Who am I?

A qualitative study towards the ethnic identity construction among Dutch/Asian young adults in the Netherlands.

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Foreword

This thesis is one of the fruits of my work at Utrecht University over the past year. I would first like to thank my thesis supervisor Drs. Emmeline Besamusca of the Faculty of Humanities at Utrecht University. The door to her office was always open whenever I came across a challenging spot on my research or writing. She consistently allowed this paper to be my own work, but steered me in the correct direction whenever she thought I needed it.

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Summary

Intermarriage is nowadays becoming increasingly more common in the Netherlands, causing more children grow up in 'mixed families'. This study is greatly inspired by the master thesis written by Naomi Kok Luís in 2017, where she studied the ethnic identity construction among Dutch individuals who have a black parent and a white parent. This study explored the construction of ethnic identity of five Dutch/Asian young adults, including an analysis of a family, peer, other social factors, and a discourse analysis. A methodological triangulation was adopted for this paper, namely: content analysis, terminology analysis, and linguistic ethnic self-categorisation. The sample consisted of one male and four females who are in their twenties. Semi-structured interviews were conducted for the study to gather demographic data, developmental histories, self-descriptive statements and ethnic attitudes. The transcripts were analysed in two forms. First, they were summarised to highlight and compare the psychosocial progress of the interviewees' multi-ethnic identity developments. Second, a discourse analysis was completed in order to discover which phrases and terms the respondents used to describe and position themselves in the society.

The content analysis confirmed that social context has a large impact on the identity construction of the respondents. Results showed that participants have an affinity with their own Dutch as well as their own the Asian culture. However, they seemed to share a feeling of 'not fitting in' when they were younger. The terminology analysis revealed that participants frequently used words to distinguish themselves from others, whereas terms such as 'different' occurred mostly. The perspective analysis indicated that participants used a variety of methods to linguistically categorise themselves. Findings showed that participants seemed to see the Western as the out-group more often when they are sharing a past experience when they were in an Asian country. This confirmed that identity is multi-faceted and ever changing, depending largely on the social context. It can be concluded that Dutch/Asian young adults identify themselves with multiple ethnicities depending on the social context. It is recommended that future research should adopt a different approach instead of conducting interviews and take into account more respondents from one particular background in order to generate more specific results.

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1. Introduction

The current chapter consists of an overview of the area from which the main issue will be drawn and which the study will investigate. A brief background of the theme will provide leads to the main research question for this study and finally a schematic outline of the remainder of this paper.

Nowadays, increasingly more people are becoming romantically involved with people who come from a different country. People are travelling abroad more on business and for education, as well as on vacation. As a result, there is more exposure to and interaction with people from other cultures, and people are starting relationships with partners who origin from a different country and culture.

In the 1600s, trade attracted new immigrants who contributed to the increasing affluence of the Netherlands. Later, after the Second World War, the Netherlands changed from emigration to immigration country, perhaps for the second time since the Golden Age (Zorlu & Hartog, 2001). According to the Centraal Bureau voor de Statistiek (CBS) (2016), on the basis of provisional population data over 2015, the Dutch population raised by 79 thousand to 16.9 million residents. The population growth in 2014 was fuelled by a net migration gain of 56 thousand (Het Centraal Bureau voor de Statistiek (CBS), 2016). Due to the rise in immigration, intermarriage is becoming increasingly common. Research in 2017 showed that one in the ten marriages in the Netherlands are mixed.

Earlier studies have argued that ethnic intermarriage is an essential measure of social integration (as quoted in van Tubergen, 2017). Past findings show that individuals of mixed marriages identify themselves less with a single group, and carry less negative attitudes towards other groups (van Tubergen & Maas, 2017). Earlier studies on ethnic intermarriage have been completed mainly in the United States and in other classical immigration countries (Kalmijn & Van Tubergen, 2006). Nonetheless, little research has been conducted in the Netherlands. Between the 1980s and 1990s, research mainly focused on the larger immigrant groups that are today established minorities: Surinamese, Turks, Moroccans, and Antilleans (Engbersen, Leerkes, & Snel, 2014). However, there are also many Asians such as Chinese and Indonesian people habiting in the country who have not been targeted for research.

The psychological well-being and ethnic identity of biracial individuals are greatly underrepresented topics in current scholarly literature, despite the growing population of multiracial individuals in the Netherlands. Nandi et al. (2012) write, "ethnic identity, its formation, expression and consequences are sources of wide-ranging discussion within multicultural societies" (Nandi & Platt, 2012, p. 80). This study will therefore examine the construction of the ethnic identity of Dutch/Asian young adults in the Netherlands, and how they position themselves in the society.

This paper aims to explore the ethnic identity construction of Dutch/Asian young adults who were born, raised, and currently living in the Netherlands. The next chapter provides a contextual background about the current trend of intermarriages in the Netherlands, a brief history of Asians and 'Eurasians', and a crowd-funding project called *Hafu2Hafu*. Chapter three provides the theoretical background of various forms of identities and their developments. Chapter four explains the methods used for collecting and analysing data. Then, chapter five considers the results gathered from the interviews and a detailed discussion is covered in chapter six. A conclusion can be found in chapter seven, accompanied by several suggestions for future research.

2. Contextual Background

The current chapter provides a brief overview of the inspiration of the current study, the history and trend on ethnic marriages, and a brief explanation on Asians, Eurasians, and a crowd-funding project Hafu2Hafu.

2.1 Inspiration of Current Study

The current subject is greatly influenced by the master thesis (in Dutch) completed by Naomi Kok Luís in 2017, "*Zo zwart-wit is het niet: een grijs gebied. Een kwalitatief onderzoek naar etnische identiteitsconstructie bij twintigers met een gemengde afkomst*[1]" (Kok Luís, 2017). She researched the ethnic identity construction among adults who are in their twenties who have a mixed background. To be more specific, her participants all had a black and a white (Dutch in particular) parent. Her study found that participants identify themselves differently in various aspects of ethnic identity. Most of her respondents carried multiple identities and they used numerous terms for self-categorisation. In her research, skin colour played a significant role in their identity construction. Respondents felt distinct from native Dutch people due to the major difference in skin colour. Participants considered Dutch people 'white'. Other studies have been completed as well, which address the identity formation of people from a mixed background; while little research focused on individuals who have a white parent and an Asian parent. Therefore, the current study will address Dutch/Asian young adults, who were raised in the Netherlands.

2.2 Ethnic Intermarriages in the Netherlands

Ethnic intermarriages refer to marriages outside a particular social group involving partners who origin from a different socially defined racialised ethnicities. Kalmijn (1998) states "marriages between members of different groups indicate frequent social interaction and strong social acceptance between these groups" (Kalmijn, 1998, as cited in van Tubergen & Maas, 2017, p. 1066). According to Kalmijn (1998), it is often the case that children with multiple cultural backgrounds identify themselves "less with a single group, and have less negative attitudes towards other groups" (Kalmijn, 1998, as cited in van Tubergen & Maas, 2017, p. 1066). Theoretically

[1] *It is not that black and white: a grey area. A qualitative study of ethnic identity construction among people who are in their twenties from a mixed background.*

speaking, scholars agree that ethnic endogamy is the result of individual and contextual factors.

2.3 Asians

The noun 'Asians' can be defined as a person who comes from the continent Asia. However, before carrying on, the continent Asia should be briefly explained. Asia is the most populated continent, the geographic term 'Asia' was originally used by ancient Greeks. National Geographic (2018) explains,

> The geographic term "Asia" was originally used by ancient Greeks to describe the civilizations east of their empire. Ancient Asian peoples, however, saw themselves as a varied and diverse mix of cultures—not a collective group. Today, the term "Asia" is used as a cultural concept, while subregion classifications describe the distinct geopolitical identities of the continent. These classifications are Western Asia, Central Asia, Southern Asia, Eastern Asia, Southeastern Asia, and Northern Asia (National Geographic, 2018).

The continent also has long been home to the majority of the human population (United Nations, 2016). East Asians is a term used for ethnic groups that are indigenous to East Asian nations such as: Mainland China, Hong Kong, Macau, Japan, Taiwan, North and South Korea etc. South or South East Asia includes countries such as India, Vietnam, Thailand, Laos, Cambodia, the Philippines, and Singapore etc. The Chinese in particular are the most hyper-selected of Asian immigrant groups, meaning that they have the changing skill required in a knowledge-intensive economy such as the U.S. and other advanced economies. These sorts of immigrant groups are ready to maintain powerful ethnic communities that create useful resources conductive to move around (Lee & Zhou, 2015). Although most researchers conclude that there is no such thing as an 'Asian culture' as culture has structural roots, mutual cultural patterns among Asian Americans appeared from the structural surroundings of immigration.

Common characteristics of Asian people in general include: highly group oriented, strong focus on family and career, high-context communicators etc. Asian values are greatly influenced by Confucianism. However, it is important to note that no certain rules about interacting with Asian individuals are being given because they would easily lead to stereotyping.

2.4 Eurasians

This term 'Eurasian' is repeated frequently in this paper, it refers to a person who is half Caucasian and half Asian. Underlying the use of the term 'Eurasian' is the awareness that it should be avoided the pitfall of essentialising 'race'. The racialised identity implicit in being Eurasian, noneneless, problematises 'race' (Choo, 2007). While the mixture of European and Asian is apparent in certain features, many Eurasians are indistinguishable from various Asian groups, while others are most likely to be originated directly from Britain, Germany or the Netherlands (Braga-Blake, 2017).

The cultural heterogeneity that is identified with multiculturalism is one of the results of exploration and colonisation of centuries past. The existence of Eurasians is due to the fact that people migrate, mate and marry across cultural, social and even geographical divides, and that plurality exists within every ethnic group. Nowadays, this process is widely known as 'intercultural contact'. Choo (2007) argues the following:

> Now a Eurasian diaspora lives alongside other 'new Eurasians' of the twenty-first century and often cannot be differentiated from them. In the contemporary context of globalisation and travel, cross-cultural marriages and partnering, the term 'Eurasian' is interpreted more broadly than simply a label for a particular historical community based in Southeast Asia. Children of parents of different Asian and European cultural heritages, first generation Eurasians today, have a greater freedom to explore and express or reject their Eurasian identity (Choo, 2007, p. 1).

Choo states that the term 'Eurasians' is nowadays widely used to refer to individuals who have biologically a white and an Asian parent respectively. They also have the opportunities and freedom to express their identity.

2.5 Hafu2Hafu

Miyazaki Tetsuro, a photographer who is half Japanese and half Belgian, started a crowd-funding project 'Hafu2Hafu' in 2017. He has a Japanese father and Belgian mother, and was raised in a multicultural environment. The 39-year-old Miyazaki says, "my younger sister and I were raised in Dutch-French-bilingual Brussels, where our dad would speak Japanese to us, our mom would speak Dutch, and they would communicate in French between themselves" (Kittaka, 2017, p. 1). He explains his motivations, "as a half-Japanese photographer, living in Amsterdam at that time, I wanted to take on a personal project that would force me to pick up my camera and meet people" (Kittaka, 2017, p. 1).

Figure 1: Portrait of Tetsuro Miyazaki (Tetsuro, 2018, p. 1).

Figure 2: A sample of the Hafu2Hafu book (Vlisides, 2018, p. 1).

First, he started chatting with half Japanese and half Dutch people as he lived in Amsterdam at that time. After each interview, he asked the respondent what question they would want to ask other half-Japanese people. Their question answers were accompanied with a black-white photo portrait. He planned that after saving enough interviews and photos, he would put them all in a book and publish it. In order for his participants to get a grip of his project, he frequently shared his own experience of when he was little, that others would judge him for supporting the Belgian football team, because he is half Japanese so his friends thought he should support the Japanese team instead. His Belgian and Dutch friends have never been questioned about their loyalty to one single football team. Nonetheless, for those from mixed roots, they usually need to think about the correct answer to this question. While each participant whom Tetsuro spoke to has their own special story, certain common themes have emerged from the conversations. He explained that one topic that continuously came up is about the sense of belonging and most mixed people find themselves to be empathic (Kittaka, 2017).

