Korean (see Table 4.1.4 Language Choices in Literacy, in the Appendix A). For instance, considering she does not have many domestic resources in using and practicing her literacy skills in Korean, Mina shows high competency in Korean, as she often visits her relatives living in Seoul Korea and maintains active online communications with them. Chunhee's current literacy skills in Korean are much lower than they are in Japanese, considering they were much higher when she was in elementary school and junior high school.

Regarding the status of English among their languages, it became clear that the priority of learning English is much higher than it is for their own ethnic language. All six teenagers have been studying English from a young age (see Tables 4.1.1 and 4.1.4, Appendix A). For instance, both Mina and Lan began to learn English from grade 1, and the others started from grade 3. In addition to their studies of English as a school subject, they also increased their skills through after-school English tutoring services; that is, Mina began using this service four years ago, and Sang and Lan also started to have private English tutors at home after school hours.

Moreover, new communication patterns were observed among these six multilingual teenagers, namely, how these youth are communicating is no longer the same as their parents' generation. Communicating through e-mails, messenger programs, and watching animations and reading comic books on the internet are some typical examples of language discourse, which are also essential communication media for today's middle class youth in most developed and developing countries.

Why and how do these teenagers develop this new type of social network communication style that varies from their parents' and grandparents' generations, and what motivates them to devote a tremendous amount of time to the virtual world? On the one hand, the major social economic changes in China since the early 1990s may have brought sociocultural changes in the newly established ethnic Korean communities in Beijing, while it triggered off many socio-political changes in the ethnic minority groups in the nation. For instance, these teenagers are facing new adventures and challenges that are quite different from their parents' generations, while they are enjoying the superior economic wealth resulting from their parents' hard work. Today's high technology allows these teenagers to explore their worlds through virtual space without thinking of time and space limitations, which allows them to use a new type of language discourse and communication tools. All the parents of these teenagers mentioned that they had to limit their children's internet access time and duration, as they were concerned about the teenagers neglecting their school work.

Interestingly, some negative aspects of preserving cultural traditions, such as the increased numbers of 'single' or 'no-parent' families (Jin 2007) and the changes of the traditional view of the mother's role as the guardian of ethnic linguistic maintenance and

development, also motivate this new type of communication pattern. For example, as both or one of the teenagers' parents are working abroad or in the other cities for the long term, they often became used to talking to their mothers or fathers through the internet than in person. Since the 1990s, the ethnic Korean females in their 30s to 40s, 'the mothers', have been an important international and domestic labor force, which changed the tradition of the male dominant labor force in the Chaoxianzu community in China (Jin & Liu, 2007).

On the other hand, as the results of China's one-child policy play out in reality, today's teenagers in China are far too busy to meet the expectations of their families and schools, even though they are being provided with full material support for their studies. Five teenagers in the present study are 'the only child' of their nuclear families, and the sixth has one sibling. One of the teenagers, a grade 10 student, showed me her weekly schedule, which fully occupies her from 7 a.m. to 9 p.m., Monday through Saturday. The schedule only allowed here to take breaks during meal times. When setting up the interview appointments with the teenagers, most of the parents preferred to have them late in the evenings or during the weekend. All the interviews took place after 8.30 p.m. during weekdays or the weekend. Most of the teenagers informed the researcher, that, after their school work, they often barely had any time to maintain regular in person contacts with their friends and family members. Consequently, they chat with their friends and families through the internet, which they found to be a convenient and efficient way to talk with more people. Internet communication has therefore become an essential feature of their daily language practices.

4.2 The Family: Attitudes toward Multilingualism

Most of the parents in this study have positive attitudes towards bi/multilingualism. Considering that the research data are based on qualitative interviews with the parents from six families, as discussed in detail in Chapter 2, the data may not represent the thoughts of all ethnic Korean migrant groups in Beijing. Nonetheless, the data reflects some significant aspects of the attitudes towards multilingualism among the people in today's urban ethnic minority migrant communities. All of the 11 adult respondents answered positively for being a multilingual, except two parents, Lan's father and Ryoung's mother, expressed some concerns and challenges.

Those who emphasize the advantages of being a multilingual explain that it is beneficial in the job market as well as for academic advancement, and that it offers more opportunities and better options. The parents of this study also feel that being able to speak additional language(s) gives more flexibility and joy in travelling. Multilingual capabilities allow their children to study or work abroad, and give them power through being aware of and experiencing different cultures and worlds besides the ones they have in their hometown and home country.

Multilingualism is believed to increase one's choices and opportunities in general. Chunhee's mother, a company employee and housewife, thinks that bi/multilingual employees have more financial benefit as they are often given more opportunities to choose much better paying jobs. As an example, Chunhee's mother related the success stories of her friends who are Korean/Chinese or Korean/Chinese/Japanese bi/multilingual ethnic Koreans in Beijing working for South Korean and Japanese funded

companies, and who earn 2-5 times higher salaries compared to her other monolingual friends.

Some parents in this study also consider that being a multilingual is more beneficial in interpersonal communication. One of the main concerns that the parents have is about how well their children can develop their competence in each of the languages that they are speaking and learning. The parents especially hope that their children will develop good language skills that will enable them to have good communication in Chinese with family members and relatives, and the people from both ethnic Korean and other groups. Although they are all concerned about their children's language competency in the ethnic Korean language, the parents seem to put strong emphasis on learning Mandarin Chinese, considering the fact that Mandarin is the common language in China where they mainly reside.

Multilingualism is also considered to be beneficial with regards to cross-cultural understanding. It is strongly believed that to assist the children to understand many different cultures from a young age, the children can develop and broaden their perspectives about the world and respect diverse ways of thinking. Some of the parents think that being bilingual contributes to an individual's open-mindedness. They think that learning more languages helps people to develop flexibility and tolerance towards a variety of values.

Multilingualism is beneficial not only for character-building, but also for cognitive development. Some parents claim that analytical thinking and intellectual advancement can be expected from learning another language. Mina's father, a 44-year old successful

businessman, even thinks that knowing more languages increases one's self-esteem, and gives more stimulation for doing better in other things. One of the teenagers, a grade 10 Chinese/English/Korean trilingual student, told the researcher that even when she was walking in the street, she "feels very confident" as she "knows one more language than the others". The others mostly responded that being multilingual is fun and it is very beneficial as it enables them to access greater knowledge from various cultures and people.

Those who feel that multilingualism has negative aspects, while admitting its positive effects, explain their position with respect to language deficiency, social stigma, and conflicting identities. Almost half of the parents expressed their regrets from their own or close relatives' and friends' life experiences, namely that they sometimes feel that they can not properly fit into the majority society of the Han, such as by working in government level administrative positions, due to their lack of language competency in Mandarin Chinese. Some parents believe that their children's vocabulary is limited and that their language development is imbalanced in all or most of the languages, compared with bilingual (in Chinese/Korean) or monolingual (in Mandarin) children.

4.3 The Family: Attitudes toward Ethnicity and Ethnic Language Education

Most of the parents indicated that providing a better educational environment was one of the primary motivations during the decision making process of their migration to the capital city, the economic and political development and planning. They acknowledge

the benefits of their children's ethnic language and cultural education if they were still living in their hometown where more concentrated, active ethnic Korean communities reside. Nonetheless, the parents also pointed out the limitations in the overall education and social-economical environment in their hometown, compared to the massive options that Beijing provides for the family, including the wealth of educational choices for their children. Among the language education choices, some parents confirmed the good Chinese and international language learning environment in Beijing, such as the various international schools and language training facilities. As an example¹, Mina's father mentioned about the positive school atmosphere in the major schools in Beijing, commenting that "generally, it is an almost impossible dream for the students from local schools to enroll into the top universities like the university of Peking or Qinghua in Beijing. Fortunately, much bigger percentages of students in Beijing can be admitted to these top universities, and the chance is even higher for the students studying in the major high schools" (example P-1)². As Mina is enrolled in one of the top senior high schools in Beijing, he said that he was very positive about her future. He commented that "the kids will have much better chances, as long as we, as the parents, can provide good guidance and timely support to them from their younger ages" (example P-2)³.

With regards to ethnicity, both the parents and the teenagers in the study answered very positively about being an ethnic Korean living in China. Nonetheless, the well-travelled parents believe that they may have provided better opportunities for their children if they had migrated to and were living in developed countries like Japan or America. One of the two top reasons that they mentioned for migrating to Beijing is that it was for their children's education.

The majority of parents and the teenagers believe that it is not necessary to learn an ethnic language through the formal ethnic education system. They think that the family can provide ethnic language education at home, or through a different route while the child is attending school. The father of a grade 7 Chinese/English/Korean trilingual teenage girl told the researcher that he does not think it is necessary to “put too much energy only in one aspect (like language learning), as it causes imbalanced knowledge structure, and it prevents one from smoothly integrating into the mainstream society”. He thinks that one can learn their own ethnic language from different routes (example P-3)⁴.

Besides the reason that learning Chinese is important as it is a national language in China, the other main reason given by the parents for feeling negative about sending their children to an ethnic Korean school is due to the poor school facilities and low quality of the teaching staff.

Half of the parents also expressed their dilemma in deciding whether they should teach their children ethnic language or not. Among these parents, Ryoung’s mother, a skilled Korean/Chinese/Japanese speaking multilingual, told me that “I feel that it is a challenging question. From the standpoint of ethnicity, I feel obligated to send my daughter to an ethnic Korean school or at least let her learn the Korean language, but from the view of practical value, I am hesitating to direct my daughter in spending a lot of time in learning her ethnic language which has much lesser value in China and the worldwide market compared to Mandarin Chinese and English” (example P-4)⁵.

4.4 Summary

The sociopolitical and socioeconomic awareness of the parents and the family network ties, particularly their motivation to ethnicity and multilingualism as *ChaoXianZu* living in China, play an important role in the teenagers' ethnic language maintenance and their perception of learning other languages. Given that the primary reason of ethnic background remains socially significant in China despite its multicultural policy, all parents in the study confirmed the importance of having rigid ethnic Korean identities and providing an ethnic language for their children, even though they are living in China. However, while acknowledging the benefits of multilingual language education in the development of their children's brain function and helping their children's ethnic language education, the parents' attitudes toward multilingualism is not as positive as their children's; a few parents, like Lan's father and Ryoug's mother, even expressed negative perspectives about it. Among those who do not support attending the ethnic language school systems, some of them are apt to perceive life disadvantages associated with their ethnic minority status in China. For example, those of the parents' or the grandparents' generation who had experienced cultural stigmatization during the Cultural Revolution or at the beginning of their immigration to China were defensive to the idea of integration into Chinese nationalism, which may perhaps be because they also benefited from the open policies. Furthermore, it may be difficult for them to be positive about only ethnic Korean cultural education as they feel it is better to know Chinese than Korean, which shows the conflict, in Grosjean's (1982) words, in how stigmatization may push people into the opposite direction.

5. The Stories: The Teenagers

Based on the identity narratives of six multilingual minority teenagers from ethnic Korean migrant families in Beijing, China, this chapter examines the implications of sociocultural perspectives for multilingualism, and the relationship between languages and identities. The main objective of this chapter is, through the stories of above the teenager informants, to observe how they negotiate their multilayered identities through their language practices. More specifically, this chapter addresses the key research questions, namely, how do these teenagers assert and reveal their individual identities in unique social interactions, as well as their relationship to their multiple languages and cultures. As with their parents, the first section examines the teenagers' attitudes toward multilingualism by asking the two key questions of whether it is necessary to become a multilingual, and, whether they feel happy about being a multilingual speaker. The second section reports on the ideas and perceptions of these teenagers toward their ethnicity, and the role of ethnic schools on their ethnic language learning. Two key questions were asked in this section, namely whether it is important to learn and speak the Korean language as an ethnic Korean and why, and another is that whether it is necessary to attend an ethnic Korean school as a member of an ethnic minority group member and why. The third section explores the position of each teenager about being an ethnic minority member living in China, and how they see themselves in terms of self-identification. The questions asked in this section include if they felt happy about being a person with ethnic Korean nationality living in China, and how they would like to define themselves.

5. 1 Attitudes toward Multilingualism

All six teenagers responded very positively about becoming and being multilingual, and pointed out that it was definitely beneficial to their futures. The main reasons given are very similar to those of their parents, for instance, as it is one of the key social demands in order to successfully survive in this globalized era, and because it is convenient to actively communicate with people from various countries and regions. They also pointed out that an individual who speaks more languages will have the privileges of having broader networks and an additional tool at work, and that this also opens up more and better job opportunities, which they have perhaps eye-witnessed from the experiences of their parents' generations.

Compared to the attitudes of their parents, the teenagers presented two interesting perspectives: one is the priorities of language learning choices, and the other is the increased level of self-confidence gained by learning multiple languages. Firstly, although they showed their awareness of the importance of learning Korean, in reality, these teenagers locate learning Chinese and English as the priorities before learning their own ethnic language. Regarding the practical values of learning Mandarin Chinese, these were observed in Chapter 2.3. As discussed in Chapter 3.1, all these teenagers eventually attended Chinese schools and have been studying English from an early age, including the ones who received ethnic Korean language education through the formal ethnic Korean education system. A grade 7 informant, Sang described why he thinks English is an important language to learn as follows: "In this globalized era, speaking English is a basic communication requirement, because it is an international common language"¹. Secondly, all of them were very positive and expressed that knowing more languages

increases one's self-confidence. The reasons given are varied; for Ranhee, knowing more languages "increases one's self-confidence, because learning a new language and learning it well is a very difficult task"². For Mina, speaking multiple languages is "a reflection of one's talent", as she feels that "not everyone can speak multiple languages. To pursue one's effort to learn the languages and master them well proves my skills (and commitment), and this is something that one should be proud of"³. Ryoung thinks being multilingual makes her feel proud of herself. She said, "when I am walking in the street with my friends, when I hear someone speak fluent Korean among other Chinese speakers, that person looks very special, so I found myself very envious of them"⁴. Being able to speak multiple languages, Lan feels "very privileged...because I speak more languages than my friends who are often hanging out with me. When I talk to people in the languages that my friends do not speak, I think my friends are envious of my special talent in multiple languages"⁵.

5. 2 Attitudes toward Ethnicity and Ethnic Language Education

Regardless of whether they received formal ethnic language education or not, the teenage participants all expressed strong ethnic awareness and their obligations of learning and maintaining their ethnic language and cultures. Their general responses about their own cultural origins and ethnic backgrounds are very positive, as they see speaking Korean as an important symbol and marker of their ethnic identity. Those teenagers with lower competency in ethnic Korean pointed out insufficient time and resources to learn the ethnic language at home, while they maintained strong interest in learning and improving their ethnic language skills when there are good opportunities.

