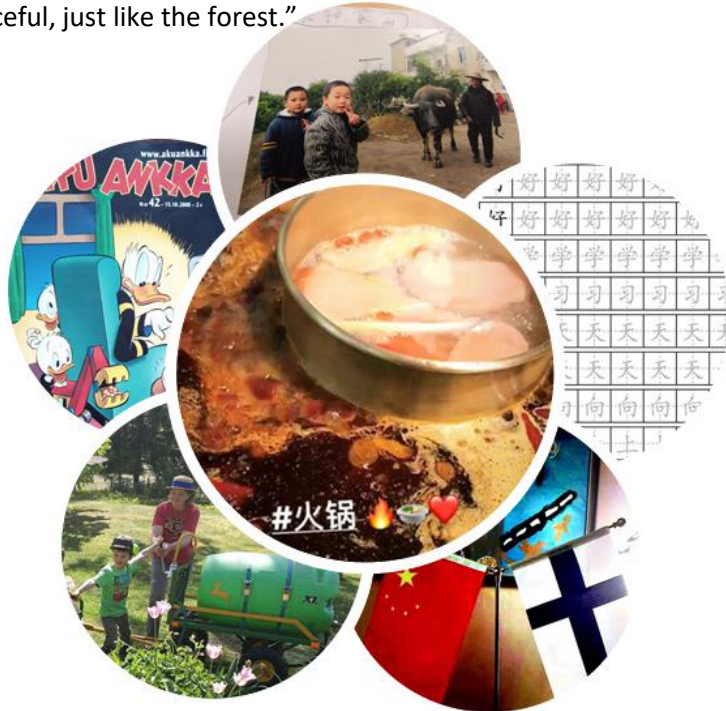


**A RESEARCH ON FINNISH-CHINESE CHILDREN'S BILINGUAL IDENTITY
THROUGH MULTILITERACEIS**

A CASE STUDY OF CHINESE HERITAGE LEARNERS IN CENTRAL FINLAND

"My Finnish is in the forest. It is my Finnish because forest is very important to Finns. Finnish language is very straightforward and peaceful, just like the forest."



"My Chinese is in the library. It is my Chinese because the language is very old, philosophical and poetic. There are many phrases and stories."

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Level of the thesis: Master thesis

Discipline: Applied Language Studies for the Changing Society (APPLANG)

Date of submission: 10th May 2019

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ABSTRACT

Research on the bilingual identity of heritage language learners is a field emerging at the turn of the 21st century. This study explored the Chinese identity and Finnish identity of a group of Chinese heritage learners aged from 5 to 16 from the perspective of identity-as-narrative. The main goal was to find out how Chinese heritage learners identify themselves with the Chinese language and Finnish language by taking photos and other story-telling. The research design is based on visual methods for meaning-making and on the concept *design* in the field of pedagogy of multiliteracies. Contents analysis and narrative analysis were employed to analyze the visual identity narratives produced by participants, which yields several findings regarding 1) the common resources used for Chinese-Finnish identity construction, 2) the multidimensional and individualized characteristics of the construct of heritage learners' language identity, 3) the specialness of Chinese identity in compared to Finnish identity, and 4) bilingual identity as both experienced lives and imagined possibilities. These results are to some extent similar to the expertise, inheritance and affiliation meanings of language identity articulated in previous research, but also bring about some new meanings that are attached by heritage learners to the Chinese and Finnish language. At last, this study concludes that visual methods are young-learner friendly because it facilitates expression and communication with minors and it prompts researchers to explain meaning-making of identity from young learners' points of view. The research project is also of pedagogical importance because it serves to scaffold learners' learning of Chinese literacy.

Keywords: Chinese heritage learners, Finnish-Chinese bilingual identity, visual narratives, multiliteracies

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SECTION 1: INTRODUCTION

Heritage language pedagogy is an important component in the Finnish education system. In the Finnish National Core Curriculum for Basic Education 2014, teaching and learning goals of heritage languages are specifically described (Opetushallitus, 2016). Finland has been recognized as a multilingual country and the ideas of preserving the various languages and cultures are highly valued. Heritage language pedagogy, be it complementary to or inclusive in the mainstream classroom, serves to achieve one of the curriculum's aims – raising language awareness. It can be found that domestic research on heritage language has been directed to the most-spoken minor languages which are Russian (Vorobeva, 2018), German (Bärlund & Kauppinen, 2017), and the national minority language Sami (Pietikäinen, 2012). Yet, other heritage languages whose users have been growing over the years need to be addressed. Till 2017, Chinese immigrants are the fourth largest immigrants' population in Finland, after Estonian, Russian and Iranian (Statistics Finland, 2017). In this study's case, it is the Chinese heritage learners living in Finland that are of focus and interest. As the teacher of a Chinese heritage class, I am interested in using identity as a lens to reflect how heritage language learners relate to both the heritage language Chinese as well as the mainstream language Finnish, so as to understand what underlies heritage learners' various learning behaviors in the classroom and to improve classroom practices of heritage language teaching and learning.

The Narrative approach to identity considers narratives as a powerful mode for constructing identity meanings (De Fina & Georgakopoulou, 2012), particularly crediting the meaning-making potentials of individuals' life stories and experiences in narratives (Benson, 2014). Within this approach, identity is commonly thought to find expressions in individuals' stories, to an extreme extent that Sfard and Prusak define identity as stories itself (2005).

Empirical researches employing the narrative approach have shown various forms that narratives can take. For example, written narratives from participants' essays (Ruohotie-Lyhty, 2013), oral narratives but transcribed from interviews (Kiesling, 2006) or from actual conversations in social settings (Holmes, 2006). Some researches prove that narratives can be multimodal, for instance, 3D identity boxes (2018 Frimberg et. al, as cited in Pitkänen-Huhta & Rothoni, 2018), electronic comic stories (Danzak, 2011), and silhouette language portrait (Dressler, 2014). Identity narratives, especially those produced by minor groups, tend to include more elements (e.g. visual) than just linguistic elements. By introducing the term visual narratives, Pitkänen-Huhta and Rothoni (2018) develop an idea that individuals' self stories and experiences can be visualized (e.g. in drawings or photos) and that written/oral narratives compensate for the construction of individuals' identity. Following these ideas, this study intends to elicit such visual representation of heritage learners' stories/experiences related to Chinese language and Finnish language. It is this aspect of their Chinese identity and Finnish identity that the current study is examining.

Inspired by Pietikäinen's (2012) research methodology with Sami children, this study examines heritage learners' bilingual identity from a photograph documenting perspective. As part of the regular classroom practices, I invited students to take photos based on two given questions: where is my Chinese language and where is my Finnish language? This photography project served two aims. One was to scaffold students' Chinese learning and the other was to capture heritage learners' meaningful engagement with the Chinese language and Finnish language. When the project is employed as both a research tool as well as a pedagogical tool, multiliteracies are crucial in guiding the design of this pedagogy-oriented research.

A pedagogy of multiliteracies rethinks classroom learning as a Design process, whereby learners are seen as agentic Designers who have the power to make use of available resources

(Design elements) for constructing meanings (The New London Group, 2000). Those resources, including linguistic, visual, audio, gestural, spatial resources and a multimodal combination of any of them, are recognized as legitimated meaning-making resources. The process of meanings-designing suggests employing a participatory framework in the classroom, so as to guide learners through looking for resources or utilizing those that are made available for constructing both personally and socially relevant knowledge. A participatory framework is pedagogically significant in that it engages learners in literacy practices and scaffold their learning. It is also reforming in research methodology insomuch as it empowers the learners (the researched) to raise their voice, thus shifting the traditional roles of the researchers and the researched, prompting the researchers to see things from the perspectives of the researched. The concept of multiliteracies sheds light on the design of this study, resulting in a participatory framework starting with a photography project.

To sum up, this study aims to elicit visual identity narratives from Chinese heritage language learners through a multiliteracies project featuring a photography activity. Through an analysis of the photos' contents as well as the alongside written\oral narratives, this study is interested in finding out what resources Chinese heritage learners employ to construct their Chinese identity and Finnish identity, what meanings they give to the two languages and how Chinese as a heritage language is identified differently (if any), compared to Finnish as a mainstream language. Although all the students from the heritage language program have taken part in the multiliteracies project, only those whose parents\guardians have given their consent would be considered as the participants of this study. Besides that, this study has gained research permission from the research sector of the municipality.

This thesis paper will start with a literature review on defining heritage language and its learners, as well as on what are the main concerns in this field and how is bilingual identity addressed. In section 3, the theoretical framework narrative approach to identity will be articulated. Section 4 and section 5 will present the three research questions and the context of heritage language programs in Central Finland. In section 6, the methodological framework multiliteracies, particularly the concept of Design and the pedagogical framework will be discussed. Section 7 will present the photography project as well as the participation framework of this study. Section 8 is concerned about the visual methods used for the analysis of participants' identity narratives. At last, section 9 and section 10 will cover the discussion and the conclusion of this study.

SECTION 2: HERITAGE LANGUAGE

This section will review research on heritage language in the context of education. Firstly, the heritage language (HL) and heritage language learner (HLL) will be defined. Then identity as one of the main concerns in HL will be singled out. The last part will review how bilingual identity is addressed in educational HL research.

2.1 Defining heritage language

Heritage language (HL) has started to gain its currency in research during the past three decades, particularly in the field of language education (Kagan & Dillon, 2018; Wiley, 2001). The term "heritage" has incurred criticism because the label "heritage" seems to deprive a language of modern values in the technology-mediated society (1998 Baker & Jones, as cited in Wiley, 2001). Yet, the term heritage language is still widely used in research (see Kondo-Brown, 2005; Kono, 2001; Lee & Lee, 2010; Zhang & Slaughter-Defoe, 2009). Dressler (2010) finds out that the younger generation, who have not experienced the heritage discussion period in the 1980s, do not associate the heritage language with old-fashioned. Nor would the term affect their identification with the language. Such comfort validates the use of heritage in this study.

Many equivalent names such as home language, mother tongue, community language, minority language are used as alternatives for heritage language (Kagan & Dillon, 2018; Lee & Lee, 2010; Shin, 2010; Valdes, 1995). In the US context, immigrant language, indigenous language, colonial language (Joy Kreeft Peyton, Ranard, & McGinnis, 2001) or even native language (Ssorace, 2004) are used. According to Kagan and Dillon (2018), HL and native language are both of family backgrounds, but HL is more closely linked to family's immigration history and minority community culture. This study regards heritage language as different from

the native language in that the ways that learners are living and learning the heritage language is different from what is generally defined as native languages.

2.2 Heritage language learner

A commonly accepted definition for heritage language learner (HLL) is that the learner has a family member who speaks or spoke the language, and he\she is to some degree bilingual in both HL and the mainstream language (Bateman, 2016; Valdés, 2001). They are both learners and speakers of the heritage language. According to Dressler (2010), criteria for defining who is a legitimated heritage learner should be rethought of. A student who has spent a significant amount of childhood time in a country where the heritage language is spoken can be recognized as a heritage language learner to some degree. He\she might have studied the language officially or might have received extensive exposure to the language. Taking such a broader definition ensures inclusive education for those who relate to the heritage language in ways different from most of the others. Participants of this study are accepted as Chinese heritage learners for two reasons. One is that one of their family languages is Chinese (or a Chinese dialect) and the other is that he\she has lived in China during childhood time. Therefore, they are legitimate heritage learners of the Chinese language.

2.3 Identity as one of the main concerns in HL research

In Kagan and Dillon (2018), the authors analyze themes of 163 HL research articles that are published between 1966 and 2016. They discover ten thematic focuses, which are Assessment, Language Attrition, Code-Switching, Competence Divergence, Demographics, Identity, Incomplete Acquisition, Motivation, Policy, and Teaching. Among those topics, Identity (around 42%) and Teaching Practices (around 48%) are the two main research concerns (see table 1).

Table 1: a quantitative sum-up of 163 HL research articles collected in Kagan and Dillon (2018)

	Before 2000	2000 – 2005	2006 – 2010	2010 - 2016
Numbers of articles selected	24	57	40	42
Identity	3	10	12	5
Percentage	12.5%	17.5%	30%	12.0%
Teaching (practices)	5	16	9	11
Percentage	20.8%	28.1%	22.5%	26.2%

Seen from this statistic, identity is one of the main concerns in HL research. However, this issue cannot be discussed individually, and empirical research shows that HL research focusing on identity is often situated in educational contexts, intertwining the discussion of identity with other aspects like teaching and learning practices, assessment, emotions, agency and so on. For example, Carreira and Kagan (2011) examine the HL teaching practice, curriculum, and HL teachers' professional development through the lens of HLL's learning motives. This article takes motivation as part of HLL's identity. Kondo-Brown (2005) investigates and compares identity issues between Japanese HL learners and Japanese language learners. Participants take part in language proficiency tests and self-evaluated their learning process. Self-assessment is a tool used for understanding learners' identity. Learners' identity is widely investigated in pedagogy-contextualized HL research. In fact, Kagan and Dillon (2018) suggest that HL education programs should exploit HLLs' personal connection to the heritage language so as to develop individualized instruction plans for HLLs and support their language growth. Agreeing to this, this study is taking heritage learners' Chinese identity as one of the main concerns.