Tetsuro's photo project captured the stories of 'hāfu' (mixed roots people with one Japanese parent) from each country and sharing interesting questions about identity, sense of belonging or being raised with two different cultures. From his project, some surprising facts were found. First, after he moved from Belgium to Amsterdam, he travelled around Europe and searched for candidates with a Japanese and non-Japanese parent and interviewed them. The conversations with people who were raised in Japan revealed the somehow ambivalent attitudes that mixed people may encounter in the traditionally homogenous Japanese society. Miyazaki argued that both those raised abroad and those raised in Japan wish to 'belong' to Japan. It turned out to be more painful and difficult for the one who lived in Japan. The reason is simple: even if you spoke fluent Japanese and understood their customs, locals still did not consider you Japanese (Kittaka, 2017). Secondly, he realised that their experiences differ greatly depending on where the other non-Japanese parent is from, ranging from Asian, European, Latin American, and African countries.

His participants all had very different experiences. After Miyazaki collected portraits and questions from his participants, he wished his "Hafu2Hafu" project could give mixed race people a voice and promote discussions, between hāfu themselves, their families and friends. Moreover, he hoped that Japanese people without a mixed heritage could read the questions and connect with the person in his project.

Now background information is provided, the main research question for this study is stated below:

How are the ethnic identities of Dutch/Asian young adults in the Netherlands constructed in linguistic terms?

3. Theoretical Framework

This chapter will describe the theories that explain why the current research issue under study exists. The main concepts that will be addressed include: identity development, the importance of social context, biracial identity development models, and the difference various types of identities. Identity construction in language will be introduced, namely terminology and linguistic ethnic self-categorisation. Each part will lead to a sub-question for this study.

3.1 Identities

What defines one's identity in a society remains an on-going discussion. The relationship between language and identity is studied in different paradigms that attempt to account for different language contact phenomena by invoking multilinguals' identities (Blackledge & Pavlenko, 2001). Four types of identities will be defined and explained below, namely: social identity, cultural identity, ethnic identity, and racial identity. Then, the significance of social context in identity development will be discussed.

3.1.1 Social Identity

Tajfel (1978) defines social identity as "that part of an individual's self-concept which derives from his knowledge of his membership of a social group (or groups) together with the value and emotional significance attached to that membership" (Tajfel, 1978, p. 255). Gee (2014) argues that social identities "form our initial taken-for-granted understandings of who we are and who people 'like us' are, as well as what sorts of things we ('people like us') do, value, and believe when we are not 'in public' (Gee, 2014)". The identification process originates from the separation and labelling of people. It leads to activities that are matching with the identity, support for institutions that clearly show the identity and the self-perception and the perception of others.

3.1.2 Cultural Identity

Within the discipline of communication, the idea of 'cultural identities' has captivated and received sustained continuous attention from researchers of communication and culture (Chen & Lin, 2016). As Hall (1996) defines, it is "collective or true self hiding inside the many other, more superficial or artificially imposed 'selves' which a people with a shared history and ancestry hold in common" (Hall & Du Gay, 1996, pp. 3-4)

and that can guarantee a fixed 'oneness' or cultural belongingness underlying all the other artificial differences. Additionally, Jensen et al. (2011) argue that cultural identity was something individuals merely 'had' as "an undisturbed existential possession, an inheritance, a benefit of traditional long dwelling, of continuity with the past" (Jensen, Arnett, & McKenzie, 2011, p. 269). Jensen et al. (2011) stress that identity is not simply a description of cultural belonging but a "collective treasure of local communities". Without preserving and protecting, it can easily be lost.

3.1.3 Ethnic Identity

Ethnic identity is a crucial component of the self-concept, and similar to other aspects of identity, can be particularly salient during adolescence. Most studies on ethnic identity have focused on the special elements that distinguish particular ethnic groups (Phinney, 1992). Jenkins (1994) defines ethnic identity as a source of extensive discussion within multicultural societies. The migration of people brings into relief ethnic identity through the realization of difference and awareness of others' reactions and ascriptions (Jenkins, 1994, as stated in Nandi & Platt, 2012). According to Phinney (2007), ethnic identity is multi-faceted and it derives from "a sense of peoplehood within a group, a culture, and a particular setting" (Phinney & Ong, 2007, p. 271). However, ethnic identity is not merely knowledge and understanding of one's in-group affiliations, even as such insights and comprehension are part of it. Phinney further points out that a secure ethnic identity derives from experience, but experience is insufficient to produce it as one's ethnic identity is constructed over time. This means that the actions and choices of individuals are essential to the process. It is distinct in some ways from other group identities, such as racial identity, but it also shares aspects of both personal and group identities (Phinney & Ong, 2007). In order to completely understand ethnic identity, it is suggested to consider in relation to another prominent group identity of most minority group members, specifically their identity as part of their national culture (Phinney & Ong, 2007).

Ethnic identity refers to identification with and acceptance into a group with shared culture and heritage (Collier & Thomas, 1988). The concept is not a simple predictor variable, as individuals do not only categorize another on the basis of national affiliation (Collier, 1989). Furthermore, Nandi (2012) argues that "other actors contribute to maintenance or subversion of ethnic identity through acceptance

or rejection of expressed identity, and through processes of ascription. This can include, though is not limited to, discrimination and ethnic hostility" (Nandi & Platt, 2012, p. 81). In addition, identity affirmation means a more effective process of developing a strong attachment to a group. Social identity theorists (e.g. Tajfel & Turner, 1979) argue that individuals grow a sense of who they are from feeling related to a group and feeling a positive feeling toward that group (Ghavami, Fingerhut, Peplau, Grant, & Wittig, 2011). On the other hand, Phinney (1990) discovers while scholars into ethnic identity by and mostly agreed with Tajfel's definition, they tend to emphasize the different "components" of identity, for instance: personal affiliation, practices, patterns of association, and feelings of belonging to one's own ethnic group. It is important to note that these components may shift with a context in multiple ways (Nandi & Platt, 2012).

3.1.4 Racial identity

Racial identity is similar to ethnic identity but they differ greatly in the ways they have been studied. Helms (2007) explains the differences,

> The study of racial identity has focused on responses to racism, and racial identity measures experiences related to internalized racism. In contrast, ethnic identity has been researched greatly with reference to one's sense of belonging to an ethnic group, that is, a group defined by one's cultural heritage, including values, traditions, and often language (Helms, 2007, as quoted in Phinney & Ong, 2007, p.274).

Thus, ethnic identity does not deal with racism but focuses more on a person's sense of belonging to a certain group. Helms (1990) also states that previous studies that address racial identity have been majorily carried out in Black samples (Helms, 1990, as stated in Phinney & Ong, 2007). However, ethnic identity are mostly carried out among students and young adults. Table 1 shows a comparison between ethnicity and race.

Table 1: Comparison between ethnicity & race (Diffen, 2018).

	Ethnicity	Race
Definition	An ethnic group or ethnicity is a group whose members identify with each other on the basis of "common nationality or shared cultural traditions".	The term race refers to the concept of "dividing people into populations or groups on the basis of multiple sets of physical characteristics".
Significance	Ethnicity incudes shared cultural traits and a	Race presumes shared genetic trait.

	shared group history. Certain ethnic groups share linguistic or religious traits as well, while others share a common group history but not a common language or religion.

Table 1 illustrates that ethnicity and race are similar in some way but also different. While race emphasis on separating groups into their physical characteristics and genetic traits, such as skin colour, hair colour etc., ethnicity emphasizes not only on appearance, but also on nationality and shared cultural traditions such as religion and history etc. The current study will mainly explore the 'ethnic identity' of individuals, which means that cultural traditions and language are also taken into consideration.

3.2 Asian Ethnic Identity

This research focuses on individuals with a Dutch parent and an ethnically Asian parent. Thus, the question lies in whether there is such thing as an Asian ethnic identity and whether Asians share a common identity, as this category is rather broad. Other studies show that in Asians who grew up in the United States identify themselves with the country where their ancestors came from. Past research suggests that ethnic identity can be traced especially among Asians who were born and raised in a Western society.

Past research on the collective identity label described as Asian American, which was originally formulated as a political movement symbol, indicates only some support among the various Asian ethnic groups that live in the United States at the start of the 21st century. Park's (2008) study proves that the definition of the term 'Asian American' has multiplied as a result of demographic and cultural factors that have influenced the Asian population. These definitions reflect ethnic diversification and the model minority stereotype (Park, 2008, p. 541). The term 'Asian American' is in fact a panethnic identity - a made-up tag applied to numerous groups with different cultural traditions and languages. The construction of pan-Asian ethnicity involves the formation of a common Asian American heritage out of varied histories. They might share the following: discrimination, oppression, history of colonisation etc. However, persons being treated similarly do not necessarily mean that they share a common identity. When people are being treated alike due to certain arbitrary criterion, then

they will start to establish an identity, meaning that for Asian Americans, this arbitrary criterion is their imposed identity as 'Asians'.

For the current study, the participant's parent of Asian heritage are all grouped as 'the Asian parent', they can originate from China, Japan, Thailand, Indonesia etc.; previous studies confirm that a common Asian identity does exhist especially in a Western society, where people who have an Asian ancestoral background often share a common Asian identity. This confirms that an Asian ethnic identity exhists to a large extent. The next part will discuss how multiple identities can coexist at the same time.

3.3 Multiple Identities

As discussed, there are many different types of identities: social, cultural, ethnic, racial etc. Meanwhile each individual does not necessarily carry one single identity, but can carry multiple at the same time, depending on the context. People have multiple identities and it is this concept to which William James (1890) was referring when he stated that each individual has as many selves as others with whom they interact (Burke, 2003). Identity is the complex way a person identifies with, and is identified by, his/her environment. Multiple identities result from the various ways a person has been successfully identified. Identities coexist whereas sometimes the dominance of one over others becomes obvious, Brook, Garcia and Fleming (2008) propose that the effects of multiple identities on psychological well-being depend on the number of identities, the importance of those identities, and the relationship between them. They predict that "when identities are highly important, having many versus few identities leads to greater psychological well-being if the identities are in harmony with each other—providing resources and expecting similar behaviours—but leads to lower psychological well-being if the identities conflict with each other—depleting resources and expecting incompatible behaviours" (Brook, Garcia, & Fleming, 2008, p. 1). The researchers suggest that emotions corresponding to self-perceptions of actual/ought self-discrepancies mediate these effects and results reinforced this model (Brook, Garcia, & Fleming, 2008).

3.4 Identity Construction & Development

In terms of identity construction, it is important to note that identities are mostly constructed through and against representations. Howarth (2002) argues "as an account that does not incorporate representations into the account of identity construction, does not, therefore, deal with the complexities of real life identities" (Howarth, 2002, p. 20). Additionally, identity construction should develop representations of related social groups. As Hall (1991) writes that "the notion that identity has to do with people that look the same, feel the same, call themselves the same, is nonsense. As a process, as a narrative, as a discourse, it is always from the position of Other" (Hall, 1991, p. 41). All in all, identities are fluid and contextual.