The three teenage girls who received formal ethnic language education showed strong ethnic consciousness in terms of connecting the ethnic language with their ethnicity. Ranhee notes that learning Korean is important because “it is my own ethnic language. If I do not speak Korean, I would feel lonely at home when I am with all other family members and relatives who are mainly communicating in Korean”⁶. Ranhee must be aware of or have learned from her personal experience in the family environment, which motivated her to make a conclusion like “if I do not speak Korean, I would feel lonely at home”.

Example 1-YE:

Researcher: 作为一个中国的少数民族，你觉得你应该学朝鲜语吗？As an ethnic minority nationality living in China, do you think it is necessary to learn your ethnic Korean language?

Mina: 是，我觉得学习朝鲜语很重要。因为多讲一种语言，别人崇拜我。如在学校，我的同学和朋友都觉得我特殊。Yes, I do. Speaking an additional language makes me special compared to the Han majority. For example, my friends and classmates in my school admire me because I can speak Korean...”

Researcher: 是吗？为什么特殊？Really? Can you explain more?

Mina: 本民族的语言应该掌握。应尽量保持，发展民族的文化，需要语言作为基础。会朝鲜语是说明自己是朝鲜族的一个方面。就是说，因为是朝鲜族吗，既然是这个民族，应该学会这个民族的东西。关于这个，我不知道其中深包含的含义我不明白，但是我觉得语言是很重要的东西。Yes, because it is my ethnic language, I have the obligation to learn and maintain my own ethnic language and culture. Language is the foundation of developing ethnic culture, and speaking with a good command of my own ethnic language is proof of my ethnicity as a Korean. In other words, because I am a Korean, I must learn something special about my ethnic group... About this, I am not quite sure about the deep meaning behind it, but I feel language is an important thing.

Researcher: 你是说，不懂语言的话？You mean, if one does not know the language?

Mina: 就很难说自己是属于那个民族的。Then, that person should not be able to claim he or she belongs to that ethnic group.

As with Ranhee, Mina acknowledges her ethnic language as an important marker of her membership of the ethnic Korean community, as shown in her statements in example 1-YE above. That is, if a person does not know their ethnic language, then that person “should not be able to claim that he or she belongs to that ethnic group”. Nonetheless, she also shows a distinctive view of the value of her languages. She sees her language skills as an asset for which she can receive respect from her peers, and it makes her special, because she possesses something that makes her classmates ‘admire’ her.

Chunhee, the grade 12 student who received the highest level of ethnic language education, thinks it is important to know ‘the root’ of one’s ethnic origin. She notes that “it is important to know the things about our own ethnic group...at least should know about our own roots. Otherwise...I mean, like those HuanQiao - Chinese people living overseas - need to learn things about their ancestry, such as about China etc. Unfortunately, quite a lot of people are still not clear about these kinds of stuff”⁷. For Chunhee, knowing one’s origin is an essential step to knowing about herself, because she believed that this will help a person to know more about the “self” which is strongly connected to self-confidence.

5.2.1 Mother Tongue(s)

The teenagers provided two distinct perspectives on the concept of mother tongue, while they clearly pointed out their propositions of looking at ethnic language as an important ethnic symbol for which they feel privileged. All three teenagers who never received formal ethnic language education answered that they needed to learn the Korean

language, because it is their own ethnic language. Both Ryoung and Sang consider Korean as their mother tongue.

Example 2 - Y:

Researcher: Do you think it is necessary to learn the ethnic Korean language even though you are living in China?

Ryoung: 是。因为朝鲜语是我的母语。Yes, because Korean is my mother tongue.

Researcher: 实际上，你的汉语比朝语讲的更好，你不觉得汉语是你的母语吗？In fact, you speak much better Chinese than you speak Korean. Don't you think Chinese is your mother tongue?

Ryoung: 我不觉得。No, I do not feel like it.

Researcher: 为什么朝语是你的母语呢？Why do you say Korean is your mother tongue?

Ryoung: 因为我是朝鲜族的。Because, I am an ethnic Korean.

Researcher: 那汉语对你来说是什么语言呢？What does the Chinese language mean to you?

Ryoung: 汉语应该是朝鲜语之后的吧。我觉得应该先学朝语，再学汉语。I think Chinese must come after Korean. I feel I should learn Korean first and then Chinese.

Researcher: 你觉得是不一样。你觉得你的语言顺序有些倒了个。。。For you, these two languages mean different things. You feel the order of your language learning is reversed?

Ryoung: 嗯，因为来北京上学嘛。Yeah. I think that's because I have been attending schools in Beijing.

In example 2 -Y, Ryoung views ethnic Korean as her mother tongue, even though she does not speak Korean well. She confirms that she never thought of Mandarin Chinese as her mother tongue even though she acknowledges that Mandarin Chinese is the most fluent language for her (the language she has been learning and using as her primary language at school and at home) and she never felt that there was any difference between her and her Han Chinese classmates, as shown in her statements in example 7-Y. On the other hand, Sang, in example 3-Y, confirms that he has two mother tongues, that

is, ethnic Korean and Mandarin Chinese. He thinks that ethnic Korean is his mother tongue, because it is the language of his ethnic group, although he does not speak it well, and he sees Mandarin Chinese as his mother tongue as it is the national language of the country where he has been living since his birth.

Example 3-Y:

Researcher: Do you think it is necessary to learn the ethnic Korean language even though you are living in China?

Sang: 是的。因为它是民族语言吗。Yes, it is, because it is my ethnic language.

Researcher: 你觉得朝语是母语吗? Do you think Korean is your mother tongue?

Sang: 是。Yes, I do.

Researcher: 为什么是母语呢? 但你讲的最差的就是朝语。那, 你还是觉得是自己的母语吗? Why do you say so? It seems to me that Korean is the worst among the languages you are speaking. Do you still think Korean is your mother tongue?

Sang: 是啊。Yeah, definitely.

Researcher: 那, 这, 汉语, 怎么解释呢? 也是你的母语吗? Then, how about Chinese? Is it your mother tongue?

Sang: 它当然也是了。因为我是中国人吗。Of course, it is my mother tongue, because I am a Chinese citizen.

Researcher: 你是说, 你有两种母语? Do you mean that you have two mother tongues?

Sang: 是。一个是朝鲜语, 一个是汉语。Yes, one is Korean and the other one is Chinese.

Researcher: 那, 这两种语言有什么区别呢? What are the differences between these two?

Sang: 朝鲜语是民族语言。那, 汉语是肯定要会的, 因为中国人吗。Korean is my ethnic language. Chinese, I must learn, because I am a Chinese citizen born and living here.

Researcher: 是国家语言? Do you mean Chinese is a national language to you?

Sang: 是的。Yeah.

Examples 2 and 3 shows how two teenagers, Ryoung and Sang, who never received any formal ethnic language education, presented two distinctive yet related views regarding the legitimacy of their mother tongue. Although they both acknowledge Mandarin Chinese as an important language in their lives, these two teenagers position the language differently in relation to their identities. For Sang, both Korean and Chinese languages are mandatory communication tools; therefore, he positions them equally as primary languages, both as mother tongues. Sang considers the former as the symbol of who he is ethnically, that is, born into an ethnic Korean family, and the latter as the national language where he is living now, in China. However, for Ryoung, the ethnic Korean language comes first and she considers Chinese as secondary, and indicates the possibilities that the order of language learning could be different if she had not 'moved to Beijing'.

5.2.2. Attitudes toward Attending Formal Ethnic Education institutions

Regarding the roles of ethnic language school, the teenagers mainly showed two different perspectives: for and against. Among those who confirm the importance of receiving formal ethnic education by ethnic Korean schools, the primary reason given for the roles of ethnic language schools is because it is the best place to learn special aspects about their own ethnic group, such as language and culture. Nonetheless, half of them, regardless of whether they received formal ethnic education or not, had a negative impression on attending an ethnic Korean school as a *ChaoXianZu*, an ethnic Korean living in China.

Although they have strong ethnic consciousness, it was necessary to ask why some teenagers do not support the idea of learning Korean by attending formal ethnic school system. Ranhee, a grade 10 student who attended three years of ethnic school education in her hometown, thinks it is not necessary to learn Korean from an ethnic language school, because “first of all, without going to ethnic Korean schools, I can still learn Korean at home from my parents, and practice with friends and relatives. Second of all, as we are living in China, learning Chinese is the first priority and it is more important for us to have a good command of Mandarin Chinese by attending Chinese schools”⁸. Lan, a grade 7 student who never attended formal ethnic Korean school, is against the idea of receiving formal language education as a ethnic minority living in China. For Lan, “the only advantage of attending an ethnic Korean school is that it provides a better ethnic language learning environment. But this stuff, I mean, we can learn the ethnic language at home, which also means that it does not really matter to me whether I attend an ethnic language school or not”⁹. Sang, a grade 7 student who also never attended a formal ethnic Korean school system, gave interesting reasons for not supporting a formal ethnic education system, as shown in example 4-Y.

Example 4-Y:

Sang: 不, 没必要 (上民族学校)。因为那个, 既然自己是个少数民族, 家庭肯定也会说少数民族 (语言)。父亲父母是少数民族, 自己肯定会讲。他们会讲 (民族语言), 我也应该会讲。 No, it is not necessary (to attend formal ethnic school). Because I am an ethnic Korean, that means my family speaks that ethnic language as well. Because my parents are ethnic Koreans, and they speak Korean, so I must be able to speak Korean.

Researcher: 但, 现实上, 你还不会讲 (民族语言) 吗。Hmmm, but in reality, you don't speak your own ethnic language. Do you?

Sang: 呃, 不会。 Well, you are right, I do not speak Korean.

Researcher: 那, 这个, 你怎么解释? Then, how would you explain this?

Sang: 但是，有机会学吗。... 现在也正在学。现在学单词。妈妈每天给我出几个单词来教。 Well, I mean, I still have a good opportunity and support from home if I really want to learn the language. Well, actually, I have already begun to learn. Recently, I am learning some Korean vocabulary from my mom. She selects several simple vocabularies, and teaches me.

Researcher: 你最近学什么? kurom, myoumadi maru haboseyo (asked in Korean) What did you learn recently? Can you tell me some words that you learned?

Sang: 如我父母的姓名，及亲戚的名字。我爸爸。。。我爷爷。。。我妈妈叫... I learned the names of my parents and my relatives. I know my mom's name in Korean is XXX, and my dad's is XXX, my grandpa's is XXX...

As shown in example 4-Y, Sang considers he has a natural gift to learn his own ethnic language as he is privileged to have ethnic Korean parents who speak the language, and he believes he would be able to learn it at home without receiving formal ethnic language education. Is the home environment good enough to support children's ethnic language education, even though it is the only source for the child to master the language like Sang's case?

5.2.3 School Transferring Experience (from Local city to Beijing)

The researcher asked for Mina's experience when she left the local ethnic Korean school in her hometown and transferred to her new school in Beijing when she was in grade 3. She mentioned three main differences: the curriculum, student numbers, and the quality of the teachers. Regarding the curriculum, Mina noticed the variation in the teaching subjects. For instance, the Korean elementary school that she attended only taught a few subjects, like math, Korean language, and music etc. However, the new school in Beijing offered a wealth of selections in their subjects. In addition to the regular subjects, the school offered arts, science, etc. Another good example is the

physical science classes. In the ethnic Korean school that she attended, “we were mainly playing in physical science class”. However, in the schools in Beijing, the teachers taught this class as a science, trained the students with good logic and rationale, and also provided good assessment tools, instead of simply playing. It is a class to exercise the body with feasible goals. For example, Mina said, “When we learn ‘running’, the instructor taught us the key strategies to become a good runner”.

Regarding the number of students, Mina recalls that “not many students were in a class in the ethnic Korean school that I attended in the local city, approximately 20 students in a class. Initially, there were two classes in our grade, but later on it merged into one”. However, the new school she transferred to in Beijing had many more students. She recalls that it was common to have many classes in one grade, and there were over 40 students in her classes. When the researcher asked her about the situation in her current school, Mina said that “the senior high school (a Chinese school) that I am attending now has 12 classes in grade 10, and has 48 students in my class”.

The teaching arrangement is quite different as well. Mina commented that “I do not remember about the situations at elementary school very well. The only thing I can recall is that one teacher often taught several subjects in the ethnic Korean elementary school that I attended, such as one teacher often taught math and literature at the same time.” Mina remarked that the teachers in her school in Beijing often focus on teaching one subject. She thinks this kind of teaching arrangement in Beijing shows professionalism, as it enables the teachers to put more time into concentrating on the subject that they are assigned to and they have a specialty in.

Example 5-YE shows Chunhee's transition experiences when she graduated from an ethnic Korean elementary school to a Chinese junior high school.

Example 5 – YE:

Researcher: 你从朝语学校转到中文学校的时候，有没有感觉一些变化？Were you aware of any changes during your school transition period from ethnic Korean elementary school to a Chinese junior high school?

Chunhee: 刚转到汉族学校，就头两个月，我感觉很难于融入汉族同学的团体。因为我不怎么了解他们的原因吧。Yes, mostly in the initial two months. I could not fit into the Han Chinese community very well, maybe it is because I did not know them very well.

Researcher: 当时跟你关系最好的朋友是汉族吗？In that junior high, did you make some good friends who have a Han Chinese background?

Chunhee: 不，当时在初中的时候都是朝鲜族。呃，有一个，但这个汉族同学原来也上过朝语学校。No, all my good friends were the former classmates from the Korean elementary school. Oh, right, there was one Han Chinese friend, who also attended the ethnic Korean elementary school that I attended before.

Researcher: 那现在的高中呢？How about now in the senior high school?)

Chunhee: 在现在的（国籍学校），我最好的朋友都是汉族，因为没有朝鲜族的人了。噢，还包括一个韩国人。All my good friends are Han Chinese, as there are no other ethnic Korean classmates. Oh, I also made friends with a girl from HanGuo, the Republic of Korea.

In her statements, Chunhee confirms her struggles to integrate with her Han Chinese classmates, and shows the tendency to hang out with classmates who had connections with her former ethnic school that she attended.