2.4 Bilingual identity of heritage language learners

Identity of a heritage language learner is a dual issue, which concerns at least two aspects of individuals' identity, including that of the heritage language\culture and any other languages\cultures that heritage identity is made related to (Val & Vinogradova, 2006). It is recognized that bilinguals are cultural and linguistic hybridity, whose language selves are inconsonant (Pavlenko, 2018; Pitkänen-Huhta & Rothoni, 2018). When a different language is concerned, a different story usually surfaces. The different language selves can be linked with different linguistic or emotional memories, resulting in linguistically imbalanced selves in individuals. While some might be enjoying the diversity in their selves, others could be confused by the disparities involved (Pavlenko, 2018).

In some research, bilingual identity is closely discussed with language proficiency and code-switching. It is thought that the linguistic backgrounds of bilinguals are messy and the development of the different selves is imbalanced (Bateman, 2016). Particularly for the bilingual identity of heritage learners, heritage identity is usually investigated by referring to a context with linguistic hierarchy (see for example He, 2004; Lee & Lee, 2010; Shin, 2010; You, 2007). Minority languages are usually thought to gain lower social status compared to the mainstream language (i.e. English in the U.S.). Learning mainstream language is valued more, especially by the youth. Although the term "bilingual identity" is claimed to be the research topic, the critical points are usually about how HLLs' minority identity is perceived and how it is stigmatized, seeming to assume that development of HLLs' main-language identity is comparably ideal (Tse, 2000). Different from the English-dominant context, issues of maintaining heritage language culture and speakers' identity seem to be less tense in the Finnish context. The conclusion of such discussion can be less crisis-oriented. For example, Iskanius (2006) finds that Russian HL

speakers see the importance of maintaining HL culture identity as well as integrating into Finnish mainstream society. HL speakers' stronger relationship with HL does not exclude the forming of bilingual and bi-cultural identity in them. With acute observation with young individuals' everyday experience, researchers like Pietikäinen et al. (2008), and Pitkänen-Huhta & Rothoni (2018) have sought to view bilingualism and multilingualism as lived experiences by individuals, rethinking that bilingual identity is firmly rooted in people's lifeworld. Reminded by Gérin-lajoie (2005), social context (community, family, and school) plays a significant role in shaping the construction of individuals' bilingual identity. It is the different social factors that have led to the specificity as well as the diversity of one's sense of relation to a language and a culture. As stated,

"I conclude that this rapport (*italics originally*) to identity and language cannot be examined outside of the social context in which it evolves, due to the fact that it is this same social context that gives it its meaning (Gérin-lajoie, 2012, p.903)."

The idea of specificity and diversity suggests that individuals' bilingual identity bears different meanings for different people. From her comparative study of two French heritage students in Ontario (Gérin-lajoie, 2005), she found out that although both students claim to be bilingual, their associations with the two languages are distinctive. One regards French as a school language and a means for communication while the other expresses her sense of belonging to the French culture and traditions. One takes English as his dominant language whereas the other asserts French as her first language. This shows that bilingual identity is a bilingual phenomenon and that individuals' representation of their own bilingual identity should be understood case by case.

Addressing the dynamics of individuals' bilingual identity is educationally meaningful. Cummins (2006) thinks that dual attention to minority language and mainstream language serves to normalize linguistic diversity in the educational settings, therefore "affirming students linguistic and cultural identities (p.65)". While it is not healthy to leave out heritage language education from the mainstream education system, nor it would be when heritage language is emphasized individually. The label heritage minority appears to stigmatize the status of language learners, sticking out the specialness from them. Wiley (2001) suggests that instead of labeling HLLs as minority students, thinking HLLs as linguistically diverse students is more appreciated. Either in the mainstream classroom or in a heritage language program, different linguistic aspects of the students should get a stand. HLLs' bilingual identity or even multilingual identity should be celebrated in the HL classroom. The question now has turned to how to address the identity issues of HLLs more properly in research, which is the main discussion in the next chapter.

SECTION 3: IDENTITY

Drawing on post-structural perspectives, I intend to view identity as social and construable in and through individuals' narratives. To underpin the relationship between identity construction and narratives, the concept *self* is critical. The relationality of identity, narratives, and self will be articulated. Since a significant part of bilingual identity is about language identity, the three components of language identity found in previous research will be also presented as a pre-assumed guideline for this study.

3.1 Identity as a social construction

The complex nature of Identity has made it impossible for any attempt to define the term in any simple and radical way. Seen from different perspectives, identity appears to be a different construct, the examination of which is based on distinctive theoretical approaches. Pre-modernists favor a psychological approach to identity, viewing it as a *cognitive property* owned by individuals. Whereas, post-structuralists have recognized the societal feature of identity, regarding it as a *social construct*, to which the sensing agents, contexts, meaning-making resources and construction process are significantly relevant. The basic assumptions underlining such re-conceptualization of identity are contrasting to those former developed psychological suppositions, as De Fina and Georgakopoulou (2012) have explicitly articulated,

“Identity can be seen and defined as a property of the individual or as something that emerges through social interaction; it can be regarded as residing in the mind or in concrete social behavior; or it can be anchored to the individual or to the group. Furthermore, identity can be conceived of as existing independently of and above the concrete contexts in which it is manifested or as totally determined by

them. Finally, it can be regarded as substantially personal or as relational (De Fina & Georgakopoulou, 2012, p.154)”

In the post-structuralist domain, the ecological approach and narrative approach to identity are the two common methods for investigating issues of identity. Ecological approach to identity emphasizes the influence of layers of contexts on the construction process of identity, arguing that identity is a multi-sited phenomenon (in family, school, community or any other bigger contexts) and that identity is both fragmented and fluid across contexts (Ajrouch, Hakim-larson, & Fasih, 2016; Van Lier, 2006; Wardle, 1992). This approach recognizes the agentic roles of individuals and views the process of identity construction as partly semiotic (Skinnari, 2014; the Douglas Fir Group, 2016). On one hand, individuals are thought to be the able selves in navigating across live situations and making use of social semiosis (e.g. linguistic, nonverbal, graphic or pictorial) in order to live a consensus, relatively stable self. On the other, semiosis, though intangible, are socially conditioned resources that are made available/unavailable for individuals. The invisible power within contexts shapes the navigation trajectories of the selves.

Different from ecological approach, narrative approach to identity underscores the role of narrative as a mode for meaning-making, suggesting that meanings of identity emerge from social interactions and are embodied in narratives produced from those interactive situations (De Fina & Georgakopoulou, 2012; Sfarid & Prusak, 2005; Ruth Wodak & Hirsch, 2010). This approach, agreeing with the discursive methodology, acknowledges the constitutive role of language, re-conceptualizing language as a multimodal meaning-making system (De Fina, Schiffrin, & Bamberg, 2006; Halliday, 1975). According to De Fina et al. (2006), language use is both a tool for constructing identity as well as a tool for interpreting meanings of identity. For one thing, meanings of identity emerge from discursive interactions. Language is like the

materialized bricks for the construction project, whose shapes, colors, textures (and many other aspects) matter as the multimodal dimension of the language system would do (e.g. tone, pitch, choices of words). For another, an examination of language use makes interpretation of an individual's identity possible. Moreover, should identity construction be viewed as a social interactive process, as Block (2007) has tried to use identification instead of identity in order to capture the procedural features, a concern about contextual factors cannot be left out. Inequitable power relations within contexts, or the specific environments of language use (De Fina & Georgakopoulou, 2012), can result in different venues for meaning-making.

Both ecological approach and narrative approach to identity recognize that identity is not a stable sense of inner self merely belonging to individuals as a cognitive property, but a social construct which invites pondering on the following three aspects: construction resources, construction process, and context. Yet, it can be noticed that these two approaches are made different in terms of what is considered as resources (language\narratives or semiosis), how is identity constructed (through language\narratives or social semiosis like social performances), and what are reckoned with contexts (specific\nimmediate environments of language use or community-based contexts like family and schools). This study employs narrative points of view to approach heritage language learner's identity, the reasons for which will be discussed below.

3.2 Narrative approach to identity

Proponents of the narrative approach to identity consider narratives as a site where individuals as narrators construct their identity (Benson, 2014; Benwell & Stokoe, 2011; De Fina, 2006; Norton & De Costa, 2018; Sfard & Prusak, 2005). They are interested in stories and experience produced in various situations (e.g. in natural conversations or in structured

interviews). They ponder how meanings of identity are revealed in the told stories or through the storytelling process. According to De Fina and Georgakopoulou (2012), narratives place orders on people's chaotic life experiences, thus a practice of producing narratives offers opportunities for individuals to make sense of themselves as well as others, a process of *constructing identity meanings*. Defining identity as narratives is creditable for it allows an exploration of personal identity to depart right from participants' grounded experiences, *their narratives*, which makes research more participants-driven.

According to Benwell and Stokoe (2011), both social identity and personal identity owe their construction to socially produced narratives. While social identity is more related to social categories like nation, race, genders and is mostly an imagined construct (see the discussion of Austrian identity in Ruth Wodak & Hirsch, 2010), personal identity concerns more about how senses of self in relation to others are negotiated, presented and represented in narratives or through the practice of narrating. In order to review the relationship between personal identity and narratives, the concept of self is crucial and will be introduced next.

3.2.1 Identity, self, and narratives

Self is a key concept in contributing to the understandings of identity construction, negotiation, and representation (De Fina, 2006; R. Wodak, De Cillia, Reisigl, & Liebhart, 1999). Meanings of personal identity are produced through the person's display of self in the story-worlds. Agreeing to Van Lier's ideas of self and identity, Val & Vinogradova (2006) differentiate self from identity, rethinking that self refers to a reference point in the process of identity making. Identity is an under-construction project in which many possible selves can be rendered through narrating. In fact, the display of self is inherently multimodal (De Fina, 2006). Not only can the person present himself/herself through oral or written narratives, but their social behaviors are in

itself resources for constructing identity meanings (e.g. telling stories through plays). Yet, this study employs a discursive-oriented narrative approach to identity and considers that language plays a constitutive role in identity. Within this domain, what matters is not the prior identity roles individuals have, but “what or who [*self*] they do being in specific environments of language use for specific purposes (De Fina & Georgakopoulou, 2012, p.167, italic word added)”. Considering this mission, three aspects of self would be reviewed below for a contribution to the greater picture of an identity-narratives relationship.

3.2.2 The relational self – a recognition of others

According to De Fina and Georgakopoulou (2012), narratives as a particular mode of language use possess great potentials for individuals to create and negotiate their sense of selves. To start with, narratives have made a clear boundary in between the “I” and the “me”, the real world and the storied world. It is a site where storied selves and other characters are created by “I”, the narrator(s). Individuals cannot make sense of themselves without the presence of others, which include both live and lifeless beings (Sfard & Prusak, 2005), not in the real social world nor in the narrative world. In this sense, identity in narratives indicates a relational practice between the sensing self and others. Taking this perspective, heritage learners’ language identity involves relational practice between the learners’ self and a language, a process termed as *identifying* by Sfard and Prusak (2005). It is predictable that the storied learners also rely on others to understand why they are related to the languages.

3.2.3 Self-positioning – accepting or denying

Positioning refers to the discursive process whereby the selves are located and re-located in relation to some given social status quo in interactions (Block, 2007). Norton (2014) defines identity as “sites of struggle (p.60)”, where claims or denials of certain social positions are

negotiated. In his example of an immigrant woman in Canada, such positioning practice is seen. The woman tells a story where she is marginalized by the children of the restaurant where she works. She is positioned as a broom-er who cleans everything. However, she defends herself by saying “NO” and telling the children to do the cleaning, thus denying the broom-er identity imposed on her. Judging from this example, positioning appears to involve dual processes, which are a process of gaining a social status (through positioning or being positioned) and a process of positioning the self to statuses - affiliated to or distant from. Block (2007) employs the concept of cultural market from Mathews, comparing the social positions to the choices of what can be bought in supermarkets. Similar to the fact that options in different local supermarkets can vary, the availability of certain social positions in social interactions is socially conditioned. Using the same example, the working context provides the woman with the position of “cleaner”, which is dehumanized by the children as “broom-er”. She is also positioned as an immigrant to Canada who does not speak as fluent English. Despite that, there are the subject positions that individuals can take or reach out to when the agency is brought to notice (De Fina & Georgakopoulou, 2012). People’s taking their subject position indicates their tendency to associate with a certain status or departing away from it. Participants of this study are heritage language learners institutionalized by the Finnish educational system. In addition, due to the interests of this study, they are also positioned as native speakers of Chinese and Finnish. The concept of positioning has reminded that participants have their own rights to articulate what are the imposed identity roles mean to them and to justify their positioning in relation to those identities.