Identity development starts in early childhood and continuing into adulthood. The main aim of this process is to find out an answer to the question "Who am I?". Although it might sound as an easy question, however, for most people it is a hard question to answer (Hud-Aleem & Countryman, 2008). An individual's identity is complex and consists of several different aspects or domains. Erikson (2003) points out in the book written by Tantum that the impact of cultural, historical, and social context on identity development is large. "Identity formation employs a process of simultaneous reflection and observation, a process taking place on all levels of mental functioning in which the individual contemplates how others (society) perceive him and how he perceives himself" (Hud-Aleem & Countryman, 2008, p. 1). Furthermore, he stresses that one's identity is "shaped by individual characteristics, family dynamics, historical factors, and social and political context" (Tantum, 2003, p. 1) In that sense, one's gender, age, family, religious beliefs, social contact can be good examples of social context.

Hud-Aleem & Countryman (2008) argue that identity is a complex process that can fluctuate depending on the context. Identity formation starts at birth, and becomes stronger during adolescence. Identity is crucial as it affects our perception, behaviour, and how we relate to others in our life. For this reason, it is crucial to look at the stages of life of an individual. Surroundings can affect identity development in various ways. Surroundings, also called the social context, might influence how an individual perceives him/herself. These surroundings can include: living place, neighbourhoods, school, friends, classmates, travelling destinations etc. The next

section will provide a deeper overview on how social context is crucial in identity development, especially for adolescents.

Baraldi (2006) writes that conversations and intercultural learning cause the construction of new mixed cultural identities (Baraldi, 2006). According to Onwumechili et al. (2003), a multicultural identity is visible in competence in crossing cultural boundaries (Onwumechili, Nwosu, Jackson, & James-Hughes, 2003), meaning that people may keep their original cultural values and beliefs and at the same time "integrating" features of the new culture into their lifestyle (Yamada & Singelis, 1999).

3.4.1 The Importance of Social Context

In order to understand the development and construction of identity it is important to have a certain degree of understanding of social context and the perceptions of others. Nandi et al. (2012) write that "changes in strength of identification both as part of identity development and in response to changes in context may take the form of accentuation of one or more of the components of ethnicity" (Nandi & Platt, 2012, p. 82). Moving abroad for instance, a person may gradually change his/her eating and dressing habits to reflect the practices of that country, but the person may still retain a strong sense of belonging to her country of origin and interact regularly with individuals who come from the same country of origin (Nandi & Platt, 2012). When studying identity theories, one must take the social environment into account. Previous studies claimed that social context and relationships with people can influence experience and identification, this study aims to find out whether social context is an important factor affecting an individual's ethnic identity development. Whether the participant was born or raised in the Netherlands, whether he/she attended a local or an international school, whether they were raised in a small town or a large Dutch city, whether they often travelled to Asia etc., can all be clues to their identity development. The goal is to explore whether these experiences will influence the way individuals regard themselves.

Hence, in order to answer the first sub-question, a content analysis will analyse the personal experiences of the interviewees and highlighting the most significant findings. A detailed description of this method will be explained in the next chapter. For clarification purposes, it is important to note that the labels 'Dutch'

and 'Asian' have specific meanings. 'Dutch' refers to a person relating to, or the characteristics of the natives of the Netherlands; while 'Asian' refers to a person belonging of Asia or its residents. By adding the word 'half' in front of the two terms indicates that one of the parent is Dutch and the other parent is of Asian descent (meaning that he/she was born and raised in an Asian country).

Sub-question 1:

In what way does social context affect the ethnic identity development among DutchAsian young adults?

3.4.2 Biracial Identity Development Models

Poston's Biracial Identity Development Model

Poston suggested one of the primary biracial identity development models and states that biracial individuals will go through conflict and periods of maladjustment during the process. His *Biracial Identity Development Model* consists of five main stages: personal identity, choice of group categorization; enmeshment/denial, appreciation, and integration (Hud-Aleem & Countryman, 2008) (see table 2).

Table 2: Poston's Biracial Identity Development Model (Hud-Aleem & Countryman, 2008).

Stage	Phase	Description
1	Personal Identity	Occurs during childhood when the child is not aware of his/her mixed heritage.
2	Group categorization	Occurs as a result of numerous influences (e.g., parents, peers, community, society). This stage causes the individual to feel pressured to choose one racial group identity over another.
3	Enmeshment/denial	Occurs because the individual feels guilty for choosing one group over another, as a result, rejecting the differences between the racial groups and identify with both racial groups.
4	Appreciation	Certain individuals who mostly identify with one group may explore the other group and learn to appreciate it.
5	Integration	The individual may still identify with one group but at the same time understand "the integration of their multiple racial identities" (as quoted in Hud-Aleem & Countryman, 2008).

Continuum of Biracial Identity Model

Furthermore, another biracial identity development model is called Continuum of Biracial Identity (COBI). This model is proposed by Rockquemore and Laszloffy and attempts to reflect the different ways multiracial individuals view themselves racially, without adding judgment on the individuals if they do not see themselves the way current models advise they should. This model does not attempt to put multi-racial individuals into a singular identity category. Instead, it recognizes that "multiple and equally valid racial identifications exist among the growing multiracial population" (Hud-Aleem & Countryman, 2008, p. 1).

3.5 Identity Construction in Linguistic Terms

Linguistic performance is important for the result in terms of identity. Trudgill (2000) further argues that linguistic choice and change do not necessarily take place in the direction of the prestige norm, as language can be a significant factor in group identification, group solidarity and the signalling of difference (Trudgill, 2000). This confirms the concept that linguistic performance might be the result of a conscious choice to enhance certain linguistic features in a mindful effort to reach an effect.

According to Hall (2013), language systems reside in people's minds; however, they in fact have a separate existence and remain detached from their users.

> Although individuals play no role in shaping their systems, they can use them as they wish in their expression of personal meaning since the more traditional view considers individuals to be agents of free will, and thus, autonomous decision-makers. Moreover, since this view considers all individual action to be driven by internally motivated states, individual language use is seen as involving a high degree of unpredictability and creativity in both form and message as individuals strive to make personal connections to their surrounding contexts (Hall, 2013, p. 30).

As for the notion of identity, a 'linguistics applied' perspective regards it as a set of essential characteristics unique to individuals, independent of language and fixed. Language use and identity are conceptualized somewhat differently in a socio-cultural perspective on human action. Hall states, "Here, identity is not seen as singular, fixed, and intrinsic to the individual. Rather, it is viewed as socially constituted, a reflexive, dynamic product of the social, historical and political contexts of an individual's lived experiences. This view has helped to set innovative directions for research in applied

linguistics" (Hall, 2013, p. 31). Thus, the following two paragraphs will explain terminology and a perspective analysis more in depth in order to understand its connection to culture and language use. Addressing identity construction in language is a crucial topic for discourse analysis (Messelink, 2011). First, the terminology for people with mixed descent will be explained. Afterwards, ethnic self-categorization will be addressed and lastly, the connection between identification and perspective will be explained.

3.5.1 Terminology

In our social world, in videos, articles, blogs, it is common that when addressing people being of a biracial heritage they are mostly addressed as "mixed" or "mixed-race". The formation and development of discourses is implicit in the process of reification. Discourses are used to collect around iconic words, of which 'collectivism' and 'individualism' are accurate examples, especially when they are associated with an appealing associations. Holliday defines technical discourse as a strong way of talking which is built around the iconic technical terminology which contributes to the identity of the profession (Holliday, 2010). While people with a mixed background often refer themselves as 'mixed race', the term is actually problematic. as it suggests that a 'pure race' exhists. The terminology 'mixed', 'biracial' and 'Eurasian' generate a seductive ease which could hide the complexity that the researcher is trying to represent .

Hence, as the term 'mixed race' is problematic, this research will allow participants to choose their own term(s) to describe themselves. A terminology analysis is completed to give an insight into the terms that interviewees use for self-identification to generate a common identity. This sub-question will be answered by

Sub-question 2:

Which terms do Dutch/Asian young adults use for ethnic self-identification?

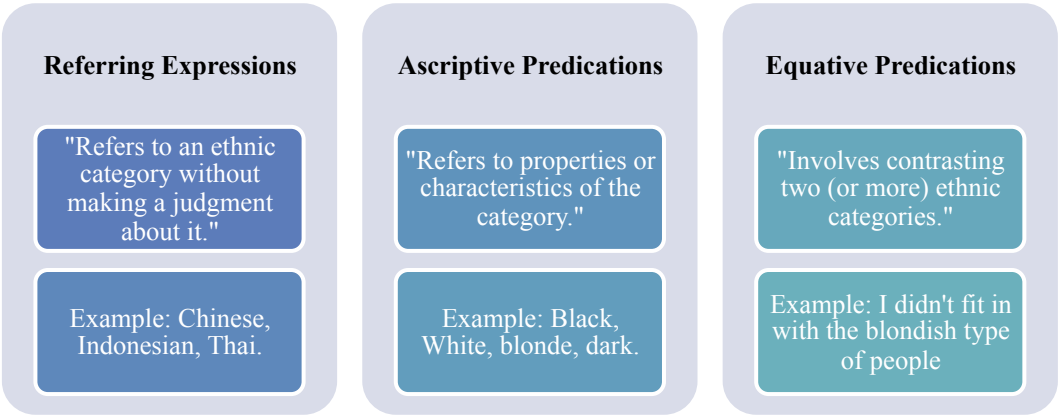
using a terminology analysis, which will be explained in the next chapter.

3.5.2 Linguistic Ethnic Self-Categorisation

Self-categorisation refers to identifying yourself as a member of a certain social grouping (Buckingham & Best, 2016). This definition is considered by Ashmore et al.

(2004) to be a basic element of group identity. Measurement of ethnic identity should start with verifying that the individuals being studied in fact self-identify as members of a certain group. This can be completed either with open-ended questions or with lists, which are appropriately inclusive (Phinney, 1992). Linguistic ethnic self-categorisations ascribe to people membership in a certain type of social group - an ethnic group. By that token, ethnic categorisations are a kind of social group categorisation (Day, 2006). He further explains that ethnic categorisations are a kind of ethnification process, which distinguish an individual on the basis of ethnicity that includes a common belief in a common origin and language (Day, 2006). It matters little whether the label is an ethnic group or a racial group. Individuals use multiple different self-labels or categories, depending on the context (Phinney & Ong, 2007). Naomi Kok Luís' used the ethnic categorisations proposed by Day (2006). She calls the reference to ethnic categories in languages as ethnic categorisation. There are three types of ethnic categorization: 'Referring expressions', 'Ascriptive predications' and 'Equative predications' (see Figure 3) (as quoted in Kok Luís, 2017). Each category is accompanied with at least one example.

Figure 3: Types of ethnic categorisations by Day (2006) and their definitions (Kok Luís, 2017).



This leads to the final sub-question listed below.

Sub-question 3:

How do Dutch/Asian mixed race individuals linguistically categorize themselves?

4. Methods

This chapter will provide a detailed description of the research design and methods used for collecting the data. The research approach will be first discussed. Then, the participants and procedures will be introduced and a sample size justification is discussed. Several limitations will be named as well.

4.1 Research Design

A qualitative research approach is used for this study, which involves "recorded spoken data that is transcribed into textual form as well as written notes and documents of various sorts" (Dornyei, 2016, p. 19). Dornyei (2016) writes that this method does not require researchers to gather enough data but rather to generate useful data. The data usually consists of a mixture of field notes, transcripts of recordings, and documents. The aim of this method is to generate understanding across persons and settings. The design of most qualitative data collection is "fluid and open-ended, and researchers are not required to plan all elements of the project at the outset" (Dornyei, 2016, p. 126). This study will follow Naomi Kok Luís' research techniques and methods. A methodological triangulation is adopted, which involves using more than one method of analysis to study a phenomenon. The data analysis methods used included: content analysis, terminology analysis, and perspective analysis of ethnic self-categorisation.

4.2 Data collection

In the current study, the researcher herself completed all data collection. Desk research and interviews were the main sources of data collection. In order to avoid a complex translation processes, all interviews were conducted in English, as all participants are fluent English fluently and could clearly express themselves in the English language.