As seen from Mina and Chunhee's experience, transferring from an ethnic school to a Chinese school from the local city to Beijing, or even within the city of Beijing, is not an easy task, both physically and emotionally. In addition, it is even more challenging for these students from the migrant families with temporary resident status. In spite of the ease of China's *Hukou* (residential control) system, the movement from a

local region to a major city is a big challenge for the family and their school aged children. Examples 6.1 and 6.2 may illuminate this situation better.

As a part of the follow-up process, the researcher contacted some teenagers and their parents who participated in individual interviews during the fieldwork in Beijing. In order to know their school transfer experiences, questions were emailed to all participants who had not replied regarding their school transfer experiences during their migration process from a local city (town) to Beijing within one month after the interview. Only one response was received from a teenage participant about her experience. It does not reflect all situations of the teenagers; nonetheless, it may reflect the key situations of students with temporary residency status in Beijing. This was confirmed later through phone conversations with some teenagers and some other adult participants. With the omission of some parts related to her private information, the original Chinese e-mail response is as follows:

Example 6.1:

Q1: 您父母给您办转学时（从地方城市转到北京市），手续办得顺利吗？ Was the school transfer process smooth, when your parents transferred you from the school in the local city (town) to the one in Beijing?

答(Answer 1): 转学手续办得比较顺利 Yes, it was quite smooth.

Q1-1 您在北京的临时居民身份没有阻碍您进入第一志愿的学校及班级吗？如是，具体是什么样的障碍？ Due to your temporary resident status in Beijing, were there any obstacles for you to transfer to the school and grade of your first choice?

答 (A 1-1): 有阻碍进入第一志愿的学校,很多北京市的重点中学,如果没有北京户口的话,学习成绩非常好,也是无用的,你只能在拥有北京户口时才有资格进入那个学校 Yes, there were some limitations in getting into my first choice schools, as most of the major junior high schools in Beijing only take students who have official resident status in Beijing. For students like me, it is impossible to get admitted into those schools, even though we have superior grades.

Q1-2 您参加转校 / 进校考试了吗？考试含不含语言能力测试？ Were you required to take an admissions test, such as a Chinese language proficiency exam, before you transferred

or were admitted to the designated school?

答(A 1-2): 进校考试参加了,一般只考,语文,数学,英语 3 科,没有特别的语言能力测试 Yes, I did join an admissions exam that generally tested the three main subjects - language arts, math, and English, and did not have to take any language proficiency exam.

Q1-3: 如您原来在地方上的是朝鲜族学校的话,您转校时需要考汉语水平测试吗? If you attended an ethnic Korean school in your hometown, were you required to take a Chinese proficiency test before transferring to a school in Beijing?

答 (A1-3): 不需要考汉语水平测试 No, I did not have to.

Example 6.2:

Q2: 您父母在北京给您办理考中学或高中的手续时,有没有因为您在北京的暂住居民的身份,您能进入的受过限制? When you apply/applied for junior high school or senior high school entrance exams, did you ever encounter any obstacles that prevented you from applying for the schools of your first choice because of your temporary residency status in Beijing?

答(Answer 2): 受限制,,有些重点高中,必须要有北京市户口,但一些不是非常重点的学校就没有限制,但可能学费比北京市户口的同学贵一点,而我到北京来上的小学,初中都是私立学校,所以就没有受限制,而且,基本上,只要不是选择非常重点的学校的话,不大会受限制.中考时,不是北京市户口的学生也可以考,而且高中就只能自己选择学校去上,但高考,必须要有北京市户口... Yes, there were some limitations. Entering into some major high schools required official residency status in Beijing. Some semi-major high schools allow non-resident student admissions, with much higher tuition fees compared to the locals. In my case, because I had attended private elementary and junior schools in Beijing, it did not impact me at all. Generally speaking, there are no big limitations in entering high schools in Beijing, as long as you do not choose the major schools. To take ‘*Zhong-kao*’ (admissions exam to senior high schools), non-resident students can apply to many schools. However, in order to take ‘*Gao-kao*’ (university entrance exam), all applicants are required to have official residency status in Beijing.

All the teenagers and parents in this study confirmed this reality, and to solve this problem of taking the official university entrance examination, they informed me that many migrant students transfer back to the schools in their home town where they have official residency status, or transfer their “*hu-kou*” (residency status certificate) to a city or province nearby Beijing, and attend the high schools in that city or province, so that they can take the university entrance exam.

4.3 Authorizing Self: Negotiating Identities through Multiple Languages

All six teenagers confirmed that they were happy being *ChaoXianZu* living in China. The reasons given are: China has many wonderful places and it has a long history and a rich culture for them to learn, it is convenient to communicate with many people with good Mandarin skills acquired from childhood, and they do not have any language problems here.

Whether they received formal ethnic language education or not, most of the teenagers proudly acknowledged their unique identities as *ChaoXianZu* (ethnic Koreans living in China), while also seeing themselves as *ZhongGuoRen* (Chinese), which can be illuminated by Lan's statement that "I am an ethnic Korean born and living in China, but does not speak Korean a lot. I am also a Chinese, because I have Chinese citizenship, but belong to an ethnic Korean group. However, I am not the same as the Koreans born and raised in North or South Korea, because we are living in different countries"¹⁰. While some of them feel they are special, because they are ethnic minorities, most of the teenagers mentioned that they do not feel any difference compared to their Han Chinese classmates. As shown in example 7-Y, Ryoung notes that the Han Chinese classmates treat her equally and she does not feel any difference with them.

Example 7 - Y:

Researcher: 你觉得你跟你的汉族同学有区别吗 Are you aware of any differences between you and your Han Chinese classmates?

Ryoung: 没有什么大的区别，除了一些饮食习惯及礼仪上的区别。。。 No, I do not see any major differences, except some in food preferences and customs.

Researcher: 你是说，虽然你和汉族同学们的母语不一样，你觉得你和他们没有什么区别？ Do you mean that you do not see many differences with them, even though your mother tongue is different from theirs?

Ryoung: 是的，可能是因为我常常跟他们在一起吧。 Yeah, maybe it is because I hang out with them all the time.

Researcher: 你觉得他们认为你跟他们不一样吗？他觉得 Do you feel they treat you differently because of your ethnicity?

Ryoung: 不，我不觉得。我们一样。我没有不觉得他们待我有什么不一样的。 No, I have never felt that. We are same. They treat me the same as they treat the other Han Chinese classmates.

Although some teenagers mentioned having dual mother tongues and referred to their unique position in China as members of the ethnic Korean group, all six teenagers answered that their *Zuguo* (motherland or fatherland) is China. The intriguing part is the reasons for reaching this consciousness. Sang is happy about living in China as a ChaoXianZu, as he considers China as his ZuGuo. At the same time, he notes that he is different from his classmates from the Han Chinese community, while he points out that he is different from HanGuoRen, the legitimate Korean people from South Korea, because his home is in China, not in Korea.

Example 8.1 - Y:

Researcher: 你觉得你与汉族比不一样吗？ Do you think you are different from the Han Chinese people?

Sang: 是的。肯定是的。 Yes, of course.

Researcher: 那，怎么个不同？ How is it different?

Sang: 汉族，它只是最普通的民族。 The Han Chinese, that's the most ordinary ethnic group.

Researcher: 呃，最普通吗？ Hum...“the most ordinary one”, what do you mean?

Sang: 它，不属于少数民族。是个多数的。It is not an ethnic minority group, it is the ethnic majority in China.

Researcher: 你就觉得你自己很特殊？ You feel you are the special one?

S: 是，因为自己是少数民族。 Yeah, because I belong to an ethnic minority group.

Researcher: 你觉得因为你是少数民族，很自豪吗？ Are you proud of yourself because of your ethnicity?

Sang: 自豪啊。 Yes, I am very proud.

Researcher: 为什么？ Why?

Sang: 不是汉族啊。 Because I am not a Han Chinese.

Researcher: 哦，是吗？ Oh, really?

Sang: 啊，特殊，少。。。 Yeah, because my ethnic group is small, but unique...

Sang's statements in example 8.1 - Y clearly present his proposition of looking at his ethnic membership as a positive, valuable asset that makes him feel privileged compared to the people from the Han Chinese majority group. Surprisingly, Sang feels fortunate, because he is not a Han Chinese, but a *ChaoXianZu*.

Example 8.2 –Y:

Researcher: 你在上学的时候，就是你会自豪的跟同学讲你是朝鲜族吗？ Do you confirm your ethnicity to your classmates at school?

Sang: 没有啊。 No, I do not.

Researcher: 你故意不跟他们说？ Do you intentionally not tell them?

Sang: 不会。他们已经知道了呀。 No, I do not, because they already know my ethnicity.

Researcher: 他们怎么知道的呢？ What do you mean, that they already know?

Sang: 那个，我的姓 X 不是普遍用在朝鲜人或韩国人的吗。 Well, you see I have a typical Korean last name...often used only by people with a Korean background.

Researcher: 他们已经知道这个吗？ Do they already know about this fact?

Sang: 嗯，同学嘛。Right, because we are classmates.

Researcher: 他们一听你的名字，就知道你是朝鲜族？You mean, they know your ethnicity from your family name?

Sang: 嗯，或者是韩国人。他们这么说。然后（我再）解释一下，不是韩国，是中国。Yes, you are right. They said they knew I was either an ethnic Korean born and raised in China or *Hanguoren* (a Korean from the Korean peninsula). That is what they would often guess about my ethnicity. Then, I explain to them that I am not *Hanguoren*, I am an ethnic Korean born and living in China.

Sang's statement in example 8.2 illuminates the current status of ethnic Korean group in China. The middle-aged ChaoXianZu people in China, like the parents' generation of these teenagers, experienced both of the periods – one is the time when the ethnic Korean language was highly stigmatized by the Cultural Revolution, and another is that the status of the Korean language is rising since the 1990s. However, these teenagers were born and raised during China's innovative reform era, especially spending their school years since the establishment of the formal diplomatic relationship between China and South Korea in 1993. In other words, the economic and political power of South Korea in China has helped to raise the status of the ethnic Korean group and its language in China. For instance, in Sang's words, all his Han Chinese classmates know his ethnicity as soon as they see his family name, which is a typical Korean name.

5.3.1 'Legitimate Identity'?

Among the six multilingual ethnic Korean migrant teenagers interviewed during the fieldwork in Beijing in December 2007, Chunhee, Ranhee and Mina were the only ones to have received some ethnic language education through a formal private or public ethnic Korean school system in Beijing or their hometowns. They are all currently

attending high school in Beijing. Chunhee, a grade 12 student, received the highest level of formal ethnic language education, while both Ranhee and Mina attended an ethnic Korean school until grade 3. Among these three, Ranhee has the highest level of Korean language fluency, both in speaking and writing. With emphasis on the examination of Chunhee's case, this section will also briefly look at Ranhee's situation as a comparative purpose for the studies of Chunhee's case.

Ranhee, a grade 10 student, moved to Beijing with her family when she was in grade 4. Since then, she has been attending Chinese public schools in Beijing. Initially, Ranhee attended a private school, as she did not have to take an entrance exam. In junior high, she was the class president as well as a member of the school choir. She visited her grandparents very often during the summer and winter breaks until her grandparents moved to Beijing several years ago. The main language that her family members speak at home is Korean, and she often speaks to them in Korean, too. Now, she is attending senior high school in a far suburb in Beijing. She thinks an ethnic language can be mastered at home; thus, it is not necessary to go to a Korean school. She emphasizes the importance of attending a Chinese school as a ChaoXianZu, because "China's national power is getting stronger and stronger recently. Because I am living in China, I feel very privileged with the opportunities of studying Mandarin Chinese, and utilizing this skill in the future"¹¹.

Example 9 -YE:

Researcher: 你怎么定义你自己的属性(identity)? How would you define your identity?

Ranhee: 我知道我是朝鲜人...朝鲜...嗯.....然后, 有时候, 就是..., 以前在学校, 升国旗式的时候...因为我当时是身为主持人吗, 然后,要升国旗, 有宣誓。誓言是, 说的是“我是中国人。我爱我的祖国。我要使它更加繁荣昌盛”。但是每次说这句话的时

候，感觉有点...就是...不知道，不知道，感觉...因为我是朝鲜族人，我觉得我是朝鲜人。但是，还要宣誓，宣誓的时候说，是中国人。中国人。所以...，反正自己是认为自己朝鲜人，但是...但是宣誓的时候，要说，面对着国旗去宣誓说，我是中国人。然后，我...感觉，这种...觉得，挺难受。I know I am a Korean. ...Korea....ummm...and, sometimes, I mean, when I was in (junior high) school, during the national flag raising ceremony...I hosted the ceremony (as the class president), I had to lead the oath, which was “I am a Chinese, I love my motherland. I will make my homeland even more prosperous”. But, each time I repeatedly swore the oath, I felt like, ...I mean, ...I am not sure how to say this, ...ummm, it’s so hard to express that kind of feeling....Because I am of an ethnic Korean nationality, I feel I am a Korean. But I had to swear, and to take a vow, and say ‘I am a Chinese’. ‘A Chinese’. So, ...anyway, I think that I am a Korean, but, but I had to swear the oath in front of the national flag and say ‘I am a Chinese’. Then, ...I felt...like, you know like, ...I had very hard feelings.

This is another good reflection of an individual’s multiple identities being played out in reality. Born and brought up as a Korean by her parents and elders, Ranhee strongly believed in her ethnicity as a Korean. In the school, however, when she had to fulfill her obligation as the class president of a Chinese public school system, the legitimacy of her identity was being challenged. As stated in the example 9 -Y, when she had to lead her class to swear the oath in front of China’s national flag, Ranhee felt confused and started to question the legitimacy of her identity. On the one hand, based on the Chinese ideology that she had learned from school, she was supposed to feel comfortable with her identity as a ZhongGuoRen. However, on the other hand, her ethnic identity was being threatened, which she did not feel right as she was brought up as an ethnic Korean, even though she is living in China.

5.3.1.1 Chunhee

Chunhee is a Chinese/English/Korean/Japanese multilingual grade 12 student. Among her four languages, Chinese is the most fluent followed by English, then Korean and Japanese. With seven years of formal education in an ethnic Korean elementary

school, Chunhee received the highest ethnic Korean education among the six teenage participants interviewed. However, she has the lowest language competency in Korean – her skills in Korean are unbalanced, while she listens and reads very well, her speaking/writing skills are very low. Considering Chunhee only learned Japanese for one year through private lessons and online courses, her speaking skills in Japanese is comparable to her Korean.