3.2.4 Self-representation – resources for identity-construction

Although *positioning* is a powerful tool for revealing some relational meanings between selves and positions in narratives, it is still left unclear how specific positions or identity roles are

constructed and made available for the selves to relate to. The ideas that identities are co-created by selves and others and that they are representable by resources selected by individuals are promising to fill in the gap here. These have prompted the focus of seeing identity-construction in narratives from a resource-oriented perspective (De Fina & Georgakopoulou, 2012). The issue in question is then what resources there are for individuals to establish selves in narratives.

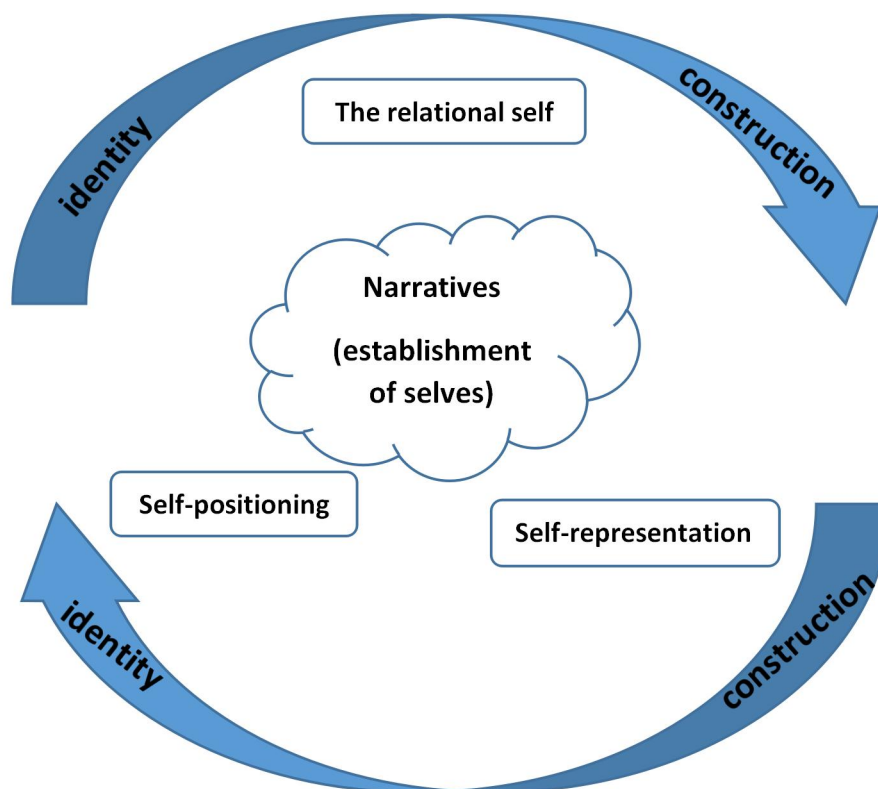
In reviewing Bourdieu's metaphorical term *capital*, Block (2007) points out that capital is concerned with a corpus of resources (economic, cultural, social and symbolic capitals) that individuals can select for constructing identity. Among them, cultural capital is about having cultural resources and assets, which can exist as behavioral patterns like tone or accents; or as persons' association with particular artifacts like a book or a flag. Social capital refers to the interpersonal kinds of resources, for example, a connection or a relationship with the social others (e.g. a family member). Cultural capital, social capital, selves and others are interrelated in a way that "the greater the cultural capital of these others, the greater the social capital [of selves] accrued by knowing them (p. 866)". This intertwined relationship reflects that resources are not equally accessible for people to build up their social selves. Accordingly, linguistic capital indicates that an individual is to some extent competent at using various linguistic resources, such as choices of words, expressing in different languages, for presenting selves.

Similarly, Bartlett (2007) locates the meanings of resources on cultural artifact, the term she defines as "objects or symbols inscribed by a collective attribution of meaning in relation to figured worlds (p.217)". Artifacts are the type of resources that have taken on sociocultural, historical and political meanings, which accordingly divides artifacts into different categories like national artifacts, historical artifacts, cultural artifacts and so on. Importantly, artifacts do not assume only the material aspect of objects or symbols but also the conceptual dimensions. For

example, a book is an object, but different practices involving reading the book – reading it for personal hobby or reading it for compulsory schoolwork – can trigger the construction of different selves – a willing\interested reader vs. a passive\made-to-do reader. The identified selves can be then turned into new resources based on which persons take positions (accept or deny). In this sense, artifacts are the meaningful resources for self-representation, thus contributing to the construction of identity.

The sum up, the relationship of identity, self, and narratives can be illustrated in graphic 1. Narrative is a construction site for identity, where selves are established. Self is a relational concept in that individuals cannot make sense of themselves without a reference to others, not in the real social world nor in the narrated world. To view identity as an identifying process, the central loci would be how the created storied-self is relating to or is made to relate to others. In this study's case, the others are the Chinese language and the Finnish language, and how do they identify themselves with the two languages are of interest. The construction of identity relies on the utilization of resources, which according to the review above includes social, cultural, historical, economic, symbolic or political resources. Construction of identity is partly a representational process wherein meaningful selves are created through those artifact resources. Regarding self-positioning, identity construction is also partly about taking subject positions (De Fina & Georgakopoulou, 2012), expressing one's stands towards certain identity positions. However a position is formed (imposed on, self-represented or co-created), individuals are entitled to locate their selves in ways of attaching to it or rejecting it through their use of language in narratives. Relationship of identity, self, and narratives can be summarized in graphic 1.

Graphic 1: relationship of identity, self, and narratives (conclusion from literature review)



This framework has shed light on the theoretical assumptions of my research. My focus is on how Chinese heritage learners' construct their identity in relation to the Chinese language and the Finnish language in their biographical narratives. I should be reminded that identity as a social construction is integrated into the discursive process, whereby different storied selves would be enacted through the utilization of artifact resources (e.g. linguistic, social and cultural) and subject positions can be taken through language use. Narratives as such a vital site for identity-making deserves to be discussed more in terms of its forms, which will come in the next part.

3.3 From narratives to visual narratives

Narrative is a well-recognized tool for creating characters and making stories in the field of literature. It is in nature a mode for human communication and expression (De Fina & Georgakopoulou, 2012). Recognizing the powerful meaning-making potential of narratives, post-structural applied language studies have widely applied the tool in research on identity. In some empirical researches, oral narratives and written narratives are the common forms of narratives. For instance, in Ruohotie-Lyhty (2013), narratives come from the essays that participants wrote as well as from constructed interviews. Narratives episodes are extracted for the purpose of understanding the construction of teachers' professional identity. Narratives can be more loosely generated from ethnographic interviews (see Kiesling, 2006). The male participants constantly position and re-position themselves in the open interviews. Many research has taken narratives from actual conversations in natural social settings (see Holmes, 2006). Authentic dialogues between different workers in the working place are noted down for an analysis of the relational construction of professional identity. More and more research has also adapted a visual method in the collection of narratives data. Instead of having participants express their identity in written words or in constructed ask-answer speech, visual ways of expressing selves are encouraged (e.g. drawing), especially in research with minors like young learners whose literacy skills are limited. Such methods usually result in what Kalaja & Pitkänen-Huhta (2018) call as visual narratives, the "pools of visual data (p.165)".

In visual narratives, visual elements are usually used as stimulation for young children to produce identity narratives. For example, in order to explore linguistic identity in grade one and two pupils, Dressler (2014) asks the children to draw on the Language Portrait Silhouette the languages that they think they know, prompting the children to think of the places where they

locate the languages and of the symbols that they want to use to represent that part of linguistic identity in them. The portrait is used as a stimulation for follow-up interviews, where children are asked to explain their choices of representational symbols. In his research with German learners, Chik (2014) asks the participants to draw themselves as a German learner, after which participants articulate their self-portraits. In another research that investigates students' immigrant identity (Danzak, 2011), narratives are realized in the form of comic graphics, through which students tell their family immigration stories, thus scaffolding the construction of their immigrant identity.

Empirical researches have legitimated visual narratives' role for communicating identity meanings. Visual ways are alternative and proven effective ways for young learners to share their lived experiences. In view of this, my research with heritage learners should not rely only on written or oral identity narratives. Visual elements-stimulated ways of expressing selves should be introduced to learners. Since my research is concerned about the two language identities of heritage learners, it would be helpful to gain insights from established studies on language identity, especially in respect of components of language identity and meanings that are already identified but are yet open for further exploration.

3.4 Language identity

According to Block (2007), language identity is about an assumed or attributed relationship between the individual self and a means of communication. Language, as a means of communication, has undergone a decades-long journey from being regarded as a simplistic linguistic system to being re-conceptualized as a multimodal semiotic system, in which linguistic is enlisted as only one of the resources for meaning-making (Halliday, 1975; the Douglas Fir

Group, 2016). A language is imbued with cultural ways of meaning and representing. Therefore, it is predictable that identifying a self with a language is not just about identification with linguistic words but also with sets of social and cultural relations involving the use of the language (e.g. family relation). Language identity is a shared social phenomenon for language learners (Andrews, 2010; Cummins, 2006; McKay & Hornberger, 2008; Norton Peirce, 1995). Yet language identity (cf. linguistic identity in Dressler, 2014) of native speakers who are also learners of that language is somewhat different. One of the main reasons is that the language is bounded with family or a particular language community, a relation called *inheritance* by Leung, Harris and Rampton (1997).

According to Leung, Harris and Rampton, language identity comprises three components which are *expertise*, *affiliation* and *inheritance*. Expertise refers to individuals' proficiency in the language. Affiliation refers to personal attachment with a language, about whether they are feeling included in or excluded from the language. This composition co-relates with the idea of positioning, suggesting that individuals can be taking subject positions in relation to the language. Inheritance concerns about the personal connection with a family or a community that is associated with a particular language. Therefore, it involves the person's relational practices in particular language communities. These three compositions, however, are not equally relevant in the construction of learners' language identity (Dressler, 2010). In some research, it is found that language proficiency is positively related to individuals' cultural identification with a language community (see for example Lee & Lee, 2010). Whereas in others, language expertise is not considered as a main component of language identity, because there are cases where low proficiency in one language (e.g. knowing just a few words) does not affect persons', especially young children's affiliating to the language (see Dressler, 2014). Individuals do not necessarily

attach all three meanings to their relationships with the language. In fact, they could identify with the language in question for other reasons which are none of the three (Dressler, 2010). Therefore, the three components of language identity are used as a basic guideline for identifying meanings that are given to the languages by the heritage learners. The exploration is left open because other meanings than the three can also surface empirically.

In this section, I have centered my review on identity as well as on the theoretical assumptions that my study on heritage learners' identity is based on. Taking postmodern perspectives, I consider that identity is a social construction process that involves individuals' actions of identifying, relating, positioning, representing. It is in this sense that identity is a process of making and negotiating meanings. Moreover, narrative is the site for identity construction. There, individuals establish selves in the storied world, meanwhile relating them to others, positioning them around certain identity positions, and representing them with resources through the use of language. Regarding language identity, expertise, affiliation, and inheritance are the three meanings found to be salient in identity narratives of native speakers of the language. However, meaning-making is an individualized process and therefore should be treated case by case.

Heritage learners are individuals with their own rights to attribute meanings to their language identity in their own ways. Last but not least, empirical research on identity-as-narratives has legitimated visual narratives' role for identity-making. Visual narratives include visual elements like drawings and photos other than written or spoken narratives. Visual methods for producing visual narratives are proven to be effective in prompting young participants in telling their stories. This study will seek for a methodology that can assure young learners' expressing their identity to a great extent. In the following sections, I will first present my research questions and the contexts of my research before I turn to articulate the methodological framework.

SECTION 4: RESEARCH QUESTION

In view of the theoretical background discussed in section 3, I am interested in what resources heritage language learners would use to construct their Chinese identity and Finnish identity, and what meanings they would give to Chinese and Finnish languages respectively. Besides those, the third interest of this study is whether Chinese as a heritage language would be identified differently (if any) from the Finnish language as a mainstream language. To sum up, the following are the three research questions of this study,

1. What resources do heritage language learners use to construct their Chinese identity and Finnish identity?
2. What meanings are attributed by the participants to the Chinese language and the Finnish language respectively from a perspective of photographs documenting?
3. How is Chinese as a heritage language identified differently, if any, in comparison to Finnish as a mainstream language?