4.2.1 Interviews

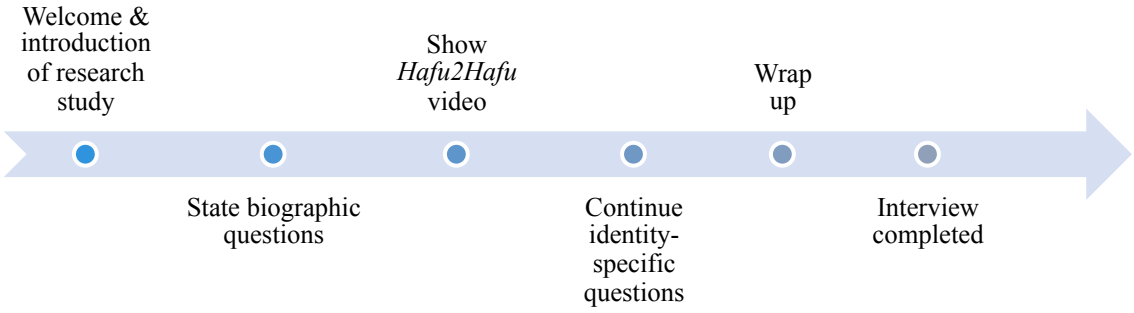
Semi-structured interviews were conducted for this study with Dutch/Asian young adults who have a mixed background and who are born and raised in the Netherlands. Interviewees were mainly gathered through personal connections and social media networks, such as LinkedIn and Facebook. Dornyei (2016) points out that

interviewing is a well-known method that works well as a versatile research instrument (Dornyei, 2016). It is also frequently applied in various applied linguistic contexts for different purposes.

This study adopted the semi-structured interview method, which means that the interviews have a main theme and general topic. The overall flow was flexible as it allowed the interviewer to change questions as the situation dictates. Face-to-face interviews are useful because due to the synchronous communication, the voice and intonation of the participant could provide the researcher extra information which could be additional to the provided spoken answer.

Participants were contacted in February 2018 and individual face-to-face interviews were conducted in February and March 2018. After individuals agreed to participate, a meeting was scheduled. The duration of each interview was approximately 20 - 40 minutes. The draft question list and the definite question list are included in Appendix 2. All transcriptions of the interviews, including that of the pilot interview, can be found in Appendix 3. Figure 3 below shows the general flow of the interviews:

Figure 4: Interview flow.



First, before starting the interview, a brief introduction to the research topic was provided to inform the participant more about the current project and the reasons for choosing this subject. Second, the questions prepared in advance were stated, ranging from personal questions such as family background, past holiday destinations, hobbies. Third, a video preview about the *Hafu2Hafu* project of 3-minutes was shown. Tetsuro's project subject is comparable to the current study, the purpose of showing a preview video of the project is to provide a global idea of what the theme of my current research is, and to raise the awareness of participants about the identity struggles of people with a mixed background. After showing the video clip, the

participant was asked more specific questions about their experience with their identity.

4.2.2 Participants

Before conducting the interviews, several selection criteria were set up in order to make sure the participants were suitable for comparison.

The selection criteria were as follows:

1) One of the participant's parents is Dutch and the other parent is of Asian descent.
2) The participant was raised and is currently living in the Netherlands.
3) The participant is aged between 15 - 39 years old.

The above criteria were set up to make sure that the respondents had a mixed race background, namely half Dutch and half Asian. The second criterion is important because the background of the participants have to be similar to be comparable. Thus, all of them have to be born and raised in the Netherlands. In order to be able to compare the life experiences, participants were chosen upon their age group – young adults. For the purposes of this review, it is defined that young adults refer to people who are aged 15 to 39 years old. In order to keep the anonymity of the respondents, the names in Table 1 are fictional names and thus not their real names.

Table 3: Personal details of interviewees.

Gender (F/M) #	**Name**	**Ethnicity of mother**	**Ethnicity of father**	**Age**	**Place of living**
F1	*Mabel*	*Indonesian*	*Dutch*	*24*	*Utrecht*[2]
F2	Patricia	Indonesian	Dutch	22	Amsterdam
F3	Alison	Dutch	Chinese	22	Utrecht
F4	Sarah	Indonesian/Chinese	Dutch	25	Amsterdam
F5	Karen	Malaysian Chinese	Dutch	24	Zoetermeer
M6	Alan	Thai	Dutch	28	Leiden

4.2.3 Pilot Interview

One pilot interview was conducted in order to improve and refine the drafted interview guide and allowed the researcher to gain a general feel for how the real

[2] Pilot interview participant.

interviews would go. Major errors were discovered and changed before proceeding with the original sample questions. The pilot interview indicated that not all the drafted interview questions were useful for this study. The draft interview question list and the definitive question list can be found in Appendix 3.

4.2.4 Sample Size Justification

Regarding the sample size of this study, five respondents were chosen. As this study adopted a qualitative research approach, this method focuses on "describing, understanding, and clarifying a human experience and therefore qualitative studies are directed at describing the aspects that make up an experience rather than determining the most likely, or mean experience, within group" (Dornyei, 2016, p.126). This means that qualitative inquiry does not emphasise on how the experience is distributed in the population, instead, the main aim of sampling is to "find individuals who can provide rich and varied insights into the phenomenon under investigation so as to maximise what we can learn" (Dornyei, 2016, p. 126). Thus, the most important factor in qualitative research is to find the correct participants who can provide a useful insight into the topic that is being researched. Quantity ranks second and is not as important here.

4.3 Content Analysis

Content analysis has been closely associated with qualitative research as it involves examining written texts that involve "the counting of instances of words, phrases or grammatical structures that fall into specific categories" (Dornyei, 2016, p. 247). It is also associated with the underlying deeper meaning of the data (Dornyei, 2016). Researchers can analyse socio-cognitive and perceptual constructs that are hard to study through traditional quantitative archival methods. This analysis provided an overview of the topics that were discussed during the interviews and an insight into the experiences and opinions of the participants. During the transcription process, certain expressions were marked and can be used in the primary phase of the coding process. The interviews were coded by ensuring that the interview follows a certain direction and a range of semi-structured questions (see Appendix 2.2).

4.4 Terminology Analysis

A terminology analysis provided an insight into the terms that participants used for self-identification and to mark a common identity. Table 4 below shows the sentence construction that was used to find certain terms, phrases and sentences. By searching for the combination of a personal pronoun and conjugation, the thought of the speaker and how he/she identifies him/herself in a certain way was revealed. Conjugation forms such as 'am', 'identify', 'regard' were selected because they are most commonly used sentence structures that tend to show self-identification. Personal pronouns that refer to the speaker him/herself (such as 'I' and 'me') were particularly chosen for analysis. him/herself. This provided a deeper insight on how the interlocutor viewed him/herself as an individual and allowed the researcher to understand his/her self-perspective better.

Table 4: Used constructions for searches.

Personal Pronoun	**Conjugation form** **past tense & present tense**
I/me/we/us/you	Am/identify/feel/belong/see/view/ regard/consider
Other Constructions	
If/being	Category

The results from the interviews are analysed and in order to make an inventory of all sentence structures and phrases that were used during the interviews, the Ctrl + f function in Word was used. The words that appeared are all inventoried and categorised. After extracting all phrases, they were divided into three categories: ethnic phrases, racial phrases and contrasting phrases. The definition of each category will be explained more in detail in the next chapter.

4.5 Perspective Analysis of Self-Categorisation

According to Bührig & Ten Thije (2006), perspectivising is connected to the two steps in verbalisation and refers to when the speaker realises the differences in perspective, and uses other means to differentiate themselves from others (Bührig & Ten Thije, 2006). By perspectivising, the speaker "locates the propositional content in the actual speech situation, taking into account cultural standards of *the other"*

(Bührig & Ten Thije, 2006). John Gumperz (1992) provides an example as to how Mead's framework of taking the other's perspective constitutes the basis of his argumentation with respect to the analysis of intercultural communication. His collection of text fragments in 'Contextualisation and Misunderstanding' (1992) that contain the notion 'perspective', which are nine in total, resulted an accurate summary of his complete argument. Ten Thije (2006) stresses that 'perspective' is used as a technical term instead of a theoretical notion (Bührig & Ten Thije, 2006).

During a conversation, an interlocutor can have multiple narratives. Goffman (1981) states that different personalities can be present within an individual. He explains,

> The self as original author of the narrative and its immediate animator; the self as actor; the self as generalized other (normally as "you"); the anti-self as seen by others; and the principal, the self in whose interest the story is told (Goffman, 1981, pp. 144-5).

During a conversation, speakers make use of different types of narratives to tell their unique experience, such as: the intern perspective (stating 'I'), the extern perspective (what others think of them, stating 'they'), and finally the generalised other where the term 'you' is used. Additionally, self-categorisation can be an important determining factor in social influence. Turner (1982) calls this 'mode of influence', when "group membership is salient, referent informational influence" (Abrams, Wetherell, Cochrane, Hogg, & Turner, 1990, p. 98).

Regarding the intern perspective, the first type lies in the contrast between the in-group and out-group. According to Naomi Kok Luís', the in-group is the category where someone is a member of the group, whereas people who are 'different' belong to the out-group. Tajfel (1978) argues that social identity is a crucial pillar for someone's pride and self-image. To reinforce one's self-image, one can raise the status of the in-group by saying, "Us Dutch people are the best!" In order to reduce the status of the out-group by means of prejudice and discrimination, one can say, "They, foreigners are drug dealers!" This leads to processes of social categorization and side-division (Tajfel, 1978, as quoted in Kok Luís, 2017). Speakers might use contrasting terms, where they use certain words that show their identity. The reason that this was selected as part of the research method is that it is interesting to explore

what words and terms people use unconsciously that show their perspective or view on something.

The interview conversation can be seen as a story, where the interviewee is the storyteller and narrator. Here, perspective analysis can "demonstrate how viewing story content as a function of interactional engagement opens up new insights into identity constructions of sameness in the face of adversative conditions and constant change" (Bamberg & Georgakopoulou, 2008, p. 1). This could allow readers to gain knowledge of the speaker's real perspective.

4.6 Limitations

Despite the fact that this research has provided an insight into the ethnic identity development of Dutch people with a mixed heritage, there are several limitations of this study. As this study solely focused on individuals with a half Asian heritage, the term 'Asian' could be problematic as it emphasises on geography rather than someone's ethnic or cultural background. Essentialism is another issue, as essentialist conceptions of race hold that the traits of physical appearance referred to by racial terms are indicative of more profound characteristics of personality and culture that are retrieved to be shared by all members of a racially defined group (Stubblefield, 1995), which is in this case - Asians. Also, the continent Asia is very large and encompasses 60% of the world's population, making the term 'Asian' hard to define. For instance, Australia is officially also located in Asia but Australian inhabitants are mostly Caucasians. This paper studied individuals with different ethnic Asian backgrounds, ranging from China, Malaysia, Indonesia, Thailand etc. It is, however, debatable whether an 'Asian culture' exists as now all individuals are categorised into a single 'Asian' group. However, having them grouped into one single 'Asian' group could be a starting point as the Asian culture is a large contrast to the Western or Dutch culture. It is still worthwhile reading as the Eastern and Western culture has great cultural differences and this study can serve as a starting point into possible deeper research in the future.

5. Results

This section will provide the findings of the current study based upon the methodology discussed in chapter four that were applied to gather information. This section states the findings in a logical sequence: content analysis, terminology analysis and perspective analysis.

5.1 Content Analysis

During the interviews there were several subjects addressed, namely (1) culture affinity and languages, (2) feelings towards Asian parent's country of origin (born and raised there), and (3) thoughts on *Hafu2Hafu* & identification. Each quote starts with a number, which indicates the order of the conversation, thus when the person said the sentence. To read the whole sentence that the person said, readers can follow the number and refer back to the entire interview (see Appendix 3) to understand the entire context of the conversation..