Looking into the history of her schooling explains how she developed such unbalanced multilingual skills. Chunhee's family migrated to Beijing when she was five. Chunhee attended an ethnic Korean elementary boarding school (with one year in Kindergarten) for seven years, and attended a Chinese public boarding school for three years during her junior high school years. Both schools were located in the Chaoyang district. After graduating from junior high, she has been attending an international high school in downtown Beijing by using the public transit system from home.

During the initial 10 years (including Kindergarten) when Chaoyang was in the boarding schools, she lived in the school dormitory from Sunday night through to Friday afternoon, and returned home during the weekend. In elementary school, all students were from ethnic Korean families, and most of the classes were delivered in Korean, except for the Chinese language (introduced from grade 1) and English (introduced from grade 3) classes. She communicated with her classmates in both Korean and Chinese. During the weekend, she spoke Korean with her parents and grandparents at home. Since there were no ethnic Korean high schools available in Beijing at that time, the Korean elementary school arranged to have most of its graduates go to a Chinese public junior high school located in the same district. All the subjects in the junior high were taught in

Chinese, except English. In order to catch up with the new Chinese school system, Chunhee and her former classmates from the ethnic Korean elementary school were required to attend intensive Chinese language training during the summer prior to the beginning junior high school. In spite of many of her ethnic Korean classmates in the elementary school having also transferred to the same school, Chunhee was mainly speaking Chinese with her classmates. As usual, she returned home during the weekends. Her parents and grandparents spoke to her in Korean, and she recalls that she spoke to her parents and others more in Chinese than in Korean. After her grandparents, who only understand Korean, passed away when she was in grade 9, she found that she spoke less Korean at home.

Since graduating from the junior high, Chunhee and her parents faced challenges in choosing a suitable senior high school for her. Due to their temporary resident status in Beijing, she was required to take the national university entrance exam in the city where her formal residential status was granted, which also meant that she had to live in a dormitory at the high school in her hometown – even though for her, Beijing was more familiar than her (parents’) hometown. Finally, her parents decided to send her to an English international senior high school located in downtown Beijing, instead of sending her away to their hometown for the preparation of the national exam. In other words, both her parents and Chunhee were committed to a new plan of study abroad in an English speaking university system after her graduation from this international senior high school. Chunhee said during the interview that she was not sure if she could make it in this new environment, but she decided to continue her challenge, because she enjoys attending school from home. Since then, she has been travelling to school every day by

taking the overcrowded public subway system from her house in the north-east side of Chaoyang district. The international senior high school is established mainly to train high school students who are preparing for future studies in English-speaking countries, especially in North America. As the school delivers a North American senior high school curriculum, the weight of English as a medium of regular class instruction is very high in the school. During her studies in grade 10, half of the subjects were delivered in English, while the other half was delivered in Chinese, with 70% in English and 30% Chinese in grade 11, and all subjects except Mandarin are currently delivered in English in grade 12.

Perhaps having benefited from such intensive professional training, and as a student who has never lived in an English-speaking country except for a short stay in a North American summer school program, Chunhee developed a fairly high proficiency in English. For example, she often fluently answered some school-related questions in English during the interview. However, it was surprising to find that her level of ethnic Korean language is not as developed as English, especially in her speaking and writing skills.

Chunhee has not only received seven years of formal training in a professional ethnic Korean elementary school, but she also has been surrounded by a very supportive Korean speaking family environment by living at home where her parents and the other members of the family regularly speak Korean. The parents' self-employment in the tourism and import/export business field also seemed to be strongly connected with the local and international ethnic Korean communities. In addition, considering Chunhee has been living at home for the past three years, she now has a better Korean-speaking environment at home compared to the years in the Chinese boarding junior high school.

In other words, compared to the other teenagers interviewed, she appeared to have had a relatively strong and broader inventory of the agencies that would aid in the maintenance and upgrade in her ethnic Korean language skills. However, in reality, Chunhee's ethnic Korean language competency was the lowest among the three senior high school girls (Ranhee, Mina and Chunhee) who received some formal training in the ethnic Korean school system. Chunhee's parents commented that her language skills in Korean were better when she was in the boarding school then they are now. As an example, her mother related that Chunhee was so eager to tell her grandparents in fluent Korean about many small details that happened in school when she returned home each weekend from the boarding school. But since approximately four years ago, Chunhee resisted speaking in Korean and only replies in Chinese, even though her parents and the ethnic Korean housemaid constantly speak to her in Korean at home.

Another intriguing fact about Chunhee's language practices is her passion for learning Japanese. During the interview, her parents very proudly stated that their daughter also speaks very good Japanese, commenting that Chunhee could communicate very well with Japanese people when she visited Japan during her spring break. As an experienced Japanese language instructor,⁸ the researcher assessed her Japanese language skills with her permission. Surprisingly, it was observed that her writing and speaking skills were better in Japanese than in Korean, even though her reading and listening competency in Japanese was not as good as her Korean.

It is understandable that Chunhee did not have enough time to practice Korean due to the pressure of learning Chinese and English in the past a few years; nevertheless, the researcher still could not figure out the rationale that actually motivated Chunhee to

master a new language, Japanese, instead of upgrading her ethnic language skills. So, the researcher decided to ask Chunhee directly instead of making any further assumptions. Chunhee said that, since when she was in junior high school, she was so fascinated in reading Japanese comic books and watching Japanese animation through the Internet. For Chunhee, studying Japanese allows her to have the power of not only understanding the contents of comics and animations, but it also gives her a better tool in communicating with the worldwide lovers of Japanese comics and animations.

During the interview, Chunhee was also asked how she defines her identities as a multilingual ethnic Korean born and raised in China. Chunhee was first asked to choose the two languages that she felt most comfortable with. She chose Mandarin Chinese as the primary language and English as the secondary language. In the following conversation, the researcher asked questions mainly in Chinese with some mixture of English, while most of Chunhee's responses were in Mandarin Chinese, except for the italicized text which was in English.

Example 10.1 – YE:

Researcher: 你怎么定义你自己的属性? How would you define your identity? *Note: The researcher asked this question first in Chinese, and then in English, upon request of the interviewee for a better understanding of the term of "identity" in the different language.

Chunhee: 住在中国的朝鲜族, 但是一个中国人. An ethnic Korean nationality living in China, but I am a "Chinese".

Researcher: 请你再具体说明以下好吗? Would you please explain more?

Chunhee: 因为我从小到大基本上都在讲中文。然后我大概从小学之前我上的是朝鲜族学校吗, 所以说朝文的机会比较多。但是, 从初中开始到高中现在就是身边都是中国一就是汉族朋友, 都是说中文的人, 所以就是基本上不怎么说朝文啦, 反正一直在说中文。。。所以就觉得自己还是个中国人吧。 Maybe it is because I have been speaking

Chinese for the majority of the time since my childhood. Oh, and then, I have to also point out that I attended ethnic Korean school from Kindergarten to grade 6, (at that time) I had more opportunity to speak in Korean. However, from junior high to senior high until now, the people surrounding me are mostly Chinese, the Han Chinese friends and all of them are speaking Chinese. So I barely have the chance to speak in Korean. Anyhow, I have always been speaking in Chinese...Maybe this is why I feel that I am a “Chinese”?!

Chunhee’s statements in example 10 show how she asserts and reveals her identities in the various stages of her life. Firstly, Chunhee seems to strongly relate her identities with the degree of usage for each of her languages with her peer groups at school during each stage of her school life. For instance, as shown in example 10.1 – YE, Chunhee sees herself more as a “Chinese” rather than a “Korean”, in spite of over seven years of ethnic Korean language training through a private K-6 ethnic Korean elementary school system in Beijing. Chunhee notes that this is because she has been speaking Chinese for the majority of her life and that she has been surrounded by the Han Chinese people from junior to senior high school. Interestingly, she counts “the majority of time” that she was speaking Chinese differently than the physical years for which she was speaking Chinese. Considering she was born and raised in an ethnic Korean family where her parents and other family members were speaking Korean, plus the seven years that she was in the ethnic Korean boarding school where almost all students and teachers are Korean, she has spent over 11 years in Korean speaking environments. However, according to her own recollection, Chunhee spent three years in Chinese public junior high school, and has been attending the international senior high school for two and a half years; therefore, the total number of years that she has actually been surrounded by the Han Chinese classmates was only five and a half years. So statistically, she has been surrounded by Korean people for a much longer period of time compared to the Han

Chinese people. Nonetheless, Chunhee feels that the Han Chinese people have had a greater impact on her identity, thus making her feel “Chinese”.

Example 10.2 – YE:

Chunhee: 但是，有的时候也不觉得自己是个中国人。But, sometimes, I also feel that I am NOT a “Chinese”.

Researcher: 什么时候? When do you feel that way?

Chunhee: 跟韩国人在一起的时候。但是呢，也不觉得自己是个韩国人，跟他们在一起的时候。When I am with “Hanguo-Ren” (the Koreans from Republic of Korea, South Korea). At the same time, I also feel that I am not a “Hanguo-Ren” when I am with them.

Secondly, Chunhee expresses hesitation in her identities between ‘Chinese’ and ‘Korean’. As shown in Example 10.2 -YE, based on her ideas of her relationship between identities and multiple languages, Chunhee recognizes herself as of ‘ethnic Korean nationality’ in China, but overall, she also sees herself as ‘Chinese’. Nonetheless, in practice, she experiences other types of identities. For instance, sometimes Chunhee feels that she is not a ‘Chinese’ when she is with *Hanguo-ren* (people from the Republic of Korea⁵). At the same time, as shown in her statement in utterance 6, she sees herself *not* being a ‘legitimate Korean’ when she is with those *Hanguo-ren* – ‘legitimate Koreans’ in her mind. It is clear that Chunhee’s multilingual skills give her the privilege to maintain good in-group communications with both the Han Chinese people and Korean people. Nevertheless, it seems that the question of ‘legitimate’ identity plays out loudly in her mind in different ways. For instance, she is questioning her identity as a ‘legitimate Chinese’ when she is with the Han majority group in China, while she does not feel like she is a ‘legitimate Korean’ when she is with the people from the Korean peninsular.

Example 10.3 – YE:

Chunhee: 但是我不会自己特别 *confuse* 这个东西...还是觉得挺好的。But I do not get *confused* by this sort of thing... I still feel very good.

Researcher: 你觉得自己很特别吗? Do you think that you are special?

Chunhee: 我觉得我自己不属于任何一个国家, 还是觉得那种自己是站在世界中心的这种人。Well, I feel that I do not belong to any specific nation, and rather feel that I am the kind of person who is standing right in the centre of this world.

Researcher: 呃, 是吗? Oh, really?

Chunhee: 不会特别评论那个国家或这个国家... I mean that I do not specifically judge about (the things in) this country or that country.

Researcher: I see. 那你不觉得特别 *complicated* 吗? Do you feel your situation is quite complicated?

Chunhee: 嗯...没那么特别深入地想过。反正就觉得挺好的吗。因为可以学到更多的文化什么的。Humm, I never thought about this really deeply... Anyhow, I feel very good, because I can learn more cultures something like that.

Finally, Chunhee provides herself with a new hybrid identity in order to balance herself from the various orchestrating voices. Considering her rich cultural and life background as a grade 12 student, Chunhee may constantly receive many different types of advice, such as from her parents, school teachers, and the media, with regards to how she should feel about her identities and what to do about her languages and so on. By attending three different types of schools within the K-12 school years, she seems to have developed high competency in multiple languages, at least in Korean/Chinese/English. At the same time, she seems to have shifted her logic and beliefs to various different levels. For instance, on the one hand, since attending junior high school, it is assumed that she had shifted her beliefs from an ethnic Korean minority nationality family oriented one to the Han Chinese majority dominated beliefs. On the other hand, since

Chunhee is currently enrolled in the international senior high school founded on the philosophy of North American educational beliefs, it is assumed that she has had to become familiarized with the western notion of logics and beliefs, which differ from the oriental ways. Accordingly, as shown in her statements in Example 10.3 -YE, Chunhee tries to find better ways to resolve inevitable conflicts in her life surrounded by various languages and cultures, which appear to be very 'complicated'. As mentioned in the utterance 14, she looks at her multiple identities as magical special tools for connecting herself with various diverse cultures. With this new identity, she sees herself as 'a citizen of world', who does 'not belong to any specific nation', and sees herself as 'the kind of person who is standing right in the centre of this globe'.

5.4 Summary

When certain identity options are 'imposed or devalued', individuals resist, negotiate, change, and transform themselves and others (Pavlenko & Blackledge, 2004, p. 20). Through the data drawing from the six multilingual ethnic Korean teenagers, this chapter observed two micro-level aspects that are strongly related to the language and identities in multilingual context: one is the perspectives on the relationship between ethnicity and ethnic language education, and another is the impact of multilingualism on the creation of new hybrid identities.

Firstly, it seems that the level of ethnic language proficiency does not necessarily relate to the degree of ethnic consciousness. For instance, although Chunhee has had a much higher level of formal ethnic language education compared to Ranhee and the other participants of this study, her sense of ethnicity seems at a similar level to Ranhee or

Mina. In some ways, those teenagers interviewed who had never received formal ethnic language education, like Ryoung and Sang, even show stronger feelings of ethnicity compared to those who had formal ethnic education, like Chunhee and Ranhee.

Compared to their parent generation, interestingly, the focal teenagers seem to have different views on ethnicity and ethnic language learning from their parents. Regardless of whether they received ethnic language education through a formal ethnic Korean school system or solely at home, the *ChaoXianZu* teenagers in this study expressed strong ethnic consciousness by imagining themselves as 'legitimate' members of this community. However, the way each individual views his or her membership in relationship with their ethnic language competency varies. The majority of the teenagers, namely, Ryoung and all three girls who received formal ethnic education, reveal their ethnic language competency as an important marker of ethnicity. Sang and Lan, two of the three who never attended a formal ethnic language school system, assert their 'legitimate' membership (which they consider as a gift that they received at birth) as *ChaoXianZu*, even though their ethnic language competency is fairly low. For instance, among the teenagers who had never received any formal ethnic language education, Sang presented a strong consciousness about his ethnic identity as something that is assigned automatically since birth. Moreover, he considered that his current ethnic language competency is not of any concern when it comes to the legitimacy of his ethnicity, because he is confident that he can learn Korean some time later in his life as he thinks he has the privilege of learning Korean from his parents and other family members who are fluent bilingual speakers of Korean and Chinese. However, interestingly, he sees his identity as *ChaoXianZu* as being inseparable with his other identity as a 'Chinese' in

China, as he thinks China is his '*Zuguo*' (home country, or ancestral nation) instead of either part of Korea (the North or South Korea). When Sang finds himself in a 'perpetual tension' between the 'imposed' (by his parents or others) identity (as an ethnic Korean) and his self-chosen identity (as a Chinese, a member of United China), he claims his new legitimate identity of being a person with dual membership from the two interrelated 'imagined communities' in China, namely, a united Chinese nation and an ethnic Korean group.