Before I turn to discuss multiliteracies, the methodology that I use to approach heritage learner's identity in classroom practices, I will present the context of the study in the next section.

SECTION 5: CONTEXT OF THE STUDY

In Finland, heritage language education is compulsory. In some municipalities, it is by policies that when four or more children are registered as heritage speakers of a specific language, the local education sector is obligatory to offer free language development support for speakers. In the city where this study is conducted, there are over twenty registered heritage language classes, including heritage languages such as German, Spanish, Polish, Persian, French, Thai and so on. The program is called the heritage language program. Two types of learners are considered legitimate for the program, those who use Chinese as one of their family languages and those who have stayed in the place where the heritage language is spoken for a significant length during youth time (three years or more). If meeting the requirements, parents can register their children who study in pre-schools or above to the program, whereby students come to a chosen school and study the language for one and a half hours per week. The teaching hours usually start in the late afternoon after public schools. Participants of this study are the registered Mandarin Chinese heritage learners whose families reside in central Finland. They are aged from 5 to 16 years old at the time study is carried out.

As the teacher of the Chinese class, I intend to conduct this study not only for a research purpose on exploring heritage learners' identity but also for a pedagogical purpose on developing learners' Chinese literacy skills (e.g. speaking and writing). Inspired by Pietikäinen's (2012) visual methods in her research with Sami Children, I have decided to introduce a photography project to the learners, in which they are asked to take photos to represent their Chinese language and Finnish language. Because I implement the project into everyday classroom practices of Chinese literacy, the pedagogy of multiliteracies is enlightening for the design of such classroom practices, which is the topic that I will turn to in the next section.

SECTION 6: MULTILITERACIES

The term multiliteracies is created by the New London Group in the 1990s to raise public awareness towards the multiplicity of language use in the social world. It is particularly informed by the development of digital media, which has become an inseparable part of people's everyday lives in the 21st century. The reading and writing literacy is no longer linked with that of printed materials that are organized in a fixed format and contain mono-modal resources. Instead, literacy practices increasingly involve practices of reading multimodal materials, for example images and 3D objects. Writing, such as creating a digital media page, can be meaning-making practices of combining visual and audio resources. Therefore, in the technology-mediated society, literacy competence refers to competence of using and reusing resources for meaning making.

Specifically in the context of teaching and learning, multiliteracies encourages a pedagogy that rethinks classroom practices as a *design* process involving the use of multimodal resources.

While learners' agency in achieving meaning-making is recognized, the pedagogy framework put forward by the New London Group is instructive for teaching design in the classroom. Therefore, in the next part, I will briefly review the two key concepts that guide the design of this study, which are *Design* and pedagogy framework for classroom multiliteracies.

6.1 Learning as Design

The New London Group (2000) compares learning to designing, rethinking that learners are the designers of their learning, who are creatively making use of design resources for designing texts and thus creating meanings, *designs of meanings*. *Design* is closely discussed with multimodality. While design is a how-aspect of multiliteracies, multimodality represents the "what" aspect. According to Kress (2000), all texts are multimodal. Other modalities than linguistic words can take part in revealing social meanings (Rowse & Walsh, 2011). The New

London Group (2000) have identified six types of resources for meaning-making. They are the linguistic, audio, visual, spatial, gestural and multimodal resources (any combination of the previous five modalities), which are called the six design elements for classroom design activities. The re-conceptualization of classroom practices recognizes learners' agency, regarding learners as the designers of their learning. learners are agentic is making use of the design elements for creating meanings. The texts that students create are the redesigned work which can be transferred to other meaning-making practices. However, the designing process is not without power constraints (Fairclough, 2000). This has prompted the employment of a pedagogy framework for instructing this study's classroom designing practice.

6.2 Producing identity narratives through classroom multiliteracies

The goal of multiliteracies pedagogy is to develop learners' critical thinking of the environments around them through literacy practices (Cummins, 2006; Danzak, 2011). Fairclough (2000) argues that resources for meaning-making are intertextual in nature. They have developed in cultural and historical contexts and therefore have been inscribed with particular social, cultural and historical meanings. This has informed that in educational settings learners should be guided to reflect on resources chosen for designing meanings. The New London Group propose a pedagogical framework that underscores the four component of literacy practices in the classroom, which are situated practice, overt instruction, critical framing and transformed practice. The meanings of the four components are enlisted below.

- Situated practice: engage students in meaningful learning experience where they utilize available design resources for meaning-creating, including those from students' life-worlds that can stimulate their discovery of relationships that they are involved in;

- Overt instruction: trigger a conscious understanding in students of the design of meanings and the designing process;
- Critical framing: elicit from students their articulation and interpretation of the resources they choose, a process of having students standing back from what they are studying and viewing it critically in relation to a context;
- Transformed practice: transfer in meaning-making practice, which puts the transformed meaning (the Redesigned) to work in other contexts or cultural sites.

The design of my research is greatly informed by this pedagogical framework. I overtly introduce the photography project to the heritage students, explaining the goals and the participatory procedure of the project explicitly. I design a participation framework featuring the photography activity so as to engage students in a process of designing their own identity narratives. The fourth component of the pedagogy framework has incurred a photography exhibition at the end of the project. This photography project and the participation framework will be present in detail in the next section.

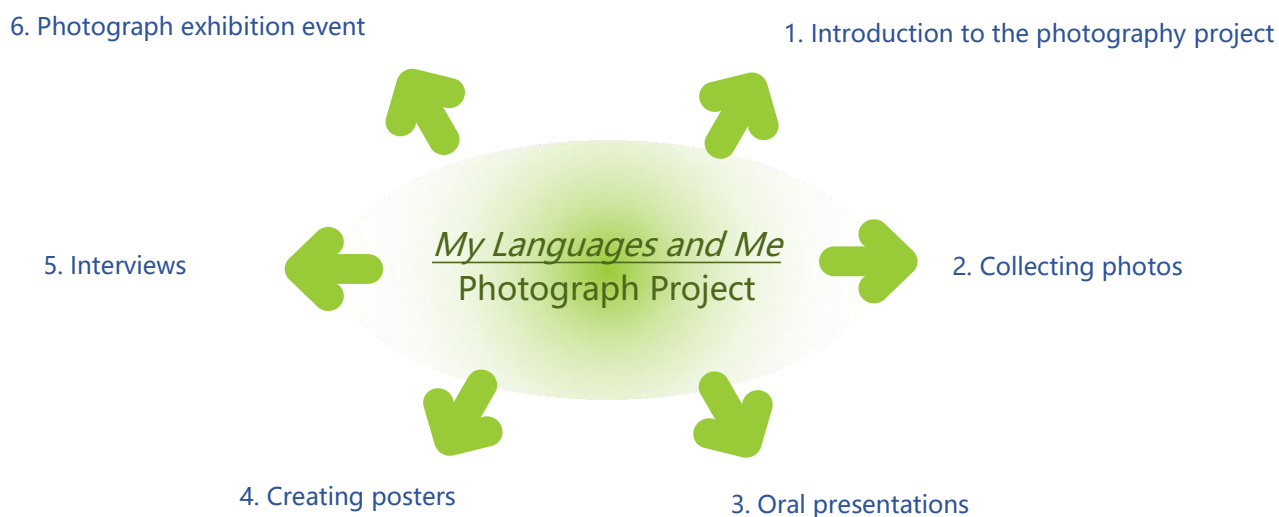
SECTION 7: DESIGN OF THE RESEARCH

7.1 The photography project

Photography captures instances of ways of life and documents episodes of people's life stories (Kalaja & Pitkänen-Huhta, 2018; Pietikäinen, 2012). Inspired by Pietikäinen's (2012) research methodology with Sami children, this study is interested in exploring HLLs' bilingual identity firstly from photography documenting perspective. After getting research consents from the city as well as the guardians of the participants, the photography project was officially introduced to the students. Students were asked to take photos based on two given questions: *where is my Chinese language* and *where is my Finnish language*. Alternatively, they could select from old photos. Students came back to the class and showed the photos, after which they were recommended to choose 1 to 2 photos for each question. These questions were intended to impel participants to look for a connection with the two languages. The selected photos were used as stimulation for participants to build up their identity stories. The designing activities, wherein visual narratives were produced, took around 2 months. It followed a participatory framework which is to be shown in the next part.

7.2 Participation framework

The participatory framework is shown in graphic 2. The multiliteracies informed framework comprises of six components, which are introduction, collecting photos, oral presentations, creating posters, interviews and photograph exhibition event, where guardians of the participants were invited. This project lasted for 3 months.



Graphic 2: the participatory framework

The whole project started on week 43 in the 2018 - 2019 academic year. Participants spent three weeks taking photos with their own camera devices (mostly with their mobile phone cameras) or selecting old photos. Then they brought all the photos they collected to the class on week 46. During the class, the photos were circulated around, and students talked about their photos in pairs. Afterward, students selected 1 to 2 pictures for each language and were asked to name their photos.

From week 47 to 50, students gave oral presentations to their photos and create posters displaying their photos, on which they wrote about the photos and articulated the reasons for their choices in Chinese. Nearly all students added some other drawings on the posters. For the youngest group, they glued the photos on the poster paper and drew on it freely. On week 51, a photograph exhibition event was held, and parents of the students were invited.

The production of identity narratives had been a process involved in regular Chinese classroom practice. Every week, students spent 20 to 30 minutes working on the photos and designing their posters. Such practice was also aimed to develop learners' Chinese literacy skills. Although all the students have participated in the multiliteracies project, only those whose parents have given consents will be considered as participants of this study, and data were selected among their work. In the oral presentation, most of the participants have expressed their ideas and justified their choices clearly. Those who did not articulate clear enough were invited for a twenty-minute interview so that more meanings surrounding their photos could be elicited.

In section 8, I will discuss the methodology that I employ to analyze heritage learners' visual narratives of their Chinese identity and Finnish identity.

SECTION 8: METHODOLOGY FOR DATA ANALYSIS

Before the study was carried out, 17 informed consents were sent out to parents\guardians of the heritage language learners. The consent letters are in Chinese and Finnish. My supervisor translated the letter in Finnish. Permissions for using students' photography work for research purposes, for interviewing students as well as for recording students' presentations were asked in the informed letters. By the end of data collection, 15 informed letters were received, of which 13 had given their full consents to all the requests while 1 had clearly stated that student's face should not be made public. All in all, this study had collected 14 posters. Students' presentation was voice-recorded, thus having yielded recordings of around 3 hours. In addition, three students were invited for semi-structured interviews. Each interview lasted for about 20 minutes. The demographics of the participants are shown below in Table 2.

Table 2: Demographics of the participants (S is short for a student, F stands for female, M for male)

	S1	S2	S3	S4	S5	S6	S7	S8	S9	S10	S11	S12	S13	S14
Gender	F	F	M	M	M	M	F	F	M	M	M	M	M	M
Age	16	16	9	6	10	12	11	9	5	10	7	13	7	8

Kalaja and Pitkänen-Huhta (2018) suggest using visual methods in analyzing visual narratives. Since the photos, written\oral narratives and drawings from participants' visual narratives are central elements for exploring the construction of participants' language identity, this study will employ two visual analysis tools, content analysis for the photographs and narrative analysis for texts. Before I talk about these two analysis tools, I will first describe a poster sample.

8.1 Description of a poster sample

Picture 1 is a sample of students' visual narratives of her Chinese identity and Finnish identity.

Picture 1: identity poster of S2



There are 1 to 2 photos for each language. In this sample, the student chose one photo for each question. Students gave a presentation (about 5 minutes), presenting their photos and justifying their choices. After that, they designed a poster displaying the photos and were asked to write about the photos. They were also asked to come up with names for each of the photos they choose. Besides those, they were encouraged to draw what they think is relevant on the posters. Therefore, there are three types of elements in students' visual narratives, namely the photos, their articulation (written or oral), and some drawings. In this study, the contents of the photos and the linguistic narratives (written or oral) are the main data for analysis. Analysis of these elements relies on content analysis and narrative analysis methods, which are to be talked about in the next part.

8.2 Content analysis of the photographs

According to Kalaja and Pitkänen-Huhta (2018), content analysis of visual data refers to analyzing images for their contents, making sense of what those images portray or how they connect to the discourses in contexts. According to this instruction, this study will first identify the contents of the photos, with an aim to summarize common thematic resources that heritage learners use to represent their Chinese identity and Finnish identity. Their identification with the two languages is firstly examined from this photography documenting perspective. The material aspects of those resources (or artifacts) are the summary focus. Later on, the content of the photos will be re-visited whenever necessary in the analysis of other elements in the narratives.