5.1.1 Culture Affinity & Languages

Respondents for this study are all aged between 20 to 30 years old and have an Asian parent on either the father's side or the mother's side, ranged from ethnicities including Chinese, Thai, Malaysian, and Indonesian. The present findings confirm that Dutch is the main language of communication for all interviewees (see table 5).

Table 5: Detailed biographic information of the participants.

Participant	**Language spoken at home**
Patricia	Dutch
Alison	Dutch
Sarah	Dutch
Karen	Dutch
Alan	Dutch, English

As most respondents' Asian parent did not teach them their first language, most of them do not speak their Asian parent's language fluently. However, they pointed out that they wish could speak the language as it allows them to talk to their Asian family members such as their grandparents or cousins. Sarah is used to speaking Dutch but also wishes she could speak Bahasa Indonesian as well. She clarified:

> 16. Sarah: I've been used to using Dutch my entire life but yeah now I'm getting older I kind of wish I would be able to speak Indonesian also with my family that's still in Indonesia. It would be nice if I was able to speak in Indonesian with them too.

Two main reasons were identified why they were not taught the Asian language at home. First, their parents would fear that raising children bilingually would worsen their Dutch language skills. Second, the Asian language was not taught on purpose because the Dutch parent could not understand it and feared for a division of communication in the family. Sarah pointed out that her father forbade her to speak Indonesian at home because he feared that she would communicate in a foreign language with her mother, leaving him out of the conversations. She explains:

> 13. Sarah: Well, at home we speak Dutch actually. I wish I could have speak [spoken] Indonesian too but I can't because my dad didn't approve of me speaking Indonesian when I was a child. Cause he didn't know that language and he was afraid that my mom and I will talk to each other in Indonesian and then he could not understand what we would say.

Alison and Karen described their situation, which are similar to Sarah's experience. Their parents were worried that raising their daughter bilingually would worsen their Dutch. The results demonstrated that their knowledge towards the language is basic. Most of them did not grow up with speaking the language at home, however, they decided to learn the language on their own during puberty. Three out of the five interviewees started to learn an Asian language on their own during secondary school or university. This might have increased participants' interest as most of them chose for a bachelor degree major that is closely related to Asian culture and languages or intercultural communication.

The analysis found evidence that most respondents have learned some Asian culture from their Asian parent to a certain extent. Cooking Asian foods was often passed on from their parents or grandparents. Generally, respondents all stated they consumed Asian eating habits frequently, such as eating rice on a regular or even a daily basis.

5.1.2 Feelings towards Asian Parent's Country of Origin

While all respondents indicated they have visited their Asian parent's home country at least once in their lifetime, they did not visit the place regularly. However, another promising finding was that as participants aged, they started to gain more interest in the Asian culture. They started to pay more visits to their family members (eg. Grandparents, cousins) who still live there, or even participated in exchange programmes in Asia. Two out of the five respondents state that they have participated in at least one exchange program in their Asian parent's home country or another Asian country and lived there for a period of time. This shows that they gained interest in Asia during university times, triggering them to choose an Asian country as their exchange destination. Respondents also pointed out that when they were younger they were not interested in the Asian culture and focused mostly on trying to fit in the group at their local school. Nonetheless, this attitude changed after they entered adulthood, especially when they started attending university.

> 79. Alison: So at first I only wanted to be blond and Dutch when I was really young and then I went to middle school and it sort of stayed that way. And then somewhere half way puberty of after puberty I was just like, "oh actually this is really interesting!", so I started taking Mandarin courses, I started working at an…IWokandGo, and so I met other Chinese-Dutch people, (…) I just grew up like a Dutch girl, I guess, sort of. Um…yeah, so then I just started to wanting to have that part as well, and I think up until that part I just wanted to push the 'Chineseness' aside, and that's where I started to be really interested in it.

On the other hand, interviews revealed that most respondents enjoyed whenever they go back to their Asian parent's home country. Although it is very different than the Netherlands, culture, language and lifestyle wise, most of them enjoyed their stay whenever they visited there. When they were asked about their thoughts when visiting Asia, some even identified it as their "home" or "second home".

> 38. Sarah: Feels like home. (…) but the first time when I got there when I was older, immediately it just felt like home. (…) it's really nice; I really like it there.

Despite the fact that most respondents stated that they enjoy it greatly whenever they visit Asia, most of them sounded hesitant when they were asked whether they would consider moving there permanently (see Figure 5). First, career development was one of their major concerns. Patricia seemed rather negative when being asked if she ever

considered living in Indonesia permanently. Second, cultural and societal differences were other major concerns. They also thought that in the Netherlands the society is less competitive and provides more opportunities. This shows that they are used to the Dutch society and culture. Alison enjoyed her exchange in Asia vastly, but was not sure whether experience would be the same if she had to live and work there, as during her exchange she did not have to worry about money thanks to a scholarship. Thus, her main concerns lied heavily on making a living and safety. Alison also shared her thoughts on moving abroad to Asia, but only for a short period of time, but emphasized that she would not start a family nor raise her children there. She was not the only candidate who used the term "crazy" to describe her Asian parent's country of origin. Sarah, who is half Indonesian-Chinese, did not seem excited when asked about her thoughts on moving to the capital of Indonesia – Jakarta, and used the same word "crazy" to describe it. The conversation fragment bellows indicates her negative thoughts on the city.

> 83. Researcher: But you say "crazy", why? (…)
> 84. Sarah: Yeah, so Jakarta is kind of … the infrastructure is really bad and the amount of people is just way too much for the city, so there's like a constant traffic jam and you can see a big difference between poverty and richness like within the same street, so that makes it a bit yeah a bit weird for us as Westerners.

Third, the language barrier was another major concern, as none of the respondents speak the language fluently, they realized that living in Asia and finding a suitable job could be challenging. Overall, a majority of the candidates stated that they would definitely consider living there for a couple of years to gain more experience and learn more about the Asian culture, but certain doubts remain: ability to adapt to the environment and culture, language barriers, social circles, gap between rich and poor, weather etc.

5.1.3 Thoughts on *Hafu2Hafu* & Identification

The main reason for introducing the *Hafu2Hafu* project is to raise their awareness about the topic and issue about identity struggles of people with a mixed background. As discussed in the Methodology chapter earlier, a short video preview of the project was shown to them right after the start of the interview. Results revealed that four out of the five participants liked the *Hafu2Hafu* project. The video created a deeper understanding for people who do not have a mixed background and it provided a

deeper insight on the differences of people's experiences depending on what the other 'half' is. However, one participant criticised the project for being problematic and static. He argued that the project is idealistic because he believes the photographer is trying to create a sense of diversity among different kinds of people by taking an over narrow approach.

The results of the interviews indicated that participants' feelings towards their Asian's parent culture and language have changed drastically over time. Most of them described that they desired to fit in with the Dutch children when they were little, but after they started attending university, this desire faded away and they even started to appreciate and get interested in Asian culture. Sarah admitted that she tried really hard to fit in when she was small. Her explanation of this is that she believes children are care much what other people say, and therefore she just wanted to fit in. She later realised she can never completely fit in with the 'Dutch prototype'. On the other hand, Sarah shared similar experiences; she described how other children were very honest towards her not seeing her as one of them:

> 60. Sarah: I think age four when you go to school for the first time, then I was playing outside with my friends, they would always be like "but you're Chinese", and I was like "no but I'm Dutch too", but yeah, you don't really feel Dutch because you don't look Dutch, and especially small children, they're super honest, they don't mean any harm but they just say what they see, so yeah, at that point I started to realize that I wasn't as Dutch as the blond girls from next door.

Also, Karen also thought that she never belonged to any group during secondary school. She could not really fit in with the Dutch girls group but neither with the Asian group. However, not all respondents shared this feeling. Patricia and Alan explained that although they felt distinct from others during their childhood, but in adulthood they did not have any conscious struggle with it. The main reason is they studied or worked in an international environment where the majority of people came from different countries.

5.2 Terminology Analysis

During the interviews, participants used a variety of terms to refer to themselves, in order to generate a common identity. Table 6 below shows all the phrases that

appeared with the sentence structure combination of personal pronoun and conjugation, such as "I was…" or "being…". After extracting all phrases, they were arranged into three categories: ethnic phrases, racial phrases and contrasting phrases.

Table 6: All terms/phrases used by participants.

Participant	Terms/Phrases
Patricia	Different, kind of different.
Alison	Not blond, Dutch, didn't really feel Chinese, not Dutch, less boring than just being Dutch, Chinese.
Sarah	Didn't fit in, Chinese, Dutch, don't really feel Dutch, fit in pretty well, different, us as Westerners.
Karen	Don't really feel Dutch, didn't fit in, like both, more like I was one of them.
Alan	Half Dutch, Half Thai, very comfortable in my own skin, Thai.

In the first category, ethnic categories refer to words that give a connotation to a certain ethnicity (see table 7). The term 'Dutch' and 'Chinese' appeared most in the conversation. Then, the words 'Thai' and 'Western Indonesian' appeared once as well, which also have an ethnic connotation.

Table 7: Ethnic Terms.

Ethnic Terms	Frequency of usage (6)
Dutch	2
Chinese	2
Thai	1
Western Indonesian	1

Racial terms refer to words with a racial connotation (see table 8). Not many terms were identified in this category, only 'half Dutch' and 'half Thai' were used by the same respondent, which he used to introduce himself at the beginning of the interview. Notable is that he is the only one who used racial words for self-presentation.

Table 8: Racial terms.

Racial terms	Frequency of usage (2)
Half Dutch	1
Half Thai	1

In the final category, contrasting terms are listed that indicate a clear difference with Dutch people. These terms confirm that someone is not Dutch (see table 9). The findings among this category are widespread, as many terms were identified among different candidates. The phrases 'different', including 'kind of different', were used most frequently – five times in total by three participants. Other phrases also appeared that participants used to distinguish themselves different than Dutch people, such as 'did not fit in', 'less boring than being just Dutch', 'not blond' and 'don't really feel Dutch'. However, some terms also show that they felt different than Asian people, such as 'Westerner'. The phrase 'like both' indicates that participants identified with both ethnicities.

Table 9: Contrasting Terms.

Contrasting Terms	Frequency of usage (11)
Different/kind of different	5
Did not fit in	1
Less Boring than being just Dutch	1
Not blond	1
Westerner(s)	1
Like both	1
Don't really feel Dutch	1

5.3 Perspective Analysis of Self-Categorisation

In order to get an insight on the ethnic identity construction among participants, a self-categorisation analysis was combined with a perspective analysis. In this method, the sentences with an identity connotation were extracted and arranged into a table. All the sentences were divided into the three categories proposed by Day (2006): (1) equative predications, (2) ascriptive predications and (3) referring expressions.

Consequently, the equative predication is arranged into the 'intern perspective', 'extern perspective', or 'general perspective' in order to have a clearer idea of how the speakers see themselves and how others see them. The tables with all the expressions can be found in Appendix 5.

5.3.1 Equative Predications

In-group VS Out-group (Intern Perspective)

In the current study, it is often the case that the out-group is the Dutch or Western people. An example can be extracted from the conversation with Patricia, when she described herself during high school:

> 86. Patricia: I think in high school. Then everyone, and I was almost the only Asian person in my entire year. Um…and I felt kind of different then, but yeah, but then I was like "it would be nice to be like the other people but now not so much I think".