One possible reason for causing the above mentioned generation gap on the perspectives toward ethnicity and ethnic language education is that the sociopolitical and socioeconomic environment where the parents and the teenagers are living is different. On the one hand, the parents' generation has limited 'agency' compared to their children's generation. Having been born in and eye-witnessed China's two major transition periods, the one being strict socialism under the CCP's conservative and closed door policies (that limited its citizens with scarce freedom and options) and the other with an innovative reform era under the CCP's open door policy (that provided much more sociopolitical flexibilities and new economic opportunities), the parents' generation experienced and are facing extreme challenges and struggles which greatly influence their perceptions in general, including their attitudes and ideologies toward languages and identities. In turn, they show less positive attitudes toward multilingualism, and language education choices for their children. On the other hand, the teenagers seem to have more 'agencies' (Holland et al., 1998) in negotiating their identities. The micro-level process of identity negotiation of these youths is highly complex, as their identities are constantly contested, not only through personal social network ties, but also by the macro-level

sociocultural conditions surrounding their daily lives. As the fourth generation of *ChaoXianZu* born in this reform era in the 1990s, they have greater privileges (compared to their parents) in the sociopolitical and economic environments, such as the higher status of the ethnic Korean group since the establishment of the formal diplomatic relationship between China and South Korea in 1993, the stronger worldwide status of China since its participation in the World Trade Organization since 2001, and the new communication tools through the developed technology in the past two decades. Through the interplay between “reflective positioning and interactive positioning” (Pavlenko & Blackledge, 2004, p. 21), the teenagers negotiate their identities from time to time by actively participating in various communities (that are imagined or figured). In these myriad figured worlds, the teenagers maximize their agencies, often through ‘improvisation’ and ‘self-directed symbolizations’ in order to create new possibilities and ‘a modicum of agency’ (Holland et al., 1998, p. 278).

Secondly, it seems that self-awareness toward multilingualism, either consciously or unconsciously, is strongly related to the creation of new hybrid identities. For example, Chunhee, as a skilled multilingual teenager, shows a balanced and democratic view about the relationship with each of her languages, and shows motivation in the study of a new language, like Japanese – an additional language that she learned in order to meet the requirements of participating in the Japanese animation watching community. In turn, although she occasionally struggles with some dilemmas regarding the relationship between her languages, she seems to manage her languages well. For instance, when she could not find further resources to solve the conflict, she eventually developed a new

hybrid identity which allows her to see herself as 'an individual standing in the centre of this world'.

6. Conclusions

Through the identity narratives of six multilingual teenagers from the *ChaoXianZu* diaspora in Beijing, China, this dissertation explored the interrelation of language, identity, and multilingualism among language minorities in new urban migrant communities. Drawing from the data collected in this case study, this thesis attempted to illustrate the interplay of the macro-level conditions and micro-level processes through which these ethnic Korean youths negotiate their identities in multilingual contexts. In particular, the thesis evaluated the types of multilingualism observed and their conditions of emergence among the teenagers and their families. The study is placed in a sociohistorical context through an examination of the relationship between nationalism, multilingualism, language, and identities among minority groups in general, as well as through a debate of the nature of contemporary Chinese nationalism.

Two characteristics of the focal teenagers illuminated the uniqueness of this study. On the one hand, there is the complexity of the dynamically overlapping ‘figured worlds’ (Holland et.al., 1998) in which the teenagers and their families are living, because they regularly travel between two or more worlds, such as the world as a member of the *ChaoXianZu* community, and the world as a member of ‘*ZhongHuaMinZu*’, a united Chinese nation-state, and a third or fourth world as a member of a foreign language learning community. On the other hand, their vulnerable sociopolitical status as temporary residents in Beijing, as new migrants from a small local region coming to industrialized China’s capital, makes the process of their identity negotiations more complex and interesting.

Although this study mainly emphasizes the domestic migrant situation, it showed the possibility of applying the key concept of Anderson's (1983, 1991) notion of the nation-state as 'imagined communities' which stress the discussions of the encounters between new arrivals and the country they had imagined and in which they now have to imagine themselves to the case of a single minority community like the *ChaoXianZu* in Beijing. As new arrivals in this newly industrialized capital city of China, these teenagers and their families have to imagine themselves and readjust their lifestyles and beliefs, which are very different from the ones that they learned in their hometown, Mudanjiang, where they had more support in their ethnic Korean culture and education.

The input of the PRC government policy makers is one of the key reasons that ultimately impact the behaviors of the ethnic Korean teenagers in this study, which sometimes reveals that *what they say* may not congruent with *what they do* in reality. To explain, the focal teenagers assert rigid ethnic consciousness and strong desires in learning and maintaining their own ethnic Korean language and culture. However, in reality, they often neglect learning Korean. Instead, they are apt to focus more on the studies of Mandarin Chinese and English, which have more practical values, as part of the process of being successfully settled in and an active legitimate member of this newly migrated urban industrial centre. As Myers-Scotton pointed out, for the migrants, "speaking a language involves an investment" (2006, p. 372). Language learning itself is an investment that requires a great deal of time and effort. In this study, both Ranhee and Mina note that they are proud of being multilingual, because they realized from their own experiences that learning an additional language is 'not an easy task'. Through such a

realization, as also noted by Myers-Scotton, the speakers generally choose to learn the language(s) that they think may bring them more rewards than other languages.

There are three key findings from this case study. Firstly, the findings suggest that multilingual speakers tend to devalue their own language knowledge, and consequently undermine their own legitimacy as being multilingual. The type of multilingualism observed from this case study illuminates congruence with Blommaert et al.'s (2005) notion of 'truncated competence' of multilingualism regarding their main point of seeing the close relationship between space and scale within individual multilingualism. The focal teenagers, however, showed an unequal sense of multilingualism when the legitimacy of their identity was contested from time to time through their language practices. That is, for them, the Korean language, which was the mother tongue and was assigned a high value in the individual interviews, was in practice often diminished vis-à-vis the practical value of Chinese or English for social and professional opportunity. In essence, the interviewees apparently stigmatized their own language.

It seems that the constraints of the sociocultural reality that the focal teenagers are facing in this new urban centre impact their attitudes and ideologies toward their languages. Furthermore, and most importantly, the national identity that the PRC government attempts to assign to their minorities through various ideological education, such as through elementary and secondary minority education systems, impact the attitudes of the people from the minority communities. Consequently, multilingualism is sometimes revealed as prejudice against the teenagers' own ethnic languages that has to compete with the two other main languages; for instance, all six teenagers in this study believe that learning Mandarin Chinese, the dominant national language, is more

important than learning Korean for a bright future in China. Additionally, they believe that learning higher value foreign languages such as English (or Japanese) will provide them better connections in this global era. As another result, this unequal sense of multilingualism makes the process of identity formations more complicated, with their complex relationships between their multiple languages and identities.

The second finding is that this case study suggests that ethnic language proficiency does not seem to be directly connected with the degree of ethnicity. For the six focal teenagers studied, the level of ethnic language education does not seem to necessarily relate to their degree of ethnic consciousness. Perhaps in a certain way, they, like Ryoung and Sang in this study, even show stronger feelings of ethnicity compared to those with formal ethnic education. Nonetheless, formal ethnic education systems play a central role in the training of ethnic group ideology (or consciousness) by providing long-term, structured ethnic language training and cultural studies. “Who speaks what language is often a sign of a boundary” (Myers-Scotton, 2006, p.19). As Myers-Scotton also points out, as one of the key aspects of identity formation, ethnicity itself consists of social facts or ideas experienced by the group mind and expressed or ‘reincarnated’ in the minds and behaviors of the individual members of the social group. Among the six focal teenagers in this study, the three teenagers who received formal ethnic education in this study, Chunhee, Mina and Ranhee showed great solid awareness and understanding by relating ethnic language and cultural education as an important part of the construction of a happier ‘self’ than someone without roots.

Finally and most importantly, the findings suggest that it is possible for multilingual teenagers to maintain a good balance between their multiple languages and

cultures. As Kanno (2003) notes, “the trajectories of their identity development show a rigid and simplistic approach to bilingualism and biculturalism to a more sophisticated skill at negotiating belonging and control” (p. 135). For the teenagers in the present study, consciously or unconsciously, their sense of multilingualism seems to be strongly related to the creation of new hybrid identities. As described by Pavlenko and Blackledge (2004, p. 17), “at times, fragmentation and splintering give birth to new, hybrid identities and linguistic repertoires”. For instance, as a skilled multilingual, Chunhee seems to manage her languages well, despite sometimes struggling with her identities in relation to her languages. Nonetheless, when she sees the limitations in the resources to solve the conflict, Chunhee finds a new way to develop a new hybrid identity which allows her to see herself as “an individual standing in the centre of this world” (see example 10.3).

As an active ‘agentive beings’, individuals are constantly searching for new social and linguistic resources that allow them to construct new desirable identities while resisting the undesirable ones that limit them to specific times and places (Pavlenko & Blackledge, 2004). The *ChaoXianZu* teenagers in the present study show unique ways of negotiating their new identities through active participation in the newly imagined figured worlds, such as Chunhee’s devotion to the imagined community of watching Japanese animations through a virtual world. When she felt the limitations of her linguistic resources, Chunhee took the initiative to learn Japanese to make her membership more legitimate, so that she can feel stronger connections with other members who share common interests in Japanese animations and comic books.

Whether objectively or subjectively, the teenagers have not only reformulated strong self-identities and produced a minority mentality as a weapon against the dominant

group mentality, that is the Han Chinese or the 'legitimate Koreans' from the Southern or Northern part of Korean peninsular, but have also engaged in reshaping and negotiating their identities at different times and indifferent places. All the six multilingual ethnic Korean teenagers in this study acknowledge and are proud of their unique identity as a *ChaoXianZu*, which is different from the 'legitimate' Han Chinese majority and the 'legitimate' Koreans from the mainland of the Korean peninsular; yet, their reactions vary when their identities are contested. Ranhee shows strong beliefs about her identity as an 'ethnic Korean' living in China, even when her identity was challenged by having to lead her class in swearing the Chinese national oath for the national flag raising ceremony in the Han Chinese public high school that she was attending. While confirming the importance of the ethnic Korean identity for him, Sang shows more flexibility regarding multilingualism as he asserts his dual identities as 'Chinese' and *ChaoXianZu* as something that makes him 'special'.

The researcher's interpretations of this study concerning the identities and agency within multilingual contexts has much in common with the poststructuralist view, such as the perspectives of the volume authors in Pavlenko and Blackledge who recognize "the sociohistorically shaped partiality, contestability, instability, and mutability of ways in which language ideologies and identities are linked to relations of power and political arrangements in communities and societies" (2004, p. 11). This perspective is also congruent with the main views of the authors like Holland et al. (1998) and Toohey (2007) who see an individual's identities as the products of active participations in the various overlapping figured worlds surrounding each stage of their lives.

In relation with the above conclusions, the researcher finds it necessary to ask a general question which is linked to various dynamic educational implications in multilingual and multiethnic contexts in today's global world. That is, would the language minority background students' attitudes toward multilingualism, ethnicity and ethnic languages affect their performances in school? If so, how can we support them? Related to this key question, many sub-questions also need to be clarified, such as, does ethnic language proficiency impact the minority students' performance in the mainstream school education system? Should the schools and the teachers of the ethnic minority children assist and encourage the students' ethnic language learning? If so, why and how? And if not, why not? How do their multilayered identities generally affect their learning processes at school? If negatively, how should the school administrators and classroom teachers support them more effectively?

In closing this dissertation, the researcher wants to make a brief note concerning the research context and the findings. As addressed in the introductory chapters, the initial goal of this dissertation was to carry out this research based on a poststructuralist framework by primarily using the combined approaches of the Ethnography of Communication (EC) and Social Network (SN) analysis. Due to the challenges and time constraints in the recruitment of a larger number of participants, which is one of the key requirements of the SN analysis, unfortunately, this study could not thoroughly follow all the key steps of the SN approach as initially proposed. As a result, the study focused more on the EC approach through the observation of communication patterns and the components of communicative competence of the six multilingual teenagers in the ethnic Korean migrant community in Beijing. The findings reveal the complexity and

contradictions connected with the key research questions of this study. For instance, the patterns of communication and the diverse perceptions on the communicative competence reflect the unique ways in which these teenagers view their languages, how they interpret their relations with their own language(s) within specific sociocultural constraints, and how various perceptions and interpretations of the individuals impact the (re)construction and (re)negotiation processes of their diverse identities in a multilingual context. The researcher feels fortunate that this study enabled her to (re)confirm the significance of considering, critiquing, and exploring the possible answers to the key research questions regarding identities of the language background youths in a multilingual context, not only for her wish to contribute to the applied linguistic field, but also for the benefits of the education field in today's multilingual and globalized societies. As a multilingual speaker and a language educator, the researcher suggests that the schools and educators must be aware of this tendency, which will affect the self esteem and vigorous intellectual development of the minority language background students and their peers in the classrooms in this multilingual era.