8.3 Narrative analysis

De Fina and Georgakopoulou (2012) have summed up many meaning-making devices in written and oral narratives. Those devices include, but not restricted to, the narrator's choices of words (e.g. pronouns) and descriptions in telling their stories, the verbs selected to present the instances, quoted speech, evaluative indexical suggesting narrators' self-positioning, and so on. Relevant devices will be picked out and analyzed for revealing the construction process of heritage learners' language identity.

First of all, I look for what other resources can be found in participants' written or oral narratives. Secondly, I identify what meanings they attribute to the Chinese language and the Finnish language respectively, expertise, family or others. Thirdly, I discuss what identities heritage learners take on or are positioned as and how (e.g. through what resources or what narrative devices). In addition, what positions they take in relation to the two languages (the affiliation meanings) is concerned.

Other visual elements like faces emojis are also regarded as meaning-making devices (Kalaja & Pitkänen-Huhta, 2018; Pitkänen-Huhta & Rothoni, 2018). Not only the content of the photographs and the articulated words will be employed for understanding the construction of heritage learners' language identity, but also their drawings on the posters which might be referential to their identity meanings.

Although content analysis of the photographs and narrative analysis of the textual elements seem to be two distinctive procedures, narrative analysis is based on content analysis of participants' photos. It is for supporting the deeper exploration of what identity meanings participants intend to convey through their photos. Therefore, the second procedure which features narrative analysis of the linguistic narratives is organized in ways of grouping photos with common themes followed by participants' articulation. Regarding textual narratives, they were elicited from what participants wrote/drew on the posters and/or from oral presentation\interviews. The oral narratives were not fully transcribed. Only those episodes which revealed a construction process of participants' Chinese and/or Finnish identity were noted down for further analysis. Those narratives include for example "This is my mother's restaurant" which reveals the resource that is employed for identity construction, or "In Finnish I know how to read and write, but in Chinese, I do not know how to read or write" which shows participant's self-positioning in relation to the two languages.

To conclude, the analysis of the visual identity-narratives will follow two main steps: summarize the contents of the photos and identify narrative devices which show path of how heritage learners construct their identity with Chinese and Finnish. In the next section, I will present the findings of my research.

SECTION 9: FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION

9.1 Contents of the photographs

Of fourteen participants, four of them have decided to use two photos to express their Chineseness while none of them have done so to present their Finnishness. The contents of the photographs are summarized in table 3.

Table 3: Contents of the photographs (S is short for a student, the numbering of students' work is random)

	Where is my Chinese?		Where is my Finnish?
S1	Home	Food	School
S2	Library books		Forests
S3	Family member	Chinese Addresses	Comic book
S4	Chicken doll		Sanat book
S5	Classroom		School
S6	Hometown	Restaurant	Self
S7	Entertaining park		Entertaining park
S8	Flag		Flag
S9	Hometown		Home
S10	Texts		Texts
S11	Self		Friends
S12	Restaurant		coffee
S13	Panda	Great wall	Flags
S14	School		School

As far as the Chinese photos are concerned, five thematic artifacts are chosen by participants to visualize their Chinese identity, which are family, hometown, heritage language class, culture, and nationality. Regarding the Finnish photos, the artifacts are associated with family, school, culture, personal interest, immediate friends and nationality. It appears that family\home, education, nationality, and culture are the common resources that participants employ to represent their Chinese identity and Finnish identity. The difference that can be discovered here is the resource *hometown* is specially employed by heritage learners to further

articulate their Chinese stories whereas personal interest is salient in representing heritage learners' Finnish identity.

9.2 Resources for the construction of Chinese and Finnish identity

In this section, I will first present the four common resources heritage language learners use to construct their Chinese identity and Finnish identity, which are familial, educational, national and cultural resources. The common resources are categorized according to the content analysis of the photos. Familial resources include elements such as family members or artifacts that are associated with participants' family (see picture group 1-1 and 1-2). Educational resources include artifacts such as school buildings and school work (see picture group 2-1). Flags or geographical areas are national resources (see picture group 3) and cultural elements such as books, decorative objects, and food (see picture group 4-1 and 4-2). After that, I will present the different resources that learners employ to construct their Chinese and Finnish identity respectively, which are personal interest and immediate friends for Finnish identity, and hometown resources for Chinese identity. Under each common resource, narrative analysis is employed for revealing the construction process of heritage learners' Chinese and Finnish identity.

9.2.1 Common resource 1: Familial resources

Picture group 1-1: familial resources for Chinese identity



Familial resources appear to be salient in heritage learners' Chinese photos (see picture group 1-1). S1's photo shows the front door of her home environment. She sourced her Chinese identity to her family, saying that she learned Chinese from her parents and she spoke Chinese at home, as articulated in her written narratives, “我经常在家里说中文, 我的中文也是从父母那儿学到的 (*I often speak Chinese at home, and my Chinese is learned from my parents*)”. S12 took a picture of his mother's Chinese restaurant and credited his mother for the happening of his Chinese identity, “这是我妈妈的餐馆 [...] 我的妈妈教我中文 (*This is my mother's restaurant [...] My mum teaches me Chinese*)”. S3 pieced two photos to express his Chineseness, one is his mother and the other displays some stickers on the wall of his bedroom. He referred his Chinese identity to speaking Chinese with mother and addressing the family members in Chinese, as made explicit in his words, “这是我的妈妈, 我跟妈妈在家里说的中文, 我就选了。这些是我在家里老是说的话, 这是姥姥, 姥爷, 豆包, 豆沙, 妈妈的 *siskko*, 她叫的是小妈咪, 包包和沙沙是她的猫, 这是毛毛哥哥, 奶, 妈, 爸和爷 (*This is my mother. I speak Chinese with my mum at home, so I chose [it]. Those [referring to the stickers] are the words that I often say at home. They are grandma (mother's side), grandpa (mother's side), Dousha, Doubao, my mum's sister, I call her little mum, Dousha and Doubao are her cats. This is brother Maomao, grandmother (father's side), grandfather (father's side), father and mother*)”.

These three cases show that close family members and home practices are important resources for heritage learners to define their Chinese identity. It can be noticed that mother is the family member that is most mentioned. In home environments, they identify themselves as *a learner* (“my mum teaches me” or “my Chinese is learned from”) as well as *a speaker* (“I speak” or “I say”) of *Chinese*. In addition, the oral competence of the heritage learners is revealed from the fact that they interact with other family members at home in Chinese.

Interestingly, only one student (S9) used familial resources to construct his Finnish identity (See picture group 1-2).

Picture group 1-2: familial resources for Finnish identity



S9 recalls, “我们去奶奶家，我和奶奶在花园，我在做[在做浇花的动作] (*We visited grandma. I was with grandma in the garden and I was doing that [gesturing that he was watering the flowers]*).” S9 described the watering car in the photo and said that he really liked the car. For S9, his Finnishness lies in some specific fun experience with Finnish grandma without being any aware of mentioning that they speak Finnish with each other. It appears that even though he identifies with his Finnish family, the practice of speaking the Finnish language is not made as explicit as Chinese spoken as a home language by some other heritage learners.

9.2.2 Common resource 2: Educational resources

Education is another common resource that heritage language learners’ employ to represent their Chinese identity and Finnish identity. However, the conceptual aspects of those resources are different, particularly in terms of their learning experience. With respect to Chinese education, picture group 2-1 shows participants’ selection of photos.

Picture group 2-1: educational resources



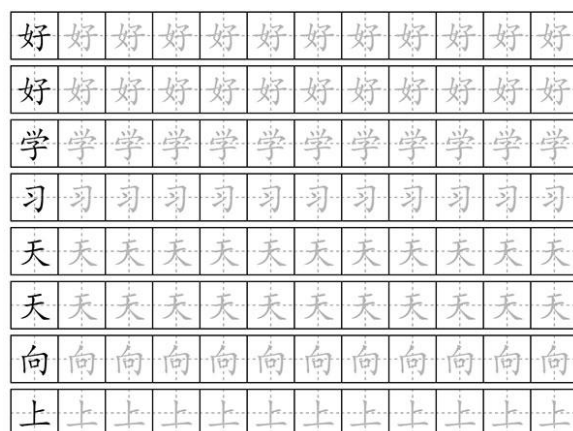
S5: 这是我的中文学校，我在这里学中文 [...] 我妈妈开车送我[上中文课] (This is my Chinese school. I learn Chinese here [...] my mum sends me [to Chinese class] in her car).”

S14: 这是上中文的课室，我们当时在玩 Kahoot [...] 我喜欢玩 Kahoot 和吃东西 (This is the classroom where the Chinese lesson is. We were playing Kahoot [...] I like playing Kahoot and eating [snacks] in Chinese class).”

Going to Chinese lessons is a regular practice, sometimes with parents involved as in S5’s case. Mother is again a member mentioned here. Some learners (S14) enjoy the quiz part of the Chinese lesson – Kahoot and the snacks-taking part, during which students usually are having a break from formal teaching hours.

It seems that writing Chinese characters on the Tianzige (田字格) exercise book is a memorable part for some learners (Tianzige exercise book is specifically for practicing writing Chinese characters, see picture 2-2).

Picture 2-2: Tianzige exercise book for Chinese writing



Writing Chinese characters is sometimes given as homework. S10 presented a Chinese text on the Tianzige exercise book, which he copied from elsewhere. S11 chose a photo in which he was writing Chinese characters on the homework book. The two participants presented themselves as *the type of learner learning to write Chinese characters*, at the same time displaying that they **were able to** write Chinese characters. Although students can write and read Chinese, they think that they are illiterate at Chinese, or are less literate at Chinese than in Finnish, as shown in the following two narratives.

S5: “[我觉得] 说芬兰语更舒服，芬兰语没那么难。在芬兰语，我知道怎么读和怎么写，可是在中文，我不会读，也不会，只知道咋说 [...] [我的] 芬兰语好一点 [...] 在中文，我不喜欢写东西，不喜欢读东西 [...] 在中文课，我喜欢玩 Kahoot, 在[芬兰] 学校，我喜欢玩滑板 (I think] speaking Finnish is more comfortable because Finnish is not that difficult. In Finnish, I know how to read and write, but in Chinese, I don't know how to read, nor how to write. I only know how to speak [...] [My] Finnish is better [...] In Chinese, I don't like writing things, nor reading things [...] In Chinese class, I like playing Kahoot. In [Finnish] school I like playing sledging.”

S14: “我不喜欢上中文课，因为我不喜欢学中文，我更喜欢学芬兰语。中文的没有这样子的活动，我们学校有过六点还是八点开始的活动，像万圣节，在学校，我踢足球[...] 芬兰语的作业太简单了。中文的作业很难，有很多笔画，我的手写很累，芬兰语不会[有]笔画 (I don't like attending Chinese lessons, because I don't like learning Chinese. I prefer learning Finnish. Chinese do not have such activities. In our school, we have activities at 6 p.m. or 8 p.m., like Halloween. I play football in school [...] Finnish homework is so easy. Chinese homework is very difficult. There are many strokes [in Chinese characters]. My arms are tired of writing. The Finnish language doesn't have strokes).”

These two students identified themselves as **more advanced learners at Finnish than at Chinese**. Their narratives are similar because both of them used many “I don't like” when the practice of learning Chinese is concerned. They thought that difficulties or a bore of learning Chinese lied in the fact that Chinese is difficult to read and write. Learning Chinese requires physical effort, “*my arms are tired*”, as well as visual memorizing skills in reading. Through this, they presented themselves as **struggling learners of Chinese**, positioning themselves negatively with learning the language, particularly with reading and writing practice. Another reason why some learners don't like learning Chinese is that the language class does not have such “fun” activities like Halloween and playing football as in Finnish schools. Learning Chinese seems to be just a language course to attend while learning Finnish is associated with authentic school practice which involves a great variety of out-of-class activities like sledging, Halloween and football.

Interesting to note, S5 was very strong at stating that he did not know how to read and write in Chinese, but when asked why he put “Tis is it” and “I Love Dis”, he sounded confident enough to claim his knowing English, “*因为我也会英语，我会说很多 [...]* Because I also

know English. I can speak quite many.” “Quite many” showed that he was more confident about his English proficiency than his Chinese. About that learners evaluate their Chinese proficiency quite **negatively**, parents are found to play a role in constructing such identity, as S14 says, “*我爸会夸我芬兰语读得好 [...] 妈妈没有说 (My father would praise that I can read Finnish really well [...] My mother does not say so)*”. In comparison to the Finnish learning environments, it seems that there is a lack of praising culture in the Chinese learning context. There is a lack of recognition of Chinese heritage learners’ **“doing good” identity**.