In the above fragment with Patricia, she emphasised that she was the only 'Asian' student in her class during high school, which made her feel different from the others. The word 'only' and 'Asian' are crucial here. In the next sentence, the word 'different' also indicates that she felt she was more unique than her Dutch classmates. The interviews revealed that participants often view blond people as the out-group. Karen and Sarah referred to their Dutch classmates or neighbours by their physical appearance – blond people. For instance:

> 225. Karen: I didn't fit in with the very blondish type of people you know.

This fragment reveals that Karen does not find herself fitting in or becoming friends with the 'very blondish type of people', referring to Dutch people in general. Here the intern perspective was used as the sentence starts with 'I didn't'. The same accounts for Sarah, when she realised that she was different than others, she said:

> 60. Sarah: I started to realize that I wasn't as Dutch as the blond girls from next door.

The fragment indicates that Sarah experienced a moment when she knew she was not the same as her Dutch neighbours, she referred them as "the blond girls from next door". Here a comparison is made between her and the blond girls, as she does not

have blond hair. It is seen from an intern perspective as the sentence begins with "I started to realise that I wasn't". When the researcher asked her how she handled the fact that she was brought up in the Netherlands but she is not entirely Dutch, she found it especially challenging to feel comfortable in a White community, she said:

> 62. Sarah: It felt kind of difficult because they only thing you want when you're a child is to fit in. That's all a child really wants I think. So for me that was kind of difficult because I grew up in a very white neighbourhood, all my neighbours were very white and my high school fellow mates were all very white, so I felt kind of I didn't fit in.

The above fragment confirms that the speaker regards her neighbours and classmates as white in general. The phrases 'very white' was emphasised multiple times (Fragment 62). This indicates that the generalised other are the 'white neighbours' and the speaker sees them as the out-group. However, Sarah's perspective changed within the conversation, depending on the context. In Fragment 62, the out-group was white people but when talking about Indonesia, the in-group became 'Westerners'. In Fragment 84 below she described Indonesia's capital - Jakarta:

> 84. Sarah: Jakarta is kind of … the infrastructure is really bad and the amount of people is just way too much for the city, so there's like a constant traffic gam and you can see a big difference between poverty and richness like within the same street, so that makes it a bit yeah a bit weird for us as Westerners.

Fragment 84 indicates that the speaker did not see Jakarta as an ideal living place. She claimed that the gap between the rich and poor is a weird scenery for "us Westerners", indicating that she identified herself as a 'Westerner' to a certain extent as she was shocked by the huge disparity.

In-group VS Out-group (Generalised Other)

The 'Generalised Other' category also focuses on an in-group and an out-group. The main difference is that in this category the perspective is not originating from the speaker him/herself, but rather from a generalized or customised perspective, such as using 'you' or referring to a group in general. When Alison was asked how she dealt with the fact that she was not entirely Dutch but also not entirely Chinese in China, she answered:

83. Alison: You're never gonna completely like fit in with the Dutch prototype, because you're just not.

The phrase 'Dutch prototype' shows that she grouped the Dutch people into a single category, especially the word 'prototype' reveals that she regards Dutch individuals as a group that is patterned, or meaning the original type that serves as a standard form. As the sentence does not start with 'I', thus not the speaker's own perspective. The word 'you' indicates that the speaker is using a generalized perspective.

Another example can be retrieved from Karen's conversation, where she grouped people who have 'blond hair' as the out-group. She said the following:

231. Karen: People who have blond hair are more likeable.

The above sentence indicates that the term 'blond hair' is seen as the out-group because the speaker finds people who have blond hair more likeable. A comparison is made between people with blond hair and people with non-blond hair, such as black or brown. The generalised other in this case are Caucasian people who have blond hair.

5.3.2 Ascriptive Predications

In this category, sentences were extracted which had a reference to a certain characteristic. The first example can be seen from the conversation with Patricia, who shared her experience of her not being rejected to play with other children based on her skin colour:

58. Patricia: No you can't play with us because you're brown.

The above fragment is from an extern perspective as the sentence was said by someone else and not the speaker herself. It shows that other children did not want to play with the speaker because she was 'brown', indicating her skin colour. As the speaker was half Indonesian, she had a darker skin colour than most of her Dutch classmates. On the other hand, Alan, who is half Dutch and half Thai, shared his experience on how native people in Thailand saw him whenever he visited the country. He said:

157. Alan: (…) People in Thailand considering me white.

When Alan was asked whether he was confronted with identity struggles, he pointed out that Thai people regarded him as 'white' because he looks different than most Asian inhabitants. His skin colour is lighter than most Thai people and thus, Thai people consider him 'white'. This is from an outer perspective as he did not consider so himself.

5.3.3 Referring Expressions

In referring expressions, references are referred to the social category without comparing characteristics or connecting them with other categories. The fragment below is an example of how the speaker addresses other people who are mixed race.

149. Karen: But I've seen patterns like this as well, not only with half people. Half people, haha, but "halfies", like or "hapas", like I've seen this, actually because I'm interested as well, the anthropology minor.

The participant first addressed mixed race people as 'half people' but then laughed at the phrase as she realised that there is no such term, she then corrected herself by saying 'halfies' or 'hapas'. These terms are referring to a category, namely people who are mixed-race, without linking or comparing the category to other races or ethnicities.

Interview results also revealed that many participants use referring expressions with an ethnic connotation, often referring to their Asian parent's ethnicity such as 'Chinese' or 'Indonesian' etc. Alison described that people in China often assumed that she was Chinese because of her physical features, she said:

20. Alison: People in China, they really just assume that you are Chinese, 'cause I look really Chinese.

The term 'Chinese' is a referring expression, because the term is referring to the Chinese people as a category without any other comparison. The same applies for the sentence said by Patricia, where Indonesian people saw her as a native whenever she visited the country, she pointed out:

84 Patricia: I look very Indonesian, so when I'm there the people just see me as a native basically.

The term 'Indonesian' is also referring to an ethnic group without anything else, namely people who originate from the country Indonesia. Also, when Karen talked about her identity, she does not find herself very Dutch by saying:

225. Karen: I don't really feel Dutch.

The sentence is said from an intern perspective as it starts with 'I'. The speaker did not identify herself as 'Dutch' where the term here has an ethnic connotation but she did not compare this identity with her Asian identity. In the fragment, she was solely expressing her feelings on identification.

6. Discussion

This chapter will answer the sub-questions by analysing the results with reference to the early-discussed theories. Each sub-question will be repeated and answered in detail.

6.1 Identity Formation

Sub-question one:

In what way does social context affect the ethnic identity development among Dutch/Asian young adults?

Social context tends to be a crucial element in participants' childhood and identity development. Poston's Biracial Identity Development Model, which is discussed earlier in the theoretical framework, is confirmed here (see figure 6). The model started briefly from the fact that mixed race individuals were not aware of the fact that they were different from other Dutch children, until others commented on their skin colour or appearance.

The group categorisation stage was visible as their community and society, such as their Dutch neighbours, which caused them to 'push the Asian identity aside'. A majority of the interviewees describe that they desired to fit in with the other majority of the Dutch people and wished to have blonde hair to identify themselves with the dominant Dutch racial group. Then, the denial stage takes place, where the individual starts to identify with both racial groups. This is confirmed when respondents started gaining interest in appreciating the Asian culture and learning an additional language, such as Mandarin Chinese. Finally, the appreciation and integration stage take place. Most of them started to learn to embrace the Asian culture and two respondents majored in Asian studies. The integration stage is confirmed by how respondents are aware of the fact that a person can carry multiple identities and integrate these identities together.

Figure 6: The five stages in Poston's Biracial Identity Development Model.

The results demonstrated that none of the respondents speak their Asian parent's language fluently. The speculated explanation for this is that they grew up speaking Dutch at home with their family. Conversely, most wished to have learnt the Asian language spoken by their parent as they have a strong desire to be able to communicate with their Asian family members, such as grandparents. Two respondents decided to learn Chinese on their own for two main reasons: (1) they wish to be able to communicate without obstacles with their Asian relatives and (2) they are genuinely interested in the Asian culture and language.

Results confirmed that respondents seemed to have a great affinity for the Asian culture. A majority decided to study the language and engage in an exchange program that enables them to live in an Asian country, such as China and Taiwan, for several months. They expressed fondness towards the Asian kitchen. Nonetheless, respondents seemed hesitant towards the idea of living in their Asian parent's country of origin permanently. The major concerns included cultural differences, language barrier, and career development.

To summarise, referring back to the Asian ethnic identity mentioned in the theoretical framework, expressions of panethnicity among Asian American adolescents demonstrate the way in which contact with non-Asians influences ethnic group identity. This can be confirmed within the current study, where social context (eg. neighbourhoods, schools, place where they were brought up) tends to be a crucial factor for identity construction as there is evidence that Dutch/Asian participants identify to a different ethnicity depending on the context and surroundings. Most participants did not seem to feel very Dutch when being in the Netherlands but also regarded themselves as 'foreigners' or 'westerners' when they visited an Asian country. This is confirmed in the linguistic self-categorisation analysis, where participants used words such as "the Western Indonesian" and "us as Westerners" in their experience sharing when they were telling a story about their travels in Asia.

However, when they described an incident which happened in the Netherlands, they switched to words such as "the only Asian person" for self-identification.

6.2 Ethnic Self-Identification

Sub-question 2:

Which terms do Dutch/Asian young adults use for ethnic self-identification?

The results indicated that contrasting terms appeared most frequently. Participants used words such as 'different', 'Westerner', 'did not fit in' etc. It appeared that they often had the feeling that they could not fit in any group during their childhood. As they attended local schools with a majority of children of fully Dutch parents, they often regarded themselves as different than them, most likely because Dutch children thought they had an exotic-looking appearance and participants distinguished themselves different because they did not have blond hair. The term 'blond' was repeated multiple times, confirming that this was a major reason for them to feel left out. Participants believed that blond people were treated better and they pointed out that they wish they had blond hair. While physical traits seemed to be the major reason for participants to feel unique, cultural differences were associated as well. For instance, Karen seemed to be genuinely interested in the Asian culture and language, but this was not the case for other fully Dutch classmates. In general, participants seemed to identify themselves with certain terms that indicate a contrast with Dutch people. Results also revealed that they identifiy themselves in different ways depending on the social context. During their stay in Asia, it appeared that they felt more Western or Dutch compared to when they were in the Netherlands.

It is important to note that these ideas of not fitting in and feeling different changed significantly over time. After they started attending university, due to their international study and environment, people who were non-Dutch surrounded them and thus, they did not feel left out anymore. Phrases such as "fit in quite well" and "feel very comfortable in my own skin", indicate that participants no longer feel different than their classmates or colleagues. The phrase "less boring than being just

Dutch" shows that the participant even started to embrace her double ethnicity and saw this as strength rather than weakness.

When comparing these results to the findings in Naomi Kok Luís' study mentioned earlier in paragraph 2.1, there is a major difference in the usage of terms for ethnic self-identification between respondents of this study and respondents in her research project. In her study, most participants used terms that belong to the ethnic category, such as 'black'. This means that for half Dutch and half Black individuals, skin colour is frequently emphasised in their conversations, as participants in her study often referred themselves as 'black' and 'the dark kid' etc. This study reveals that half Dutch and half Asian individuals use contrasting terms to indicate their difference with other Dutch people but do not emphasise on their race or skin colour. Instead, they emphasise their position and feeling of belonging.

6.3 Linguistic Ethnic Self-Categorisation

Sub-question 3:

How do half Dutch/Asian young adults linguistically categorize themselves?

In line with the previous studies conducted by Naomi Kok Luís (2016), regarding linguistic ethnic self-categorisation, it appeared that interviewees used equative predictions the most, where two ethnic groups (such as Dutch and Chinese) are compared. Different types of equative predictions were found in the conversations, including from intern perspective, extern perspective and generalised other. Context is the key here.