Notes

Chapter 2

1. *Bourdieu(1991)'s symbolic domination*, p.31: In Bourdieu's terms, those who are not speakers of the official language or standard variety are subject to symbolic domination, if they believe in the legitimacy of that language or variety. The main point of such a linguistic ideology is that 'speakers of official languages or standard varieties may be regarded as having greater moral and intellectual worth compare to the speakers of unofficial languages or non-standard varieties' (c.f. Pavelenko and Blackledge 2004, p.163)
2. *Majority Language, Minority language*, p.35: The term *Majority Language or Dominant Language* refers to 'the language spoken by the group holds the political, cultural, and economic power in the country. This group is not necessarily the largest group numerically.', and the term *Minority language* refers to 'the language spoken by the group that has less power and prestige.' (Grosjean 1982: 120)
3. *A news*, p.42: Titled as 'Korean language proficiency exam applicants doubled the number from last year', and released by Korean Cultural Services, China on September 18, 2008. Retrieved on September 23, 2008 from <http://china.korean-culture.org/welcome.do>
4. *Korean Cultural Service, China (KCSC)*, p.42: Zhuhua Hanguo Wenhuyuan (驻华韩国文化院), established in 1994, the Headquarter is in Beijing China. The mandate of KCS is to introduce and promotes Korean culture and languages to the people in China. It is also acting as a cultural representative center for the Embassy of the Republic of Korea in China (韩国驻中国大使馆). Retrieved on September 23, 2008 from <http://china.koreanembassy.cn/index.aspx> and <http://china.korean-culture.org>
5. *Nation*, p.44: The term of *nation* indicates 'any independent political-territorial unit which is largely or increasingly under the control of a particular nationality' (Fishman 1989: 108).
6. *Status planning, corpus planning, and acquisition planning*, p.45: *Status planning* largely refers to identifying a language to be the official language; but, as Cooper (1989: 32) notes, the term has been extended to refer to how languages are allocated to a variety of functions, such as medium of instruction and medium of mass communication (e.g. radio and TV); *Corpus planning* is a matter of working out what the official language will look like, in terms of its alphabet, its words, and other matters of standardization. Plans to reform spelling and adopt or coin new words fall into this category; *Acquisition planning*. This is really extension of status planning. Most prominently, this type of planning involves ensuring that there are ways – education – for people to acquire whatever languages the planners want them to acquire. Presumably, this includes at least the official language. Thus, plans for language teaching are examples of acquisition planning (Myers-Scotton, 2006, p.378).
7. *Bourdieu's three symbolic capitals*, p.46: In his sociological model, Pierre Bourdieu (1991) introduces the idea of an economy of practice in which individuals use immaterial forms of exchange, which he calls symbolic capitals, to maximize their social advantage. Through a review of symbolic capitals, field and habitus, Bourdieu describes a complexity of mutually reinforcing and regulatory social relations.

Chapter 3

1. *Middle Class Family*, p.65: This is based on the participant self-report, and the researcher clarified with each informant about his or her standards of how to define their social status in Beijing as “middle or upper class”. The main measurement for them was the following two: having a two or three bedroom apartment or house in Beijing, and having a stable annual family income of over 120,000 RMB Chinese Yuan (approximately \$30,000 CAD).
2. *The Reported Fluency (of Each Language)*, p.66: The competency of each language of each teenager is based on his/her self-reports, and the researcher’s observations through in-person interviews and literacy assessment during the interviews. The literacy assessment is mainly for the Korean, English and Japanese.
3. *The Questionnaire*, p.68: See appendices for further details.

Chapter 4

1. *Symbols used for categorizing the examples*: In order to clearly sort out the examples in a clear way, the researcher created a set of symbols by combining Arabic numbers and capital letters. The Arabic number simply indicates the sequences of the examples, and the capital letters differentiate the type of participants. For instance, ‘P’ indicates a parent informant, ‘YE’ indicates the teenager with formal Ethnic Education while ‘Y’ indicates the youth who did not. For instance, ‘*Example 1 –YE*’ indicates the example 1 from a Youth who received Ethnic language education through a formal ethnic school system, while ‘*Example 2-Y*’ indicates the example 2 from a Youth who had never received ethnic language education from a formal ethnic school system.
2. Example P-1, p.82, by Mina’s father: ‘generally it is an almost impossible dream for the students from local schools...’). This statement was made in Chinese and Korean mixture. Due to the space constraint, I will not copy the original in this note.
3. Example P-2, p.82, by Mina’s father: ‘the kids will have much better chance,...’). This statement was made in Chinese and Korean mixture. Due to the space constraint, I will not copy the original in this note.
4. Example P-3, p.83, by Lan’s father: ‘it is not necessary to put too much energy in ...’). The original statement was made in Chinese, as follows: “涉及知识不能局限于局部（知识结构不平衡, 对主流社会融合不流畅。自己的语言可通过其他方式学习。”
5. Example P-4, p.83, by Ryoung’s mother: ‘from the stand point of ethnicity, I feel obligated to...’. The statement was made in Korean and Chinese code switching. Due to the space constraint, I will not copy the original in this note.

Chapter 5

1. p.86, *Sang*: ‘*In this global era,...*’: ‘因为现在是和平时期, 各国都需要交流, 英语是最基本的交流方式。现在各国都普遍用英语, 所以, 我觉得有必要学’
2. p.87, *Ranhee*: *knowing more languages ‘increases one’s self confidence...’*: 可为自己自豪, 因为学好一种语言是很不容易的事情。

3. p.87, *Mina*: '*Speaking multiple languages is reflection of one's talent...*': '这也是一种能力的体现。因为我觉得，因为现在就是，能学会很多种语言，不是说人人都有的能力。你有这个能力去学会那么多语言，可以运用自如，也是说明你有这种能力，是比其他人更好一点的地方。还有那个，你会那么多多种语言，你能所涉及的领域更多，你去发展的机会就多。'

4. p.87, *Ryoung*: '*I am proud of myself, because I know one more language than the others...*': '比别人多会一门语言；自己比别人多学会一门语言，走在街上也比较有自信。我不知道为什么，在街上走的时候，因为大家都在说汉语，偶尔出来讲朝鲜语的，觉得她特别，比自己要有能耐，说得特别流利，觉得特羡慕她'

5. p.87, *Lan*: '*(Being able to speak multiple languages),I feel very privileged...*': '走到哪里，跟别人聊天很有面子... 就是说那个，我自己学了这么多语言，我跟别的地方的人聊天的时候，可能跟我走在一起旁边的人 他不就不会说这个语言吗。。。然后我跟其他人聊天的时候，他们就在旁边就很羡慕我吧...'

6. p.88, *Ranhee*: '*It is my own ethnic language. If I do not speak Korean, ...*': '因为是自己民族的语言。然后，如果不会的话，在家族里边也好，别人都讲朝语的时候，就我自己不会的话，也听不懂也说不好的话，会感觉很难受。'

7. p.89, *Chunhee*: '*it is important to know the things about our own ethnic group...At least should know about own root...*': '我觉得认识自己的民族是非常必要的...。就至少得了解一下。要不然...,就是，你看，象那种华侨什么的，也应该多少要了解一下自己原来的祖籍呀，象中国什么的，应该都稍微了解一下的。看，现在很多人都不太清楚。'

8. p.93, *Ranhee*: '*First of all, without going to ethnic Korean schools,...*': '我觉得没有必要。因为首先不上这些民族学校，在家也可以学朝语，如让爸爸妈妈教，跟亲戚朋友交流。第二是因为我们住在中国么，所以要学好中文，上中文学校更重要。'

9. p.93, *Lan*: '*[it is because] I think the only advantage of attending an ethnic Korean school is that...*': '因为我想在民族学校可能多学的不就是语言吗。因为这种东西不就可以在家里可以学到的吗。这样，上或不上都无所谓啦...'

10. p.99, *Lan*: '*I am an ethnic Korean born and living in China, but does not speak Korean a lot...*': '我是出生，定居在中国的朝鲜人。但，朝鲜话会的不是很多。 我也是中国人。。。就是说，国籍是中国吗，然后民族是朝鲜族。。。但是，于韩国人或北朝鲜人也不一样。因为生活的地方就不一样。。。'

11. p.103, *Ranhee*: '*China's national power is getting stronger...*': '中国现在的国力日益强大。因为居住在中国，所以可以更多地利用这个中文，学到中文，然后利用这个中文去交流。'

Bibliography

- Anderson, B. (1991). *Imagined Communities*. London: Verso.
- Blommaert, J., Collins, J. & Slembrouck, S. (2004). Spaces of Multilingualism: Working Papers on *Language, Power & Identity*, 18. Retrieved on May 28, 2008 from <http://bank.rug.ac>
- Bourdieu, P. (1991). *Language and Symbolic Power*. Oxford: Polity Press.
- Cenoz, J. and Genesee, F. (1998) Psycholinguistic Perspectives on Multilingualism and Multilingual Education. In J. Cenoz and F. Genesee (Eds.), *Beyond Bilingualism: Multilingualism and Multilingual Education* (pp. 16–32). Clevedon: Multilingual Matters.
- Duff, Patricia A. (2002). The discursive Con-construction of Knowledge, Identity and Difference: Ethnography of Communication in the high school mainstream. In J. Zuengler & J. Mori (Guest Eds.), *Microanalyses of Classroom Discourse: A Critical Consideration of Method* (Special Issue), *Applied Linguistics*, 23(3).
- Dabene, L. & Moore, D. (1995). Bilingual Speech of Migrant People. In L. Milroy and P. Muysken (Eds.), *One Speaker, Two Languages* (pp. 17-43). Cambridge University Press.
- Dai, Q. and Dong, Y. (1999). Zhongguo Guoqing yu Shuangyu [social contexts and bilingual education in China]. In E. Chen (Ed.), *Shuangyu Shuangfangyan Yu Xiandai Zhongguo Bilingualism, bidialectalism, and modern China* (pp. 57-72). Beijing: Beijing Language and Culture University Press.
- Milroy L. and Muysken P. (1995, Ed.). *One Speaker, Two Languages*. Cambridge University Press.
- Fishman, J. A. (1977). Language and ethnicity. In H. Giles (Ed.), *Language, Ethnicity and Intergroup Relations* (pp. 15-57). London: Academic Press.
- Gumperz, J. J. (1982, Ed.). *Language and Social Identity*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Grosjean, F. (1982). *Life with Two Languages*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.
- Giampapa, F. (2004). The Politics of Identity, Representation, and the Discourses of Self-identification: Negotiating the Periphery and the Center. In A. Pavlenko & A. Blackledge(Eds.), *Negotiation of Identities in Multilingual Contexts* (pp. 192-218). UK: Multilingual Matters.
- Hymes, Dell (1962). The Ethnography of Speaking. In T. Gladwin and W. C. Sturtevant (Eds.), *Anthropology and Human Behavior* (pp. 13-53). Washington, DC: Anthropological Society of Washington.
- Hymes, Dell (1972). Models of the Interpretation of Language and Social Life. In John J. Gumperz and D. Hymes (Eds.), *Directions in Sociolinguistics: Ethnography of Communication* (pp.35-71). New York: Holt, Rinehart & Winston.
- Hymes, Dell (1974). *Foundations in Sociolinguistics: An Ethnographic Approach*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.

- Holland, D., Lachiotte, W. and Cain, C. (1998). *Identity and Agency in Cultural Worlds*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Hoffmann, Charlotte (2001). Towards a Description of Trilingual Competence. In *The International Journal of Bilingualism*, Vol.5 (1), pp.1-17.
- Heberer, Thomas (1989). *China and its National Minorities: Autonomy or Assimilation? An East Gate Book*, New York: M.E. Sharpe, Inc.
- Kramersch, Claire (1998). *Language and Culture*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Hazen, Kirk (2002). The Family. In J.K. Chambers, Peter Trudgill, and Natalie Schilling-Estes, Eds, *The Handbook Of Language Variation And Change*, Chapter 20. Blackwell Publishers.
- Mackerras, Colin (2003). *China's Ethnic Minorities and Globalization*. USA and Canada: Routledge Curzon.
- Mackerras, Colin (1995). *China's Minority Cultures: Identities and Integration Since 1912*. New York: Lonaman, St. Martin's Press.
- Mackerras, Colin (1994). *China's Minorities: Integration and Modernization in the Twentieth Century*. Hong Kong: Oxford University Press.
- Ma, Rong(2006). Lun Zhongguo Shaoshu-minzu de Shuang yu Jiaoyu. [Bilingual Education in China], presented at the First International Conference on the Sociology of Education held in Peking University, Beijing China, March 18-19, 2006. In *Chinese Education and Society*, 40 (2), March/April 2007, pp. 9-25. [Translated by William Crawford. Translation copy right 2007 by M.E. Sharpe Inc. from the Chinese text].
- Milroy, L. and Li, Wei (1995). A Social Network Approach to Code-switching. In L. Milroy and P. Muysken (Eds.), *One Speaker, Two Languages* (pp. 136-57). Cambridge University Press.
- Milroy, Lesley (2002). Social Networks. In J.K. Chambers, Peter Trudgill, and Natalie Schilling-Estes (Eds.), *The Handbook Of Language Variation And Change*, Chapter 22. Blackwell Publishers.
- Myers-Scotton, C. (2006). *Multiple Voices: An Introduction to Bilingualism*. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Pavlenko, A. & Blackledge, A. (2004, Eds.), *Negotiation of Identities in Multilingual Contexts*. Multilingual Matters, Clevedon, UK.
- Rogoff, B. (2003). *The Cultural Nature of Human Development*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Robert E. Stake (1994). Case Studies. In N. Denzin & Y. Lincoln (Eds.), *Handbook of Qualitative Research* (pp.236-24). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Ryang, Sonia (1997). *North Koreans in Japan: Language, Ideology, and Identity*. USA and United Kingdom: Westview Press.

Saville-Troike, Muriel (1989). *The Ethnography of Communication: An Introduction* (2nd Edition). Basil: Blackwell

Schieffelin, B. Woolard, K. and Kroskrity, P. (1998, Eds.), *Language Ideologies, Practice and Theory*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Toohy, K. (2007). Conclusion: Autonomy/agency through socio-cultural lenses. In A. Barfield and S. Brown (Eds.), *Re-interpreting Autonomy in Language Education* (pp. 231-242). London: Palgrave-Macmillan.

Tajfel, H. & Turner J.-C. (1986). The social identity theory of intergroup behavior. In Worchel, S. & Austin, W. (Eds.), *Psychology of intergroup relations* (2nd Edition, pp.7-24). Chicago: Nelson Hall.

Li, Wei (2005, Eds.), *The Bilingual Reader* (1st Ed. 2000). London: Routledge

Yang, J. (2005). English as Third Language among China's Ethnic Minorities. *The International Journal of Bilingual Education and Bilingualism*, Vol. 8 (6), pp. 552-567.

In Korean

Yuan, Zhong-xie (1995, eds.), *Chungkuk Chosen Minzok Barzachu Chonso 8: Gahyuk* [The History of Ethnic Korean Nationalities in China], Vol.8: *The Reform*. Beijing: Nationality Press

Jin, B.H. (2007). Chungkuk Chosenzok Ingumunze wa gu Dacheck [The matters and solutions regarding the demographic matters of the ethnic Koreans in China]. In Jin, B.H. and Liu, C.Y. (Eds.), *Zhongguo Chaoxianzu Renkou Wenti Yanjiu* [Research of the demographic development of ethnic Koreans in China], pp. 1-9. Beijing: Ethnic Publishing Press.