Different from S5 and S14 who considered their Finnish school experience as fun and a special one in compared to that of learning Chinese, S1 regarded hers as a daily routine to run. She said, “*这是我们学校里的一个教室。我每天在学校里说芬兰语，所以我的芬兰语大部分都在学校里 [...] 平时在学校里，讲芬兰语讲得比较多，经常跟朋友们一起讲芬兰语，所以我给它取名叫‘日常’ (This [referring to the photos] is a classroom in our school. I speak Finnish every day at school, so my Finnish is mostly in school. [I] speak quite much Finnish, often speak Finnish with friends, so I name it [the photo] ‘Routine’)*”. For S1, school education was also a resource that she could pick up for presenting her Finnish identity. However, this identity was a usual part in her embedded in her everyday social practice at school and with school friends.

9.2.3 Common resource 3: National resources

National artifacts are important resources for heritage learners to construct their language identity. All S7, S8, and S13 used Finnish and Chinese flags to represent their Chinese identity and Finnish identity respectively (see pictures group 3).

Pictures group 3: national resources



Finnish and Chinese languages reminded those participants of some national symbols, the national Flag, Panda, the Great Wall, and Angry Bird, just to name a few. S5 associated with both nations **positively**, for she wrote “我爱芬兰 (*I love Finland*)” and “我爱中国 (*I love China*)” right beside the flags on the poster. S7 thought of the Chinese national animal – Panda and selected an old photo with her climbing on a panda statue to represent her Chinese identity, “我选了这张照片是因为熊猫是中国的国宝 [...] 我喜欢熊猫 (*I chose this photo because Panda is the national treasure of China [...] I like Panda*)”. Part of her Chinese identity was about her kindergarten experience in China, as she recalled, “上幼儿园的时候, 当时老师带我们去深圳海洋公园, 我们看到了很多动物, 有熊猫和长颈鹿 (*In kindergarten, the teacher took us to the Ocean Park in Shenzhen [a city in South China]. We saw many animals, like Panda and Giraffes*)”. S7’s Finnish photo showed the Angry Birds park located in Tampere. For her, what constituted of her Finnish identity were experiences that she and her family live in Finland and

that they spend time together as a family on visiting places in Finland. Part of her Finnish identity was not even linked with the practice of speaking the language, as seen in her narratives below,

S7: “我选了这张照片上是因为这个地方[愤怒的小鸟主题公园]在芬兰。我和爸爸妈妈一家人去的[...]我们就在玩啊，吃东西啊[...]没有说芬兰语，因为爸爸妈妈是中国人，我们在家说中文 (*I chose this photo because this place [referring to the Angry Birds Park] is in Finland. I went there with my whole family [...] we were playing and eating there [...] we did not speak Finnish because my parents are Chinese. We speak Chinese at home*)”.

Some learners like S7 associated their Chinese identity and Finnish identity closely with geographical area and the stories\experiences that had happened in those places. The national artifacts serve to trigger learners' memories of some experiences. For instance in S7's case, the panda reminded her childhood memories of studying in kindergarten in China, and the angry birds' park aroused her memory with her family living in Finland. Memories of childhood and family time were also resources for learners like S7 to construct the language identity. Those memories seem to result in heritage learners' **positive** affiliation to their Chinese part as well as Finnish part.

9.2.4 Common resource 4: Cultural resources

Cultural resources is the fourth kind of common resource that the learners employ to construct their Chinese and Finnish identity. Pictures group 4 shows some photos participants use to answer the question “where is my Chinese”.

Pictures group 4-1: cultural resources for Chinese identity



In S4's photo, a hanging chicken toy is Chinese characterized in that its colors are the traditional Chinese red and yellow. On its belly is written “吉祥平安 (*Wish you auspicious peace*)”, which is a Chinese way of conveying good wishes. There is also a traditional decoration knot that comes along. For S4, this chicken represented his Chinese identity because “小鸡是从中国来的 (*the chicken comes from China*)”. His Chinese identity, however, was located in the Finnish home context, as he said that the chicken is hung on the home's wardrobe.

Besides presenting her Chinese identity as a home-inherited identity, S1 selected another photo with a hot pot to signify part of her Chineseness,

S1: “我的老家在四川，我也非常喜欢吃四川火锅，每次回国的时候，我们都会和亲戚或朋友们一起吃火锅，一起聊天，所以这也是我的中文的一部分。（看到这张照片就想吃）

My hometown is in Sichuan. I also like to eat Sichuan hot pot very much. Every time I return to China, we will eat hot pot and chat together with relatives or friends. Therefore, this is also part of my Chinese (Seeing this picture makes me want to eat).”

In her narrative, she specified that “eating Sichuan hot pot” is part of her Chinese identity (Sichuan is a province in central China). She did not associate the food with a nation but a much-narrowed area, which was identified by the participant as “my hometown” (cf. S6: “my mother’s hometown”). In the hometown lived her relatives and friends. Her relationship with those relatives and friends was well connected in the practice of eating hot pot together. Therefore, her Chinese identity was embedded in the **food-related cultural practices** which involved experiences of meeting friends and family in China.

Distinctively from other students, S2 seemed to relate to Chinese more philosophically because she thought that her Chineseness was located in the library, finding its embodiment in the old books,

S2: “*这张照片上的图书是从赫尔辛基芬兰国家图书馆拍的。我的中文在图书馆。它是我的中文因为中文很古老。它很有哲学和诗意，也都有很多词语和故事* (The books in this picture were taken from the Finnish National Library in Helsinki. My Chinese is in the library. It is my Chinese because the language is very old. It is philosophical and poetic. There are many phrases and stories.).”

S2 defined the Chinese language as “old”, “poetic” and “philosophical”, a language full of “wisdom” as she named the photo. She affiliated to it positively. S2 has lived in China for an extension of time because of her parents’ work and that was how she started to learn Chinese. By associating the language with wisdom, she seemed to imagine **an enlightened identity** that was possible for her to approach through learning Chinese. In S2’s case, imagination is the resource for constructing a Chinese identity.

Pictures group 4-2 show the cultural resources that S12 and S2 used to represent their Finnish identity, which are coffee and forest.

Pictures group 4-2: cultural resources for Finnish identity



In S12's articulation, coffee is Finland, as he said, “我拍了咖啡 [...] 我不喝咖啡, 但是对于我来说, 咖啡就是芬兰。因为芬兰人每天都喝很多咖啡 (I took a photo of coffee [...] I do not drink coffee, but for me, coffee is Finland. Because Finns drink a lot of coffee every day).” It is interesting that S12 used the third pronoun “Finns” to talk about a culture of drinking “a lot of” coffee and the fact that he does not drink coffee as Finns do gives a sense that he was **identifying apart from such culture**. Having expertise in a language does not necessarily mean that the person is agreeing with cultures related to that language.

For S2, Finnishness was closely related to forests, as she said, “这张照片上的森林在我家旁边。这是我的芬兰语因为森林对于芬兰人很重要。芬兰语很直接和祥和, 就像森林 (The forest in this picture is right next to my home. This is my Finnish because forest is very

important to Finns. The Finnish language is very straightforward and peaceful, just like the forest).” Forests meant a lot for her and for Finland. It was both personal and national. As far as she is concerned, forest is where home is, “the forest is right next to my home”. She compared the Finnish language to forests, saying that the language is “straightforward and peaceful just like the forests”. This contrasted the Finnish language to the Chinese language, depicted by her as old and wise. Similar to the way she constructed her Chinese identity, she seemed to imagine **an unequivocal and peace-loving identity** for herself, just like the Finnish language.

9.3 Resources for the construction of Finnish identity

9.3.1 Reading

Reading as personal interest is mentioned by two participants to represent their Finnish identity. Picture group 5 shows the book artifacts in S3 and S4’s photos.

Picture group 5: book artifacts



In S4’s photo is a book called “A thousand words in Finnish”. S4 thought that the book was fun to read for there are many pictures. S3 chose the comic book “Donald Duck” (in Finnish)

to represent his Finnish identity. He said: “我选的唐老鸭，这是我的芬兰语，因为我老是念唐老鸭，这里有很多芬兰语 (*I chose Donald Duck. This is my Finnish because I always read it. There are lots of Finnish in it*)”. These two heritage learners presented their identity as **readers** in Finnish. Reading what they like, or to put it differently, personal interests in reading Finnish books is part of their Finnish identity. Such personal interest is a resource used for constructing their Finnish identity.

9.3.2 Immediate Friends

Immediate friends is a resource the heritage learners use to construct their Finnish identity. Pictures group 6 shows two examples.

Pictures group 6: immediate social life



S11 chose his fifth-year-old birthday party on a wooden ship to present his Finnish identity. In the party, he was seated with his other friends around a ship-shape table and they were talking and eating. S6 seemed to realize that his Finnish identity developed when he was as

little as “three to four years old”, the time when he was brought along to his mother’s working place.

S6: “这是我 3-4 岁的时候，我是个爱笑的孩子。喜欢早上跟妈妈去 Kespro 进货。那里的工作人员都很喜欢我，我也很喜欢他们。这张照片就是跟他们玩的时候拍下的 (*This is when I was about three to four years old. I was a kid who liked to laugh. I liked going to Kespro to purchase goods with my mother. All the workers there liked me very much and I liked them a lot too. This photo was taken when I was playing with them*)”.

Some heritage learners see that their Chinese family is the reason why their Finnish identity happens. S6’s mother took him with her to the working places, thus engaging him in a Finnish environment, where he had good interaction experiences with other people, good experiences with socializing. It seems that for S6 and S11, being in a Finnish environment is enough for them to claim their Finnish identity. Similar to S9’s using familial resources to construct Finnish identity, these two learners did not explicitly mention that they are “speaking” or “using” Finnish in the contexts they present. Their Finnishness seemed to be rooted in life experiences with friends and family, without their being aware of the communicative functions of the Finnish language in those contexts.

9.4 Resources for the construction of Chinese identity

9.4.1 Hometown

While personal interest and immediate friends are the special resources for the construction of heritage learners’ Finnish identity, hometown related artifacts are selected by the heritage learners to present the special part of their Chinese identity, as shown in the two examples in pictures group 7.

Pictures group 7: hometown as a resource for identity construction



S6 selected an old photograph to present his Chineseness, with which he explained that, “这是我妈妈的老家 [...] 我选了这张照片是因为我第一次回中国 (*This is my mother’s hometown [...] I chose this photo because that was my first time returning back to China*)”. He felt connected to this remote country because his mother’s hometown (cf. S1: my hometown) was located there and because he physically visited there. He used the word “return”, suggesting that he was in some way returning to home, thereby identifying himself as a *returnee* in relation to a national community as well as her mother’s hometown. Relatives in the remote hometown constituted part of his Chinese identity, as in his stories,

S6: “[我] 见到了我的太爷爷和太奶奶还有其他的长辈 [...] 照片上的太爷爷已经 82 岁了。他很健康，勤劳，开心 [...] 照片的右角有一个红色的身影，她是对我很好的阿姨 (*[I] saw my great grandfather and great grandmother as well as other senior family members. Great grandfather was 82 years old at that time. He is healthy, hardworking and happy [...] The person on the upper right corner who is in red is my aunt. She is very nice to me*)”.

Relatives living in China are meaningful artifacts for the construction of S6’s Chinese identity. Firstly, he is genetically rooted in a big family that he seldom sees. The words “senior

family members”, “great grandfather and great grandmother” situate him as a *young off-home descendant* living afar. The Chinese word “长辈” shows his courtliness to the family members. Secondly, he relates to the remote Chinese family **positively** judging from the words “healthy, hardworking and happy” and “nice”. Last but not least, the statement “she is nice to me” makes him a *loved member* in the family.

However, not all the students relate to the visiting experience in China positively, as in the case of S5, who said, “在中国的时候, 不开心。我们去了那个白的地方, 毛爷爷在那里打过战。就没有去别的好玩的地方。今年我就在玩手机, 老是在玩手机 (*I wasn't happy when I was in China. We visited a white place, where Chairman Mao fought the war. We didn't go to any amusing places. This year, I played with my mobile phone, all the time*)”. The place that S6 visited in China with his family is a somewhat faded memory for him because he recalled it as a “white place”. The history did not amuse him, so this “white place” was not an “amusing place”. He was bored and played with his mobile phone all the time. While it was the first time S6 visiting China, S6 had been to China many times judging from the phrase “this year”. Visiting China was not new for S5 anymore. This could be the reason why these two students have contrasting feelings towards visiting China.

9.4.2 Relatives and friends in China

It seems that what distinguishes positive experience in visiting China from negative one is whether or not heritage learners have good contact with friends and family in remote home places. For S6 and S9, hometown is a context where they can make friends, not only with persons but also with animals.