Equative predications from an intern perspective appeared most often where two or more ethnic categories are contrasted. Specifically, the equative predications were not used by participants in the same way. A variety of sentences and meanings appeared whereas different in-groups and out-groups were compared with each other. In most conversations, the Dutch ethnicity was considered as the out-group and the Asian identity was considered as the in-group. This depended largely on the context, where the participants were physically located at that specific moment of time. It

appears the in-group and out-group changes depending on their geographical location in their storytelling.

In cases where Dutch people were the out-group, they were mostly described as 'the very blondish type of people', 'the blond girls from next door' etc. Here, the physical appearance of the Dutch seemed to be a crucial element for participants to distinguish themselves as different than them, because they do not have blond hair like them and they think that having blond hair could maybe lead them to fit in with the Dutch.

As mentioned earlier, depending on the context, the in-group can also be the Dutch or Westerners. This comes in line with Phinney's theory as he states that ethnic identity is multi-faceted and it derives from "a sense of peoplehood within a group, a culture, and a particular setting" (Phinney & Ong, 2007, p. 271). When participants were telling their story or experiences that happened in Asia, they often referred themselves as 'the Western Indonesian', 'Westerners' and 'Dutch'. This indicates that their identity shifted depending on the social context: whether they were in an environment with a majority of Asians or Caucasians. This might be due to the fact that Asians see them more as Western people, or due to the great cultural differences between the East and the West, as they are still more used to Western norms and values because they were raised in the Dutch society.

In comparison with Naomi Kok Luís' study, her findings mainly evolved around terms including 'foreigner', 'half-blood' and 'Dutch' that had equative predications. It seemed that interviewees had to choose only one ethnicity to identify themselves with. Her participants were often treated differently due to their dark skin colour, whereas the physical trait 'white' is associated with Dutch people. On the contrary, in the current study, the term 'white' was not repeated frequently. Instead, the word 'blond' was frequently associated with Dutch inhabitants. It seemed that in Kok Luís' study, respondents categorised themselves as 'dark' or 'black', emphasising greatly on their skin colour. Meanwhile, participants in this study used alternative terms that did not necessarily emphasise their skin colour but still used certain words to stress contrast between them and Dutch people, terms such as 'different' appeared often.

7. Conclusion & Recommendations

This chapter provides a conclusion of all the findings and a summary of all the topics covered. A re-statement of the problem will be listed, accompanied by a synthesis of key points and suggestions for future research. The limitations of this research are also discussed briefly.

7.1 Conclusion

How are the ethnic identities of Dutch/Asian young adults in the Netherlands constructed in linguistic terms?

After addressing the sub-questions in the previous chapter, the main question can be answered. As explained in the theoretical framework chapter, ethnic identity consists of genetic traits that are visible in the appearances of individuals, as well as cultural characteristics. The content analysis leads to the following conclusions: participants identified themselves with both the Dutch and the Asian ethnicity depending on the social context. Results show that participants feel relatively 'Asian' when in the Netherlands and identified themselves more as 'Western' when being in an Asian country. This links back to the earlier-discussed theory that social context is significant for identity development and self-identification. Despite the fact that none of the interviewees could speak their Asian parents' language fluently, most showed great affinity with the Asian culture and cuisine and they tend to visit relatives in Asia regularly. Most respondents grew up struggling with trying to fit in Dutch groups at school. However, most seemed to not be fitting in a mainstream Dutch group and preferred to stay in international environments, which can be an explanation for why most participants chose for an international-oriented study or university. Additionally, they had different opinions on the *Hafu2Hafu* project that focuses on identify construction of mixed race individuals.

In terms of the terminology analysis, it can be concluded that participants often felt different and left out during their childhood as their classmates were majority children with both Dutch parents. Terms and phrases such as 'feeling different' were repeated multiple times. The physical trait of having blond hair was emphasised among various respondents thus it showed that their feeling of belonging

was affected greatly by the fact that they were different in terms of appearance. Participants mostly did not feel left out any more after entering adulthood and started to embrace their double ethnicity instead. Findings also revealed that they identify themselves in different ways depending on the social context.

In terms of perspective analysis, out of the three categorisations made by Day (2006), it can be summarised that equative predications appeared most frequent in the conversations. In most cases, Dutch people were viewed as the out-group. However, this also shifted depending on the context. Participants tend to see Dutch and Western people as the out-group when they are in an Asian country.

7.2 Limitations & Recommendations for Future Research

The study that has been undertaken for this paper has highlighted several topics on which further research would be beneficial. The following recommendations for research are based on the research process and study results. Firstly, due to time constraints, the sample size is rather small and limited. Future research should take into account more respondents from one particular background, such as Chinese to generate more specific results. Essentialism and emphasis of geography instead of culture can also be avoided. Secondly, there is an unbalanced gender of participants. Interviews should be conducted with an equal amount of female and male participants to find out whether there is any coloration between gender and their identity formation. Last but not least, the main goal of this paper was to explore the identity construction among different Asian ethnic groups. Future research can look for a different context and using another approach to gather results instead of using the interview techniques.

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Appendices

Appendix 1: Decentering

The purpose of this chapter is to confirm the significance of my own and others' research inquiries in decentering positivist research paradigms. As each publication secures a position in the research landscape of a discipline, in that it indicates links to existing knowledge. First of all, I started this research out of my own personal interest. As I grew up in a biracial and multicultural family myself, I have always struggled with my identity up until I was around 20 years old. My identity development changed drastically during early adolescent years. I wanted to conduct this research to find out how other Dutch/Asian individuals experience it. My role as a researcher has definitely brought benefits to this study, as I am a mixed race individual myself. This can bring both advantages as well as disadvantages to my project. It is a strength because I grew up in a biracial and multicultural background myself, therefore I can easily get access to people who have a similar background and it might create a better connection to allow me to conduct interviews about this topic with them. I also know how to talk to my respondents in a certain way than someone who does not have certain experiences. However, the weakness of this might be that certain aspects could blind me. As I went through certain experiences as a mixed race individual, I easily assume that others have the same experiences as well. Meanwhile, this is not necessarily the case as everyone is different and had unique childhoods. All in all, I have taken these advantages and disadvantages into account during the research process.

Appendix 2: Interview Question List

Appendix 2.1 Draft Version

1. What is your name and how old are you?
2. Where do your parents come from?
3. How is your relationship with your grandparents?
4. Who was your best friend and do you still have contact with them?
5. What did you do during the summertime?
6. From all the places you have visited, what is your favourite travel destination?
7. What are your hobbies?
8. What TV programmes do you watch regularly?
9. What is your favourite food?
10. How does your ideal future look like?

Appendix 2.2 Defined Version

1. Can you briefly introduce yourself, please?
2. Can you tell me more about your family?
    a. Where do your parents come from?
    b. What languages do you speak at home and does the communication work well?
3. How is your relationship with your grandparents?
4. Are there any TV programmes that you like to watch regularly?
5. For what kind of food can others wake you up in the middle of the night? Why?
6. What do you like to do in your summer holiday?
    a. Can you describe a day or give an example?
7. What do you think about the video clip and the Hafu2Hafu project?
    a. Have you gone through any similar experiences like Tetsuro?
8. How often do you go back to your (other parent's country) and how do you feel whenever you visit there?
    a. Would you consider living in (non-Dutch parent's country) permanently?
9. How do you handle the fact that you're not Dutch in the Netherlands and not (other half ethnicity) in (other country)?

10. Have you ever wanted to look more Dutch?
11. How does your ideal future look like? Please think about relationship wise, job wise, or in general.

Appendix 3: Interview Transcriptions

Appendix 3.1 Pilot Interview Transcription

Date: 22 February 2018
Time: 14:30 – 14:50
R: Researcher (Kim van Es)
M: Mabel

R: Good afternoon, (censored) Thanks for being here doing this pilot interview with me. I have in a total of ten questions for you. The first two questions are personal questions and then I have eight questions which mainly will cover your personal life, your experiences, and you can answer them briefly and tell me more about it if you want to.

M: Okay.

R: The first question, what's your name and how old are you?

M: My name is (censored) and I'm 24 years old.

R: Okay. Where do your parents come from?

M: My mother is from Indonesia, she came here when she was 23, she came to the Netherlands when she was 23, and my dad is Dutch, he was born in the Netherlands but he has a Greek father.

R: Oh, so he's actually half Dutch half Greek?

M: Yes, in ethnicity

R: Okay. Good to know. Okay, and the main questions. First, how is your relationship with your grandparents, and do you often see them?

M: Well my relationship with my grandparents is not very good. My grandparents of my mother's side, my grandpa and grandma from my mother's side died really young actually. Because of the distance, obviously I didn't see them that often, I did visit them when I was younger, but I can rarely remember things of that, so I rarely had contact with them and with my family's side, my grandpa passed away really early as well, like my stepdad of my father, who was a Dutchman, and he didn't have with his real father, the Greek one. He left him when he was a baby, so I don't know him either. But my grandma from my dad's side, I have the most contact. I see her on birthdays, family birthdays, but I don't really have that much contact with her either to be honest. I just see her on these birthdays, just as much as those other people.

R: But she does live in the Netherlands, right?

M: She does live in the Netherlands, yes, she is Dutch.

R: Hm-hm. Yeah. Okay.

M: So…I rarely have contact with her.

R: Yep. And do you remember your best friend and do you still have contact with them?

M: My best friend was a girl from high school. Um, her name was Kelly but I don't have contact with her anymore to be honest because after high school when we went to study we grew like apart and we have different interests, so I rarely speak to her anymore but she was my childhood best friend.

R: Okay. And was she Dutch? Or yeah, where is she from?

M: She's from…her mother was Dutch and her father was Croatian.

R: Okay. Yeah. And then the third question is, what did you do during the summer time, like during the summer holidays?

M: Like the latest?

R: Um, yeah. Or usually, what is…do you have any family traditions to do during the summer or what have you done during the past few summer vacations?

M: In the past few summer vacations, um, I went on holidays to Barcelona, to Florida, I went on my own actually but we also always tried to go away for a few days with my family with my mother and my brother during summer time because we were free with school, but with coming summer holiday we will go on a holiday together to Indonesia, and last time I didn't go on a holiday actually. I just worked the whole summer.

R: Hm, okay. And you said going together to Indonesia, did you go there often in the past?

M: Um yeah. So until I was about 15/16, we went once every two years so once every 2 years in the summertime with my mom, my brother, my sister, yeah.

R: Okay. And do you like visit your mom's hometown then?

M: Yeah I like to have contact with her family. They're obviously like really important to her as well. We…she still has her sister there, her sisters and her brothers, and their like wives and children, so they really like to see us, make our their like European family members. My mom like likes to see them as well, so we visited them quite often and I do enjoy it a lot.

R: Yeah, okay interesting. And from all the places you've visited so far, all the cities or countries, what is your favourite travel destination?

M: I think I really liked my time I spent in Florida, it's really sunny and they have nice food. Yeah, I think that's the nicest location.