Zheng Pan-long & Cui Ying-Ju (1997, Eds.). *Chungkuk Chosen Minzok Munhuasa Dage 4 – Kuoyuksa* [Korean Nationalities in China Series, Vol.4: The Education]. Korean Culture Research Centre in Beijing University. Nationality Press, Beijing.

Zheng, X.Z. (2007): Chosen Minzok Jiyeuk-ui Minzok-Kyoyouck Barcchun Kuajung-esoui Munze-wa Decheck [The issues and solutions in the development of ethnic education in the Ethnic Korean Diaspora]. In Jin, B.H.,and Liu C.Y. (Eds.), *Choxianzock Sanjae Jiyeock Minzock-munjae- wa guDae-check* [the problems and solutions in the ethnic education in the ethnic Korean Diaspora], pp. 42-52. Beijing: Ethnic Publishing Press.

In Chinese

De, Sha (1989). Minzu Jiaoyu Zong de Yuyan Wenti [The issue of language in ethnic education]. In Geng Jinsheng and Wang Xihong (Eds.), *Minzu Jiaoyu Gaige yuTansuo* [Reform and exploration in the ethnic education], pp. 440–57. Beijing, China: Central University for Nationalities Press.

Editorial Board of China Education Yearbook (2003). *Zhongguo Jiaoyu Nianjian* [China Educational Yearbook]. Beijing: People's Education Press.

Fei, Xiaotong (1989). "Zhongguo Minzu de Duoyuan Yiti Geju" [The pattern of unified diversity among China's Nationalities]. *Beijing Daxue Xuebao* [Journal of Beijing University], Vol.4, pp. 1-19.

Jin, Z.L. (2007). Heilongjiang-sheng Chaoxianzu Shuangyu Sanyu Jiaoyu [bilingual and trilingual education in the province of Heilongjiang]. In Jin, B.H., and Liu, C.Y. (Eds.), *Chosenzock Sanjae Jiyeock Minzock-Munjae-wa guDae-check* [the problems and solutions in the ethnic education in the ethnic Korean Diaspora], pp. 137-140. Beijing: Ethnic Publishing Press.

In Japanese

Fukuoka, Yasunori (1993). *Zainichi Kankoku Chosenjin (Koreans in Japan)*. Tokyo: Chuo Koronsha.

Usami, Mayumi (1997). *Gengowa Shakaiwo Kaerareru* [language can change the society]. Tokyo: Meiseki Publishing.

List of Maps

1. Map of China



Source: Retrieved on October 8, 2008 from <http://www.paulnoll.com/China/Provinces/China-Province-choices.html>

2. Map of the Main Cities/Prefectures in the Northeast Provinces of China where the Korean Nationalities Reside



Source: Takasaki, Soji (1996). *Chugoku Chosenzoku – Rekishi, Seikatsu, Bunka, Minzoku Kyoiku* [Korean Nationalities in China – History, Culture, Ethnic Education]. Meiseki Shoten, Tokyo.

Notes:

1. The names of the cities are based on the original names in Chinese.
2. The location of *Dongning* prefecture is added by the researcher.
3. *Harbin*: The capital city of Heilongjiang province.
4. *Changchun*: The capital city of *Jilin* province.
5. *Shenyang*: The capital city of *Liaoning* province.
6. *Yanji*: The capital city of *Yanbian* Korean Autonomous Prefecture.
7. *Mudanjiang*: The capital city of *Mudanjiang* region. *Ningan* and *Dongning* prefectures belong to *Mudanjiang* region.

Appendices

Appendix A. Tables for Chapter 4

Table 4.1.1 Types of Languages and Fluency

Participant	age	Years in Beijing	Types of languages	Fluency by speaking	Fluency by listening	Fluency by reading	Fluency by writing
Chunhee	17	12	CEKJ	C,E,J**,K*	C,K,E,J*	C,E,K,J*	C,E, J/K*
Ranhee	16	8	CKE	C,K**,E*	C,K**,E*	C,K**,E*	C, K**,E*
Mina	14	7	CKE	C,K**,E**	C,K**,E**	C,K**,E**	C, K**,E**
Ryoung	15	10	CEK	C,E*,K*	C,E*,K*	C,E*	C,E*
Sang	13	11	CEK	C,E**,K*	C,E**,K*	C,E*	C,E*
Lan	13	10	CEK	C,E**	C,E**,K*	C,E**	C,E**

Notes: (1) This table is based on the self-report by the participants. (2) Types of languages (spoken): The most fluent language spoken is listed on the left. C - Chinese, K - Korean, J - Japanese, E – English; (3) Degree of language use: ** some, * a little, no stars: fluent or almost fluent; (4) Measurement of language fluency: It is based on self reports by the speakers, and some speaking and listening assessments by the researcher through individual interviews, as well as some reading and writing assessments on Korean, English, and Japanese.

Table 4.1.2 Ethnic Language Fluency

participant	age	grade	years in Beijing	languages	ethnic education	ethnic language fluency
Chunhee	17	G12	12	CEKJ	G 1-6	LR: adv WS: h.beg
Ranhee	16	G10	8	CKE	G1-3	LRS: adv W: Int
Mina	14	G10	7	CKE	G1-3, home	LRS: adv W: Int
Ryoung	15	G10	9	CEK	at home	L: h.beg S: l.beg RW: n/a
Lan	13	G7	10	CEK	at home	L: l.beg SWR: n/a
Sang	13	G7	11	CEK	at home	LS: l.beg WR: n/a

Notes: (1) languages: C - Chinese, K - Korean, J - Japanese, E – English; (2) ethnic school education: G 1-6: grade 1 to 6; (3) ethnic language fluency: L - listening R - reading W - writing S - speaking Adv: advanced Int: intermediate H. Beg: higher beginner L. Beg: lower beginner; (4) Measurement of language fluency.

Table 4.1.3 Implicational Scale for the Language Choices

participants	B	C	D	with Parents generations						With young generations				
				1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11
Chunhee	C1	3	SH		C, K*	C, K*	C, K*	C, K**	C** K*	C, K*	C,E K*	C,E	C	C
			JH	K, C*	C, K**	C, K**	C, K**	C, K*	C, K**	C, K**	C, K**	C, K**	C, K*	C
			E	K	K, C*	K, C*	K, C**	K, C**	K, C**	K, C**	C,K	K, C**	C, K**	C, K**
Ranhee	C1	4	SH	K	C, K*	C, K*	C, K**	C, K**	C, K**	C, K*	C	C	C	C
			E- JH	K	C, K**	C, K**	C, K**	C, K**	C, K*	C, K*	C	C, K*	C	
Mina	C1	3	SH	C, K*	C	C	C, K*	C, K*	K, C**	K, C*	C	C	C	C
			E- JH	C, K*	C	C	C, K*	C, K*	K, C**	K, C*	C, K*	C	C	C
Ryong	C1	3	E- SH	C, K**	C, K*	C, K*	C, K*	C, K*	C	C	C	C	C	C
Sang	C1	3	E- JH	C, K**	C, K*	C	C, K*	C, K*	C, K*	C	C, E*	C	C	C
Lan	C1	3	E- JH	C, K**	C	C, K*	C, K*	C	C, K*	C	C	C	C	C

Notes: A = name of the youth; B = family membership (C1 = first child); C = current family members; D=school years (ES=elementary school years, JH=junior high school years, SH=senior high school years); 1 = grandparents; 2 = parent, female; 3 = parent, male; 4 = family friends 1 parent generation; 5=family friends 2 parent generation; 6 = relatives/parents generation; 7= relatives/child generation 8= friend 1 at school; 9 = friend 2 at school; 10 =family friend 1 child generation; 11 = family friend 2 child generation.

Other Notes: (1) This table is based on participants’ self-reports; (2) Types of languages spoken: The most fluent spoken language is listed on the left. C - Chinese, K - Korean, J - Japanese, E – English; (3) Duration: E – in elementary school, JH – in junior high school, SH – in senior high school; (4) Degree of language used: ** some, * a little, No star: fluent or almost fluent

Table 4.1.4 Language Choices in Literacy

Participants	Age	DUR	Readings				Writings		
			School works	Movie subtitles, internet	Comic books, animations	News papers novels	School works	e-mails letters	MSN chatting
Chunhee	17	SH	E,C**	C,E,J**	C,E,J**	C,E	E,C**	C,E**,J*	C,E*,J*
		JH	C,E**	C,E*,K*	C,E*,J*	C,K	C,E*	C,K	C
		E	K,C/E*	C,K**	C,K**	C,K	K,C**, E*	K,C	
Ranhee	16	now	C,E*	C,K**,E*	C,K**	C,K,E	C,E*	C,K*	C
Mina	15	now	C,E*	C, K**,E*	C,K**	C,K**,E*	C, E*	C,K*	C,K*
Ryoung	15	now	C,E*	C,E**	C,E*	C,E*	C,E*	C	C
Sang	13	now	C,E*	C,E*	C,E**	C,E*	C,E*	C	C
Lan	13	now	C,E*	C,E*	C,E*	C,E*	C,E*	C	C

Notes: (1) This table is based on participants' self-report; (2) DUR (duration): E - elementary school JH - junior high SH - senior high; (3) Languages: C - Chinese, K - Korean, J - Japanese, E - English; (4) Degree of language use: **some, *a little, no star: fluent or almost fluent.

Appendix B. Questionnaires and Interview Questions

Questionnaire I 调查咨询表 1

1. Gender 性别: female 女 male 男 2-1. Nationality 国籍: P. R. China 中国
2. I am 我今年____ year old 岁, and was born 出生于 in __ year 年____ month 月 in 出生地:
____ county/town 乡/镇____ city/prefecture 市/县, _____ province 省,P. R. China 中国.
3. I am 我是初中/高中 a _____ grade high school student 年级学生, in a 目前上 Korean 朝鲜族中学 Chinese 汉族中学 other 其他 (请注明) _____ high school 中学.
4. I have a good knowledge of Korean language 我会朝鲜语。In Korean 用朝鲜语, I can 我可以talk to my grandparents 与我爷爷奶奶讲话 watch movies 看电视电影 read comic books 读漫画书 write letters 写信。
5. Besides Korean language 朝鲜语以外, I can speak 我还会讲Chinese 汉语 English 英语 Japanese 日语 other 其他语言: _____
6. I have 我有 one child 一个孩子 two children 两个孩子.
 - 6.1. My first child is 我的长子是 a _____ old 岁的 _____ (girl 女孩? or boy 男孩?). He/she is 他/她是一个 a _____ grade high school student 年级中学生.
He/she is currently attending 他/她在上 Korean 朝鲜族 Chinese 中文 other 其他_____school 学校.
He/she speak 他/她会讲 Korean 朝鲜语 Chinese 汉语 English 英语 other 其他_____
 - 6.2. My second child is 我的次子是 a _____ old 岁的 _____ (girl 女孩? or boy 男孩?). He/she is 他/她是一个 a _____ grade school student 年级初中 高中 学生.
He/she is currently attending 他/她在上 Korean 朝鲜族 Chinese 中文 other 其他_____school 学校
He/she speak 他/她会讲 Korean 朝鲜语 Chinese 汉语 English 英语 other 其他_____
7. My family moved to Beijing since 我们一家移居到北京于_____ year 年_____ month 月。
8. My current status in Beijing is 我们家庭的在北京市的身份是 a Resident 正式居民 Temporary Resident 暂居人口 Student 大学生 Other 其他: _____
9. I am the only child in my family 我是独生子 I have 我有 a ___ old brother(s)哥哥/弟弟 和/或 and/or a _____old sister 一个姐姐/妹妹.
10. I have family members and relatives still living in Mu-dan-jiang region 我的家人和亲戚还住在牡丹江地区. I often contact with my 我家常与下列人有紧密联络: grandparents 爷爷奶奶/姥爷姥姥 relatives 亲戚 other 其他_____ in my hometown 现居住在老家.
11. I consider my family's current social-economic status is 我认为我们一家在北京市的社会经济地位属于: Low-income working class 低收入劳动者家庭 Intermediate 普通中层家庭 Upper Intermediate 中上层家庭 Other 其他_____
12. I consider myself as a multilingual speaker because I can speak 我会讲三种以上语言, 包括 Korean 朝鲜语 Chinese 汉语 English 英语 Japanese 日语 Other languages 其他语言:_____

Questionnaire II 调查咨询表 2

FAMILY 家族关系

1. Are you living with your parents and family in Beijing? Yes No.
 - 1.1 With my mother, I mainly speak Korean Chinese other languages: _____
 - 1.2 With my father, I mainly speak Korean Chinese other languages: _____
 - 1.3 With my grandparents, I mainly speak Korean Chinese other languages: _____
 - 1.4 With my brother/sisters, I mainly speak Korean Chinese other languages: _____

2. What is your father's occupation? company employee self-employed _____ other:_____. His education level is: high school diploma over 2 year of college university other_____
 - 2.1 He is an ethnic Korean.
 - 2.2 He is from _____ county/town _____ city/prefecture, _____ province, China.
 - 2.3 He speaks Korean Chinese English Japanese other _____

3. What is your mother's occupation? company employee self-employed other:_____ Her education level is:
high school diploma over 2 year of college university other_____
 - 3.1 She is an ethnic Korean nationality.
 - 3.2 She was born in _____ county/town, _____ city/prefecture, _____ province, China.
 - 3.3 She speaks Korean Chinese English Japanese other_____

4. Do your grandparents and relatives in Mudanjiang often come to visit you in Beijing?
Yes No
If yes: How do you usually communicate with them? Korean Chinese Other: _____

5. During the school breaks, do you often visit your relatives in Mudanjiang? Yes No
If yes: When you visit there, which language do you usually speak? Korean Chinese other_

6. What is the ethnicity of the two families that close to your family?
Koreans Chinese other_____
 - 6.1With them, which language(s) do you usually speak? Korean Chinese other: _____

7. Do you often join the major activities held by Korean nationality people in Beijing? Yes No
If yes, please list two main activities: (1) _____ (2) _____.

- 7.1 In the activities, which language do you often speak? Korean Chinese other: _____

SCHOOL, LANGUAGE EDUCATION 学校 及 语言教育

8. Did you receive formal ethnic Korean language education from an ethnic Korean school?
Yes No
If yes: I attended a Korean nationality school for _____ years in Beijing hometown.