S9: “我当时在中国。这个是我的朋友，我们当时在用那个东西，跳起来，摸上面 (*I was in China. This is my friend. We were using that thing [referring to the sticks], jumping, touching the above*)”. “”

S6: “我最爱早上和太爷爷去放牛。我还找到了一个好朋友，他的名字叫小逸飞。我们天天在一起玩。他很聪明，但是他不喜欢写字。他喜欢跟我一起比赛，比如：吃饭谁最快 [笑脸] [...] 我给牛取了个名字：大牛。它有二个小孩很调皮，经常打架 (*I liked the most to walk the cattle with great grandfather every morning. I also found a good friend, whose name is Little Yifei. We played together every day. He is very smart but does not like to write. He likes to compete with me, like who eats the fastest [smiley face] [...] I named the cattle: Big Cattle. It has two children, who are very naughty. They fight a lot*).”

Friendship experience in China is a resource that heritage learners use to construct their Chinese identity and those experience usually reveals that they affiliate **positively** to their Chinese identity, judged from some words\phrases like “jumping”, “liked the most”, “good friend”, “played together every day” and the smiley face emoji. Moreover, it is worth noticing that through his authentic experience of walking the cattle every day with his great grandfather and his witnessing the hardworking and happy personalities of his great grandfather, S6 seemed to imagine a fun and healthy lifestyle in China’s countryside. All the positive words he used show that he **feels affiliated** to such a lifestyle and he **accepts** this Chinese part in him. Similar to S2, the language identity of S6 is also partly constructed through his imagination but based on his personal authentic experience.

9.5 Discussion

9.5.1 Language identity construction as a personal process

Based on the contents of the photographs, four common resources are found to be used as initial design elements by heritage learners to design their bilingual identity, which are familial, educational, national and cultural resources. Although heritage learners use similar resources to design their bilingual identity, it is found that they attribute distinctive meanings to those resources, thus making the construct of their identity appear contrasting from one and another. For example, both S1 and S5 selected Finnish schools to represent their identities of speaking and learning Finnish. However, while S5 thinks that Finnish school experience is fun and exciting because there are many after-class activities like celebrating Halloween and playing football, S1 regarded her attending Finnish school as daily routines where she speaks Finnish in class and with friends. In another example, both S7 and S8 used Chinese flags to signify their Chinese identity. They recognized that the Chinese language is associated with a national area, but for S7, China meant more than just a geographical area where Chinese is spoken. It is also a place where she has had happy experiences, like going to kindergarten, visiting entertainment parks and climbing the panda statue. The affiliated stories and experiences have inscribed individualized meanings on the initial resources, turning them into redesigned elements for the further construction of heritage learners' identity. Individualized stories have made identification with a language a personal process for different learners.

9.5.2 HLLs' language identity as a multidimensional construct

Participants of this study usually involve more than one kind of resource for constructing one aspect of their bilingual identity. What is visualized in the photos usually is indexed to another context, in which other resources are meaningful for identity construction. As in the case

of S12, he took a photo of a Chinese restaurant located in Finland and emphasized that it is a Chinese restaurant. This cultural resource carries familial meanings for him because it is his mother's restaurant and because he speaks Chinese with his mother in that restaurant. His mother, who taught him Chinese, is an important reason for the happening of his Chineseness. For S12, what constitutes his Chinese identity are the cultural restaurant and his Chinese mother. In S6's photo representing his Finnish identity shows a smiling child. His mother took him to the working place, a Finnish-speaking environment where he interacted with the Finnish workmates of his mother's. For S6, what constitutes his Finnish identity include the Finnish social environment and his mother. Heritage learners' language identity can be composed of multiple elements, thus making the construct appear to be multidimensional.

9.5.3 HLLs' bilingual identity as both experienced and imagined

The four common resources are associated with heritage learners' life experience with Chinese and Finnish in four common contexts: home, school, motherland, and cultural practice. Their bilingual identity is embodied in their lived experience in these four contexts. To this extent, heritage learners' bilingual identity is partly about the real experience (Pietikäinen, 2012). Yet, some students have utilized their imagination as a resource for constructing their language identity, resulting in the construct as being partly imagined. S9 visits his mother's hometown in China, where he experienced a countryside life that his great grandfather lives (e.g. walking the cattle every day). This life episode has triggered him to depict that living in China is fun and healthy. His Chinese identity is both real experience and a possible lifestyle that he could have lived in. S2 compared Chinese to old books brimming with wisdom and Finnish language to peaceful forest level with pureness and directness. The student relates to the two languages in a way that she personified the languages, endowing some characteristics to the languages. Through

this, she imagined a possible Finnish self and a possible Chinese self who are like the languages that she envisioned. For S2, her bilingual identity is both her authentic experience with her having actually learned as well as used the languages and the possible selves she can become through learning the languages. These cases indicate that heritage learners' language is both experienced and imagined. Life experience and imagination are available resources for the construction of heritage learners' language identity (Sfard & Prusak, 2005; Ushioda and Dörnyei, 2009). It is worth noticing though, the cases only show that a lived identity is a necessary, but not sufficient, condition for the development of an imagined identity.

9.5.4 HLLs' unequal expression of expertise, affiliation, and inheritance meanings

The three components of language identity – expertise, affiliation and inheritance (Leung, Harris and Rampton, 1997)– are not equally salient in heritage learners' expression of their Chinese identity and Finnish identity in this study. In terms of expertise, which refers to how much an individual knows about the language, none of the participants have quantified how much or how fluently they speak Finnish. Only some students have mentioned the frequency they use Finnish as in S1's case, in which the student said that she used the language every day at school and often spoke the language with friends. Whereas for Chinese, there are some showcases (S10 and S11) where heritage learners present their writing competence in the photos. S5 and S14 firmly stated that they cannot write nor read in Chinese, expressing their illiterate identity in Chinese. When asked if they can read or write Finnish, both S5 and S14 affirmed that they can. S14 even added that his father praised him for his doing good in reading and writing Finnish. For the heritage learners, quantifying the knowledge of Finnish they know seem not to be important. None of them clearly mention how proficient they are at Finnish, but some of them think that they are not literate at all at Chinese, in a way, denying their Chinese proficiency identity.

Regarding the component inheritance which refers to the personal identification with family, many heritage learners are aware that their Chinese comes from their family (usually from mothers) and that their practice of speaking Chinese is situated at home. Two students (S1 and S12) said that their Chinese is passed on to them from their parents. S3 thought that addressing all the family members in Chinese (including Finnish family) was important. Moreover, S7's case shows that Chinese is where family is. It does not matter where the family is, in Finland or in China. All these students attribute familial values to their Chinese identity. However, even though Finnish is also one of the family languages for most of the participants, none of them have chosen to credit their family members for the happening of their Finnish identity. They are not as conscious when it comes to their acquiring the Finnish language. It seems for them Finnish identity comes naturally without as much effort to learn or cognitively practice the language.

The third component affiliation which concerns about individuals' position-taking in relation to the languages is more complex. Some heritage learners identify with both Chinese and Finnish positively. As in the case of S2, she associated positively with both Finnish and Chinese because she imagined the good possible selves in her through learning the languages. However, there are cases where students affiliate more towards their Finnishness than Chineseness and there are others where the situation is the other way around. For S5 and S6, Finnish is a school language and learning the language is associated with various interesting school activities, whereas Chinese is a just a language course for learning the language, where difficult reading and writing tasks are given. The differentiated experiences with learning Finnish and learning Chinese have triggered them to affiliate to Finnish but position themselves away from Chinese. For S1, she related to her Finnish identity neutrally as she called her Finnish school days the daily

routine. In comparison, she considered her Chinese identity something special in her. She thought what constituted her Chinese identity was not only her family but also food. Chinese is a language that bonds her immediate family together and food (hot pot) is a cultural practice that connects her immediate family to relatives and friends in the remote hometown in China.

Although born and raised up in Finland, she regarded her parents' hometown her own hometown (cf. in S6's case, "my mother's hometown"), which shows that she identifies strongly with her Chineseness. There is one case where the student does not relate himself positively to Finnish culture. In S12's narratives about where his Finnish is, he chose coffee but said that he does not drink a lot of coffee as Finns do. He singled out himself from the coffee-drinking Finnish group. Yet, the coffee is where he finds his Finnish, indicating that his Finnish identity is also true because he is living in such a Finnish context. How heritage learners relate to Chinese and Finnish varies from case to case. Some of them happily accept the dual identities in them, others deny part of their identity.

Heritage learners' position-taking in relation to a language is greatly affected by what they have experienced with that language. For example, all S6, S9, and S14 used the experience of visiting back in China as a resource to construct their Chinese identity. S6 and S9 had happy memorable experiences with friends and family in the remote context, thereby they related to the language and their experience in China positively, expressing their willingness to accept their Chineseness situated in China. However, S14 thought that visiting back in China was boring. The place was not interesting, and he played his mobile phone all the time. The boring experience was likely to result in his identifying away from his relationship with China. The experiences of reading in Finnish and in Chinese are also related to differently by heritage learners. While S3 locates his Finnishness in the comic book *Aku Ankka* which he finds joy from reading, S5 stated

that he did not like reading in Chinese. S3 said that the comic book comes to home every Wednesday and reading it has become his personal hobby. However, S5's experience with learning to read Chinese, which he evaluated as "difficult", had somehow demotivated him from reading in Chinese. These examples show that experience is a resource for identity-making, but whether the experience is good or bad affects heritage learners' taking their position in relation to that experience, thereby shaping the construction process of their identity in relation to the language context.

9.5.5 Different identification with the Finnish language than with the Chinese language

Revisiting the initial resources identified from the photos, books and immediate friends are the two specific resources that heritage learners have chosen to construct their Finnish identity, but none of them have chosen similar resources to express their Chinese identity. This indicates that Finnish is a language that is more associated with heritage learners' hobbies like reading and with their immediate social experience. In comparison, hometown and remote friends\relatives are the special resources that some students use to represent their Chinese identity. Although attachment to the related artifacts and the various relationships involved are real lived experience, they are not geographically proximal. The two differentiated types of resources have inscribed a sense of remoteness in heritage learners' Chinese identity and a sense of proximity in their Finnish identity.

On an individual level, bilingual identification is a personal process, the manifestation of which varies from case to case. Different heritage learners have different stories to tell about their Finnishness and Chineseness. For example, S1 presented her Finnish self as educational, situating it in the Finnish school context. Whereas, she defined her Chinese self as a dual construct, which carries both cultural and familial meanings (eating hot pot with family and friends). S6 attributed

various meanings to his Chinese identity, recognizing that his Chineseness was related to his mother, his mother's hometown, friends and relatives living in China, as well as his mother's Chinese restaurant in Finland, a place in the restaurant where he did his Chinese homework. His Chinese self is of family origin and is also cultural and educational. How he described his Finnish self was much straightforward. He thought that he grew up in a Finnish environment and his Finnish part was the social part in him in this environment. Heritage learners' bilingual selves are distinctive from one and another. The fact that four participants have chosen two photos to locate their Chinese language while none of them has done so for the Finnish language somehow shows that heritage learners have more Chinese stories to tell than Finnish stories. It seems that the construct of their Chinese identity has more facets than their Finnish identity, making it a special part of their bilingual identity.

In this section, I have analyzed Chinese heritage learners' bilingual identity narratives in detail and have discussed the findings of my research. In the last section of this paper, I will conclude the research re-emphasizing the main findings and will reflect on the whole research process.

SECTION 10: CONCLUSION

In this study, I intend to examine Chinese heritage learners' bilingual identity in relation to the Chinese language and the Finnish language from a biographical, self-designing perspective. Heritage learners first visualize their Chinese language and Finnish language in photos and then they tell stories justifying their choices and at the same time creating their language selves, constructing their bilingual identities in stories. Such visual method is effective and stimulating in eliciting identity meanings from individuals. It has overcome linguistic barriers for some individuals like young learners who are limited at expressing selves in words, allowing "disadvantaged voices" to be heard (Pietikäinen & Dufva, 2006). The photography project in this study has opened up spaces for heritage learners to look for resources, to design and redesign them, and to use them to design bilingual meanings.

While the material aspect of the resources is the initial resources through which heritage learners design their bilingual identity, the meanings of those initial resources become redesigned when related stories and experiences are added (The New London Group, 2000). The initial resources are the raw materials for stories elicitation, for creation of multiple selves in the stories (e.g. a family member, a learner, a returnee and a non-coffee drinker), for categorization of those resources (familial, educational, national and cultural), and for the definition of individuals' identified selves (e.g. a loved family member, a struggling learner, a happy returnee and a refusal drinker of coffee). Those multiple selves are the redesigned elements for another construction project of identity – positioning. Individuals might feel affiliated to or away from certain identities. Therefore, the construction of identity involves not only those raw materials like a family member, a friend or a book but also the affiliated stories to those resources, which

involves the selves those stories create, categorize and define, as well as individuals' practice of claiming or denying certain identified selves.