9. Are you learning ethnic Korean language at home and/or from a language school? Yes No
If yes: I have been learning Korean for ___ years at home at language school other: _____

9.1 The key reasons that I study Korean language are because:

a) _____

b) _____

10. What type of *elementary school (grade 1-6)* that you attended?

Korean nationality school Chinese public school other

10.1 In the classroom, I used Korean Chinese other languages:_____

10.2 After class time, I spoke with my friends in Korean Chinese other:_____

10.3 From grade_____, as the foreign language, I learned Korean English Other_____

10.4 Two of my best friends that I usually hanging out in the school were

Korean Chinese Korean and Chinese other:_____

11. What type of *junior high school (grade 7 - 9)* that you attended? Korean nationality school

Chinese public school other

11.1 In the classroom, I used Korean Chinese other languages:_____

11.2 After class hours, I spoke with my friends in Korean Chinese other:_____

11.3 Another language (or foreign language) that I learned in Junior high school was

Korean English Japanese other_____.

11.4 The ethnic back ground of the two of my best friends in Junior high school was

Korean Chinese Korean and Chinese other_____

11.5 Spoke to my best friends in Junior high school in Korean Chinese other_____

11.6 I was a member of sports/music club(s) in junior high school, such as _____ club(s).

11.7 Two of my best friends in junior high school were Korean Chinese other:_____

12. What type of *senior high school (grade 10-12)* that are you currently attending?

Korean school Chinese public school International School other

12.1 In the classroom, I am using Korean Chinese other languages:_____

12.2 After the class hours, I speak to my friends in

Korean Chinese other languages:_____

12.3 Another language (or foreign language) that I am learning is

Korean English Other_____

12.4 The ethnic back ground of the two of my best friends in Junior high school are

Korean Chinese Korean and Chinese other_____

12.5 I speak to my best friends in senior high school in Korean Chinese other_____

12.6 I am a member of sports/music club in senior high school, such as _____ club(s).

12.7 Two of my best friends that I usually hanging out with at the school are

Korean Chinese other:_____

13. Are you taking afterschool private language training programs (e.g. private tutoring)?

Yes No

If Yes: I have been taking the following language training:

(1)_____ for _____ years;

(2)_____ for _____ years.

14. After high school graduation, are you planning to apply for
Universities in China Universities in South Korea Other: _____
14.1 My major would be _____

AFTER-SCHOOL ACTIVITIES 课余活动

15. Are you regularly attending church with my parents? Yes No
If yes: The type of church that I am attending is Christian Catholic other: _____
15.1 The church services is mainly in Korean Chinese other languages: _____

16. Can you list the ethnicity of the two of my best friends that I usually hanging out with after school? Koreans Han Chinese other: _____
16.1 I speak to them in Korean Chinese English other languages: _____

17. In which language(s) do you prefer to watch animation movies?
Korean Chinese other: _____
17.1 If you are watching the animation movies in more than one language, please list the order of the languages by listing the main ones in the front: (1) _____ (2) _____ (3) _____

18. In which language do you read comic books or animation books?
Korean Chinese other: _____
18.1 If you read comic and animation in more than one language, please list the order of the languages by listing the main ones in the front: (1) _____ (2) _____ (3) _____ (4) _____

The Interview Questions

MULTILINGUALISM

1. Do you think it is necessary to be a multilingual?
2. Are you happy with being a multilingual speaker?

ETHNICITY, ETHNIC LANGUAGE EDUCATION

3. As an ethnic Korean living in China, do you think it is important to attend an ethnic language school?
4. Do you think it is important to learn and speak Korean language as an ethnic Korean?

SELF-IDENTIFICATION

5. Are you happy with being an ethnic Korean nationality person living in China?
6. How would you define yourself? Are you happy with whom you are now?

Appendix C. Consent Form for Parents/Guardians

SIMON FRASER UNIVERSITY

Title: Multilingualism and Language Practices of Minority Language Background Youths

Investigator Name: Meilan Piao Ehlert

Investigator Department: SAR Interdisciplinary Studies department, Faculty of Graduate Studies

The University and those conducting this project subscribe to the ethical conduct of research and to the protection at all times of the interests, comfort, and safety of subjects. This research is being conducted under permission of Research Ethic Board of the Simon Fraser University, British Columbia, Canada. The main concern of the board is for the health, safety and psychological well-being of research participants.

The Procedures: The researcher will send an information package to all prospective participants. The Information Package includes the cover letter, study information, questionnaire I, consent form, consent form for parents/guardians, consent form for minor participants. The package will be delivered to the candidate by e-mail, post mail or in-person. All participants will be given a sufficient time to consider whether he/she wants to voluntarily support the researcher's study.

The Participants: The participants will be the Korean nationality high school students living in China, and their parents/teachers.

Risks and Benefits: You may experience fatigue from writing; you may benefit from the opportunity to practice your logical thinking and writing skills; you may benefit from the opportunity to practice your narrative skills; you may benefit from the opportunity to improve your understanding of multilingualism and language education.

What the Participant is Required to Do: (1) All prospective participants will receive an Information Package. They will be given an appropriate time to consider about his or her participation. The participation will be voluntary participant; (2) Approximately eight teenager participants and their parents/teachers will be invited to further interviews; (3) The teenager participants may be invited to focus group discussions/interviews. Each participant consents to participating in the focus group activities must promise, that any information that he/she encounter during the discussions/interviews will be kept confidential and will NOT be revealed to any parties outside of the focus group.

As the parents/guardian of the participant(s), your signature on this form will signify that you have received a document which describes the procedures, possible risks, and benefits of this research project, that you have received an adequate opportunity to consider the information in the documents describing the project or experiment, and that you voluntarily agree to allow the minor named below to participate in the study.

Name of Parents/Guardian (PRINT): _____ (family name) _____ (first name)

Name of the Miner (PRINT): _____ (family name) _____ (first name)

Who is the (*relationship to the minor*) (PRINT): _____
(parents/guardian/other)

I certify that I understand the procedures to be used and have fully explained them to the minor participant,

_____ (*name of the minor participant*), and the participant knows that myself, or he or she has the right to withdraw from the study at any time, and any complaints about the study can be brought to:

Dr. Hal Weinberg, Director
Office of Research Ethics
Simon Fraser University
8888 University Drive, Burnaby, BC V5A 1S6
hal_weinberg@sfu.ca
Tel: 778-782-6593

I have been informed that my identity in the research will be confidential.

I understand that I may obtain the copies of the result of this study upon its completion by contacting the researcher names above:

Meilan Piao Ehlert
MA-SAR interdisciplinary Studies division
Dean of Faculty of Graduate Studies, MBC 1100
Simon Fraser University
8888 University Drive, Burnaby, BC V5A 1S6

Parents/Guardian Name (PRINT): _____ (family name) _____ (given names)

Signature of the Parents/Guardian: _____

Date (MM/DD/YY): _____

Appendix D. Participant Consent Form

SIMON FRASER UNIVERSITY

The University and those conducting this project subscribe to the ethical conduct of research and to the protection at all times of the interests, comfort, and safety of subjects. This research is being conducted under the permission of Research Ethic Board of the Simon Fraser University, B.C. Canada. The chief concern of the board is for the health, safety and psychological well-being of research participants.

Should you wish to obtain information about your right as a participant in research, or about the responsibilities of the researchers, or if you have any questions and concerns as a participant of this study, please contact the Director of Office of Research Ethics by email at hal_weinberg@sfu.ca or by phone at 778-782-6593.

Your signature on this form will signify that you have received a document which describes the procedures, whether there are possible risks, and benefits of this research study, that you have received an adequate opportunity to consider the information in the documents describing the study, and that you voluntarily agree to participate in the study.

Title: Multilingualism and Language Practices of Minority Language Background Youths
Investigator Name: Meilan Piao Ehlert
Investigator Department: SAR Interdisciplinary Studies department, Faculty of Graduate Studies

Having been asked to participate in the research study named above, I certify that I have read the procedures specified in the Study Information Documents describing the study. I understand the procedures to be used in this study and the personal risks to me in taking part in the project or experiment, as described below:

Purpose and Goals of this Study: To study the relationship of language and identity within individuals in minority communities especially about the minority language background youth during their high school years.

What the Participants will be Required to Do: The subject is required to fill up and/or response to the Participant questionnaires, and may be required to participate in the in-person and/or telephone interviews. Some interviews will be recorded with consent of the participants.

Risks to the Participants: You may experience fatigue from writing.

Benefits of Study: You may benefit from the opportunity to practice your logical thinking and writing skills; You may benefit from the opportunity to practice your narrative skills; You may benefit from the opportunity to improve your understanding of multilingualism and language education.

Statement of Confidentiality: The data of this study will maintain confidentiality of your name and the contributions you have made to the extent allowed by the law.

Inclusion of Names of Participants in Reports of the Study: The identity of the participant will be kept confidential, and his/her names will not be included in reports of this study.

Contact of Participants at a Future Time or Use of the Data in other studies: The researcher may contact the participants again or use of the data collected here in other studies in the next 3 years from the date of Research Ethic approval of this study.

I understand that I may withdraw my participation at any time. I also understand that I may register any complaint with the Director of the Office of Research Ethics as shown below:

Dr. Hal Weinberg
Director, Office of Research Ethics
Simon Fraser University
Multi-Tenant Facility, 8888 University Drive
Burnaby, B.C. V5A 1S6
hal_weinberg@sfu.ca
Tel: 778-782-6593

I understand that I may obtain the copies of the result of this study upon its completion by contacting:

Meilan Piao Ehlert
MA-SAR interdisciplinary Studies division
Dean of Faculty of Graduate Studies, MBC 1100
Simon Fraser University
8888 University Drive, Burnaby, B.C. V5A 1S6

Participant Name (PRINT): _____(family name) _____(given names)

Participant Contact Information(PRINT):

Participant Signature: _____

Witness Name (PRINT): _____

Witness Signature: _____

Date (MM/DD/YY): _____

Appendix E Study Information

研究课题简介

Title: Multilingualism and Language Practice of Minority Language Background Youths in China

题目: 关于多种语言学习论及少数民族青少年的语言使用状况

Investigator Name: Meilan Piao EHLERT

研究学者: 朴美兰

Investigator Department: Interdisciplinary Studies, Faculty of Graduate Studies, Simon Fraser University

研究学者所属部门: 西门菲沙大学 研究生院 综合研究系 社会语言/文化人类学 专业

Section A. The Participants 调查研究的对象

1. *Place (of the field research study)* 调查研究区域

City of Beijing, and the Province of Heilongjiang, P. R. China 北京市及黑龙江省牡丹江地区

2. *The Participants* 调查研究的对象

The participants will be the ethnic Korean nationality high school students living in China, and their parents/teachers. 目前在北京市上学的朝鲜族初高中生, 并且出生在一个十到十二年前从黑龙江省牡丹江地区 (尤其是从宁安县和东宁县) 移居过来的朝鲜族家庭。

3. *What will the participants be required to do?* 实地调查研究程序

- 1) All prospective participants will receive an Information Package. They will be given an appropriate time to consider about his or her participation. The participation will be voluntary participant.
所有的调查研究对象候补者将事先收到本研究课题有关的参阅资料。是否支持本研究并成为一调查研究对象, 完全由每个候补者的决定。
- 2) Approximately eight teenager participants and their parents will be invited to further interviews. Some of the interviews/discussions will be recorded.
约有八名初高中生及其家长将被邀请到第二部细部调查研究, 如一对一面谈及集体讨论会等。一些面谈及集体讨论会将录音或录像。
- 3) The teenager participants may be invited to focus group discussions/interviews. Each participant consents to participating in the focus group activities must promise, that any information that he/she encounter during the discussions/interviews will be kept confidential and will NOT be revealed to any parties outside of the focus group.
一些青少年学生将被邀请到集体讨论面谈会。作为参加此活动的必需程序, 所有同学需要事先同意作如下誓约: 关于集体讨论面谈会里所听到的及所讨论的细部事项, 保证绝对严格守密, 保证决不泄露其内容给会外者。
- 4) The Information Package is consisted of the Cover Letter, Study Information (RE form 5), Questionnaire I, Consent Form (RE form 2), Consent Form for Parents/Guardians (RE form 3), Consent Form for Minor Participants.
研究对象候补者参阅资料包括: 研究学者的信, 研究课题简介, 调查咨询表 1, 研究对象同意书, 未成年研究对象同意书, 父母/保护者同意书。

4. *How are the participants recruited?* 研究调查的对象 招收方式

The participants will be recruited by word of mouth referrals from the investigator's acquaintances in China. 通过研究学者本人在中国的联络网。

Section B. This Study 研究课题

1. *Overall Goals of This Study:* 研究课题及目前的研究重点

To study multilingualism, the relationship of language and identity within individuals especially about the minority language background youth during high school years.

本研究课题是关于多种语言学习论及少数民族青少年的语言使用状况。目前的实地调查研究的重点是有关暂居于北京市的朝鲜族高中生的多种语言使用情况。

2. *Risks to the participant, third parties or society:* 参加本研究的弊端

You may experience fatigue from writing. 填写调查研究表格时您会感到疲劳。

3. *Benefits of study to the development of new knowledge:* 参加本研究的利点

You may benefit from the opportunity to practice your logical thinking and writing skills.

You may benefit from the opportunity to practice your narrative skills.

You may benefit from the opportunity to improve your understanding of multilingualism and language education.

参加本研究调查将给您提供一个锻炼逻辑思考，个人面谈及公众讲话的最佳机会。同时，这是一个了解多种语言学习论及语言教育方面的知识的好机会。

4. *How confidentiality and anonymity will be assured if applicable:* 隐私权

Knowledge of your identity is not required in this study. Other than on the Participant Consent form and the Questionnaire 1, you will not be required to write your name on any other identifying information on research materials. All materials will be maintained in a secure location. Your names will not be included in my reports of this study.

本研究学者将尊重保护每个调查研究对象者的隐私权，并保证决不泄露您的真实姓名给外部人员。除了在研究对象同意书及调查表一以外，您不需要写明姓名。一切研究资料将存放在安全之处。

Section C. Other 其他事项

Persons and contact information that participants can contact to discuss concerns:

如您对一个研究调查对象者的权力有任何疑问点，请联络西门菲沙大学的研究道德管理处处长 海尔温伯格博士 通过如下所注的联络方式：

Dr. Hal Weinberg
Director, Office of Research Ethics
Simon Fraser University
Multi-Tenant Facility, 8888 University Drive
Burnaby, B.C. V5A 1S6
hal_weinberg@sfu.ca
Tel : 778-782-6593