Bilingual identification is a highly individualized process (Pavlenko, 2003, 2018). Every heritage learner has his or her own stories about their bilingual selves. For one thing, bilingual identity can include a portfolio of different selves as far as the type of resources employed in the construction project is concerned. Some heritage learners define their Chinese identity as cultural and familial whereas their Finnish identity as educational or personally relevant, some regards their Chineseness as a part locating in a far remote context in China and their Finnish a part that they experience in the immediate environment, and yet some others attribute more schooled meanings to the heritage language than to the Finnish language. In this sense, bilingual identity can be fragmented. For another, those fragmented selves can be contested (cf. Block, 2007). Some individuals find their heritage self a more special as well as a more complicated component of their bilingual identity; some find that they appreciate both the Chinese self and Finnish self in them; while some others attempt to deny their heritage part. Different heritage learners utilize different resources to construct their bilingual selves, and the construction process involves varied affiliation practices, which make the construct of individuals' bilingual identity much contrasting from one and another. Bilingual is not just about the simple sum up of two language identities in individuals. The three-component framework of language identity is far less than enough for an exploration of the fragmented and contested language identities in bilinguals. Although meanings of expertise, affiliation and familial do appear in heritage learners' identity narratives (albeit unequally salient), many other meanings surface and become personally relevant for some individuals, for example, the cultural, educational and national meanings.

Heritage learners' construction of their bilingual identity is grounded in their life experiences. In fact, bilingualism and multilingualism is a complex social phenomenon which pervades social process of all levels, but it is also real lived experiences for individuals (Pietikäinen, 2012; Pietikäinen et al., 2008; Pitkänen-Huhta & Rothoni, 2018). Nevertheless, what constitutes the bilingual identity of heritage learners in this study is not all real but is partly imagined. Students' experience with living the language and learning the language has triggered their envisioning a possible lifestyle to live and some possible selves to become in the future. Those perceived possibilities have become part of some heritage learners' bilingual identity. By this, I am bold to argue that heritage learners' bilingual identity is partly authentically lived and partly imagined. This argument agrees with Ushioda and Dörnyei's conceptualization of L2's language identity (2009), with which they postulate that L2 learners can imagine a variety of possible potential selves through learning the language. Although learning heritage language and L1 is different from that of L2, it is true that imaginary selves can also be important components of individuals' bilingual identity, because as Sfar and Prusak (2005) have also argued, actual identity and imagined identity is the two inseparable aspects of individuals' identity.

As the teacher of the heritage language class, I am thrilled to be able to step into the lifeworld of my students, getting to know their bilingual stories, to explore what Chinese means for them and how they position their Chinese identity in relation to their Finnish identity. The multiliteracies classroom practice featuring the photography project is of both investigatory and pedagogical significance. On one hand, thinking heritage learners as designers of their identity meanings shifts the roles of researcher and the researched. It is a way of empowering the researched to express their identity stories which are relevant and important for them (Kalaja & Pitkänen-Huhta, 2018). The researcher is prompted to exploit the issues of identity from participants' points of

view. On the other, the multiliteracies project is implemented in heritage classroom's regular practice, with a pedagogical purpose of supporting learners' development of Chinese literacy. The photography task facilitates their expression of identity and effectively initiates classroom discussion. In addition, the exhibition event connects heritage learners' family and classroom education. Such practice allows space for heritage learners to express both their Chinese identity and Finnish identity and it celebrates learners' bilingual status together with their family.

The decision that heritage learners should express their bilingual identity in Chinese can be disadvantageous in that some learners can be barred from expressing their selves to a greater extent than if they could have used Finnish, a stronger language they behold. Future research on heritage learners' bilingual identity could explore alternative ways (e.g. student can choose which language they want to use) so as to allow participants to express themselves to their greatest extent.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

Within this limited page, I would like to express my unlimited appreciation to all that have led to my completion of this thesis. I owe great thankfulness to my students who are willing to take part in this project and the parents who are supportive of this whole process. The photos that the students took or chose are very intriguing. It is great fun to enter the lifeworld of the lovely students, getting to listen to many interesting stories. Seeing their happy faces in the photography exhibition has made a rewarding ending to the whole project.

The completion and gradual improvement of this thesis would not have been possible without Maria Ruohotie-Lyhty, my supervisor who has always been patient and instructive during the whole-year process of research. We met every month and each time, Maria helped me through critical steps of conducting the research, recommending me good resources and giving me constructive guidelines, including for example but not restricted to, what theoretical framework I should look up, how I could analyze visual data, what parts I should modify for the final draft.

I would also want to express my gratefulness to my friend Chunxiao who has spent time with me during the my-butt-sticking-to-the-chair-in-Rentukka time. She fed me well with great food and made a good company. We watched Wangpaiduiwangpai 4 together and laughed a lot. Watching the comedian Jialing helps with my dealing with stress. I was always amused and therefore was able to return to the same chair in Rentukka with some joy and hope.

I love the topic of my research. Identity has always been fascinating to me. Combining it with heritage language teaching and learning is even more fascinating. If I will be brave enough to my PhD in the future, I aspire to continue with this topic, contributing to the field of heritage language pedagogy.

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APPENDIXES

Appendix 1: informed consent (English)

Informed Consent Letter for Parents

Dear parents/guardians,

On Week 43 (October 22), we will start a photography project *My Languages and Me* in Chinese language class. In this project, students will be asked to take photos of things based on given questions. They will learn how to seek for information and document the photos/information in artistic ways. Through this project, we aim to develop students' versatile learning competences, including but not restricted to collaboration and communication, interaction and self-expression, multiliteracy and ICT, as well as cultural competence. For instance, students will share stories in groups and collaborate in documenting photos. They choose to express themselves by writing\typing, recording audios, making videos, and so on. On week 51 (December 17), we will organize an exhibition event for students' work-piece, where you will be welcomed. The working language of the project will be *Chinese*. Students and teachers work on the project for about 20 to 30 minutes in the weekly Chinese lessons.

.....

With this letter, I would also like to inform you about this photography project being of research interest. Besides working as a Chinese teacher, I am doing my master thesis on bilingual children' linguistic identity. Therefore, I want to ask for your consents on my collecting students' work for my research. Here, I propose what materials will be collected and how the information will be used and protected.

Collection of materials (from October 2018 to December 2018)

Photos	Photos as well as complementary texts that students create will be selected. Complementary texts can be descriptive texts, audios or videos. Those materials could be copied, scanned or taken pictures of.
Complementary texts	
Informal interviews	Some students might be invited for short interviews, which takes 20 to 30 minutes each and will be audio- or video-recorded.

Use and protection of information

The material is collected for a master thesis research. Some information may appear in discussion between me as a researcher and my supervisor (maria.ruohotie-lythy@jyu.fi) or in thesis seminar sessions. In all cases, information is given on anonymous terms. I will consult students how they want to be addressed in the research. Regarding audio-visual materials, voices and faces remain recognizable unless you don't allow it. After the research, materials will be destroyed, or returned to participants.

Your decisions on students' involvement in the research is definitely voluntary. Their participation in the project will not be affected, nor will the evaluation of their general learning performance in class. You can cancel your consents at any moment without obligation to explain. Should you have any questions,

concerns or comments on the photography project or the research, you can contact me. I will be more than ready to provide.

Yours sincerely,

Qingyang Li

Contact information Tel: +358 417550893 Email: qingyang_li@foxmail.com

..... Hereafter, I kindly ask for your consents on the following items.

I accept that my child's workpiece from the photography project can be used for the research described above.

Yes. Others:

I allow that my children can be invited for interviews.

Yes. Others:

I allow that voices and faces in my children's workpiece remain recognizable.

Yes. Others:

With my signature, I confirm my child's participation in the study and permit the matters mentioned above. One copy of the signed consents form will be given to the participant.

Parents/Guardians

Signature(s)

Date

Student's Printed name

Consent received

Signature

Date

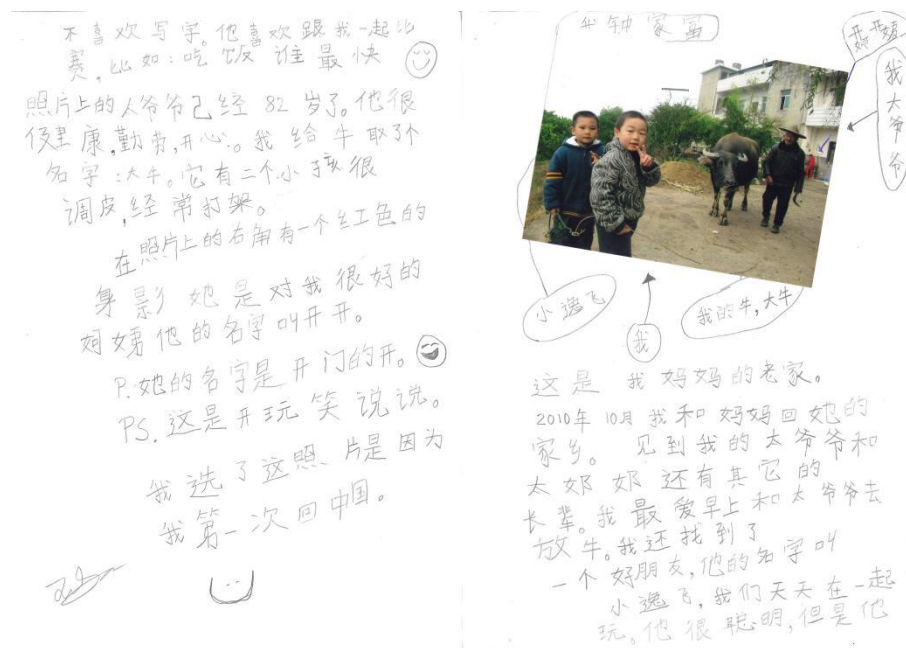
Recipient's printed name

Appendix 2: some sample posters

Student 2:



Student 3:



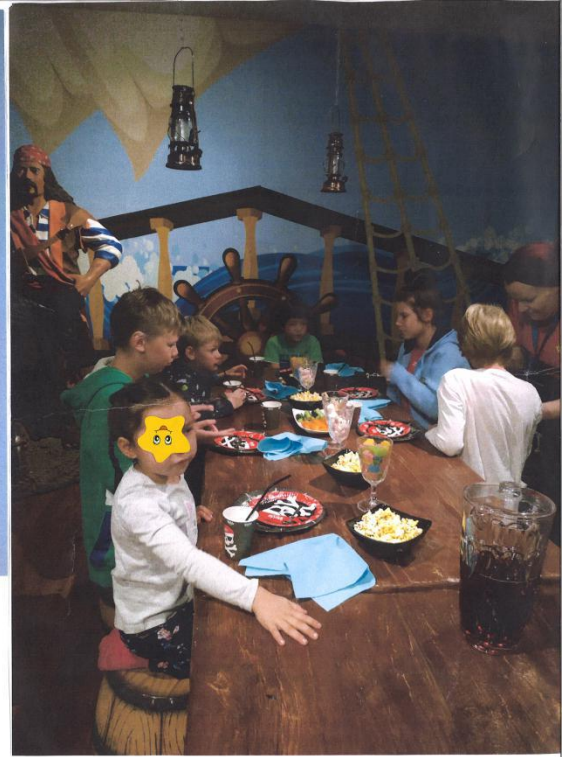
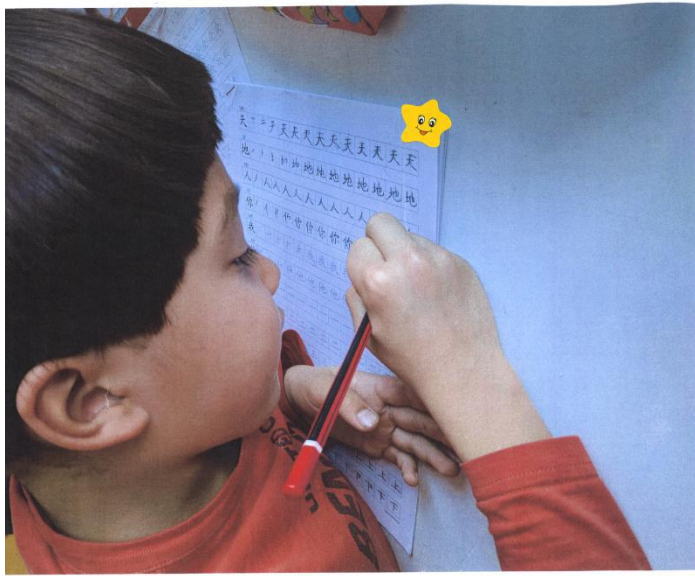
Student 7:



Student 8:



Student 11



Student 12:



Without coffee I can't live!!!