29. R: And how about the people, do you like the people there as well?
30. M: Yeah I though they were really friendly and open, I thought they were very different than from the Netherlands where they're a lot more closed.
31. R: Hm, yeah, okay. And in general, what are your hobbies?
32. M: Um, my hobbies are, well if I have any free time I like to spend the most with my family, I go sometimes for drinks with my mom, or go shopping with my mom, that's what I like a lot. And then I like to spend a lot of time on like make up, finding new make up, watching make up videos, trying out new makeup, those kinds of things. I like travelling a lot.
33. R: So you seem to have a really good bond with your mother, I can hear like you often spend time with her, and yeah.
34. M: Yeah I like to spend time with my mom, especially as I've gotten older I just think that I've began to look more and more like her, in looks but also in like behaviors and yeah.
35. R: Yeah, like mother like daughter!
36. M: Yeah!
37. R: The next question is, do you have any favourite TV programmes or TV programmes that you watch regularly, no matter Dutch or American or um, yeah British?
38. M: I like to watch the series 'Suits' on Netflix, I think that's an American or Canadian series or something. Um…
39. R: Do you watch any Dutch television?
40. M: I watch a lot of Dutch television, I watch like a lot of like, I don't know which programmes I watch, I do watch a lot of Dutch television but…hm…I don't know the names of the programmes.
41. R: It's okay.
42. M: Like the 'Nederlandse Omroep', I watch them together with my mom as well. And yeah, I like those talent show programmes, like 'Holland's Got Talent'.
43. R: Oh yeah, typical Dutch TV.
44. M: Yeah yeah yeah!
45. R: Okay. Then um do you have any favourite food that you often eat or that you really like?
46. M: Well, it differs every time but I always like rice dishes, any rice dishes. Sometimes I eat it like all the time, for breakfast, for lunch, for dinner.
47. R: For breakfast? Oh!
48. M: Yeah. You can wake me up for rice for a piece of like meat or something, it can be like any meat, depending on what I feel like, like, how to you call that? Like cow meat? Or pork?
49. R: Oh! Steak or…?
50. M: Steak, yeah! Like rice and steak, or pork with rice, like fried egg. Sometimes my mom makes like vegetables, like fried vegetables with it as well. I think that…sometimes I have periods when I like different kinds of food, like pasta or something, but I always seem to get back to, my mom notices this as well, I always seem to get back to these rice dishes. The other things are just like phases.
51. R: Hm-hm. How about bread? Because in the Netherlands it's usually more common to eat bread or salad during breakfast or lunch, do you eat that sometimes or you prefer rice?
52. M: Well, I do prefer rice. I don't really like bread but sometimes it's a lot easier to eat bread when I go to school or when I'm on the way, so I do eat bread sometimes. Then I just take bread with me with like cheese or chicken, and then I eat that. I do eat bread sometimes.
53. R: Yeah, okay. Last question. How does your ideal future look like? It's a very broad question, but maybe you can think of after you graduate, or in 5 or 10 years, how would you like to see yourself?
54. M: I think I like to see myself being married, having children, I want two children, two or three children, I don't know yet. I want to have my mom really close to me. Ideally, if I could choose, I want a big house where she has her own like little studio living in my house.
55. R: Yeah I know. A lot of American families do that. They have like their separate…
56. M: Yeah, they do that, yeah. They take care of their parents. A lot of cultures do that. A lot of cultures where I think where a lot of countries their social security for older people isn't that well, they let their children to take care of their parents. But I just would just love that, that's just my dream, to have my mom close, and like sometimes have her take care of her grandchildren, my mom would like that as well. Like in terms of work, I hope to find something that I…I just want something that I like enjoy doing. It doesn't have to be like well, that well paid, but I do want to be able to enjoy it.
57. R: Yeah, that's the most important for a job, because you do it everyday.
58. M: Yeah.
59. R: Yeah, okay, that were all the questions. Thank you for being so participative.
60. M: Yes, thank you!

Appendix 3.2 Interview One

Date: 27 February 2018

Time: 20:45 – 21:10

R: Researcher

P: Patricia

1. R: Good evening, before we officially start the interview, I would first like to inform you more about this interview, the procedures after this. Our conversation will be audio recorded and this recording will only be used for analysis that extracts from this interview, so your answers and all your responses will be kept strictly confidential. Your name will not be linked with the research materials and you will also not be identifiable in the report that results from the research. So it's a private conversation, just feel casual so I hope you can enjoy it as well. First question, can you please briefly introduce yourself? Like your name, or not your name, your age, and what you study, and maybe a bit about your background?

2. P: Um, okay. Well, I'm 22 years old. I study at the University of Amsterdam; I'm doing a Master's in Artificial Intelligence. And about my background, my mother was born in Indonesia and she moved here when she was about 20 years old I think. My father is half Greek half Dutch, but he was raised in the Netherlands and me myself, I was also raised in the Netherlands and I was born here also.

3. R: So you're ethnicity, you would be half Dutch…or quarter Dutch and quarter Greek and half Indonesian, is that right?

4. P: Um, yes.

5. R: Okay, um…so at home, what languages do you speak home?

6. P: Um…just Dutch actually.

7. R: So, with your parents?

8. P: So my mother she just spoke to us. It wasn't the most correct Dutch but it was Dutch nonetheless. (R: Okay.) Yeah, so…basically only Dutch.

9. R: And how about…how about Indonesian? Did your mother, I assume because she came to the Netherlands at a later age, she can speak Indonesian, right?

10. P: Yes.

11. R: So did she ever teach you and your siblings the language?

12. P: Um…I think she taught my oldest sister, she taught some Indonesian. Apparently my sister could speak Indonesian when she was very young. But she stopped using Indonesian when she went to primary school, because other kids weren't speaking it and then she um…she forgot about the language basically. So…(R: Yeah.) but apart from some Indonesian words we don't really speak Indonesian, but we do kind of understand it when we hear someone speak it, but we can't speak it ourselves.

13. R: Hm…okay. So yeah a language you need to keep speaking it and learning it to be fluent in it of course. And um…how about your grandparents? How's your relationship with them?

14. P: So, my Asian grandparents or…?

15. R: Or both, you can tell a little bit about both sides if that's possible.

16. P: Um…so my Indonesian grandparents, well, my Indonesia grandfather, he died before I was born, so I don't know him. Um…and my Indonesian grandmother, she was alive for like um…until I was like 14 or something. But I saw her a few times because I went to Indonesia for a few times but not much more than that basically. Um…and my Dutch grandfather, well my Greek grandfather, he lives in Greece, so I saw him once and that's it. And my Dutch grandmother, well she's still alive and I see her regularly and yep.

17. R: Okay, so actually the closest grandparent that you have would be your Dutch grandmother, who also lives here in the Netherlands, right? Yes.

18. P: Yes.

19. R: Okay. And, um…let's talk more about your hobbies or your daily activities. Do you like to watch any TV programmes usually or are there any TV shows that you like to watch?

20. P: Um…I don't watch much TV actually. Sometimes I just watch Comedy Central, some easy to watch comedy stuff basically.

21. R: What was the name that you just mentioned?

22. P: I'm sorry?

23. R: What was the name that you just said, comedy centre…?

24. P: Oh, um, comedy central.

25. R: Oh, oh, okay. Comedy Central. So like you like to watch more funny shows, that sort?

26. P: Yeah, just easily digestible series, basically, not much…yeah.

27. R: And are these Dutch series, or American series?

28. P: Um…mostly American.

29. R: Okay. Um…how about food, what kind of food can, for example, your friend or your family, wake you up in the middle of the night for, and why do you like this kind of food?

30. P: Um…I think maybe…I think…I really like seafood, I don't know why I like it so much. Maybe it's because, yeah, I just really like Asian food. Haha.

31. R: Oh, like Asian seafood specifically?

32. P: Yeah, specifically Asian seafood.

33. R: Okay, um…can you give an example, like shrimps or fish, or seafood platter, or like Japanese sushi or something?

34. P: Yeah, I think sushi or also like noodles with shrimp or some similar dishes I guess.

35. R: Yeah, I like them too. Um…okay and about your past vacations or holidays, um…can you give an example, for example, last summer what did you do? Did you go anywhere or travel anywhere?

36. P: Um…no, I didn't actually. I just stayed here in the Netherlands.

37. R: Uh-huh. And how about the summers before, do you ever travel abroad or… any special activities?

38. P: Um…the last time I went on like…in the summer out of the country um…it was like two years ago I think, or three...yeah, I think two years ago, and it was to Indonesia to visit my family mainly. It was for a month. And …yeah so, my family has a house in Indonesia, it's in the same village as the…as that family of my mother. So we stayed there for a month. And just to visit all kinds of family, because we haven't seen them in years I guess.

39. R: Okay, and what do you do usually there apart from I mean…I think you visit your family members of your mom's side. How about other days? Could you maybe describe a usual day there?

40. P: Um…well, like we usually go there for like a month.

41. R: Yeah, it's pretty long.

42. P: Yeah.

43. R: Are there any special activities that you really like to do or that marked a very special memory in your mind?

44. P: Um…not particularly I think, so we were like a month there. Like we didn't go…a month just travelling, when you're a month there you start to live there, for a bit also. (R: Yeah.) So it's like…we were like a few days or a week or a few weeks of travelling, and really exploring the country basically. And the other time is just living there basically, so…just going o the mall or something, just regular life as it is there I guess.

45. R: Yeah, and then the rest of the days you travel through Indonesia, not just the city or village where your mom comes from, right?

46. P: Yes, for example, we went to Bali.

47. R: Okay. Um…okay, right now I have a short video for you, it's about a…a photo project done by a Belgium photographer and he is doing this project, um… capturing photos of people who have a…who also have a biracial background, and yeah, um…if you could just watch this video, it's very short, it's um…3 minutes, and then I have um…some more questions to ask you.

48. P: Alright.

49. R: Yeah.

50. plays video –

51. R: You've watched it?

52. P: Yeah I think it's finished.

53. R: Okay. Um…yeah it's really just a description about this photo project that he's doing. I think the photographer is half Belgium half Japanese, and he grew up in Brussels for most of his life and yeah, this project is still ongoing actually, he actually started this project when he was living in Amsterdam where he interviewed people with a half Japanese background and then through these interviews he hopes to get a better grab of how identity actually works, and how people position themselves in the society. And yeah, what do you think about this video and his project?

54. P: Um…well I think it might…it might create some understanding especially for people who are not biracial I guess. Um…just open up to experience of how it is to be biracial, um…so yeah, I think mainly that. I think it's not…it's the people who are not biracial who might find some recognition or some sense of belonging or something.

55. R: Hm-hmm, yeah. Because you are also half Dutch and half Indonesian, have you gone through any similar experiences like Tetsuro, like the photographer? Like in the beginning he talked about that football team, and during his childhood, do you have any similar experiences like him?

56. P: Um…well, of course. Um…yeah so I mean, there's always people that make some remarks or have made some remarks. Um…and yeah and so basically I just look different to native Dutch people, so um…yeah there has been remarks but I wouldn't say on a very large scale or something. (R: And…) The Netherlands is in general a pretty diverse country, I also think it's not a very new thing here or a weird thing here.

57. R: Hm-hmm. Yeah. And you said remarks by Dutch people, what kind of remarks are these and are these positive or negative?

58. P: Um…well both I guess. Um…when I was very young, like in primary school, when I was put into a new class, I wanted to make some new friends, so I was on the playground, so I asked two girls like, "oh can I play with you?" and one of the girls said, "no you can't play with us because you're brown." (R: Oh!) So that was pretty racist.

59. R: So they just looked at your skin color and said that?

60. P: Yeah, I've never met them before. I just asked can I play with you and they said "no, you can't play with us because you're brown." But um…another…actually what I find kind of funny but, it was also offensive, but another time when I was very young, um…I also went to play outside, um…just randomly somewhere in the street, and we were harassed by some other kids from the neighbourhood, and at a certain point they were screaming like um… "stupid Chinese people from the…the…the fry shop!" something, because I don't know, there was a…a cafeteria, that's the word (R: Oh cafeteria.) that was run by Chinese people, and they just thought that we were Chinese and we ran that cafeteria or something.

61. R: But they…that was like the first thing they said to you? You don't know them before, right?

62. P: No, I don't know them. And um…I didn't also…I didn't came up to them, they came up to us.

63. R: Yeah, this one is pretty offensive, the previous one as well, but this one is…yeah a little but more but yeah, they're both offensive.

64. P: Yeah I find it quite funny or something, it was such a ridiculous remark, but... I can also say, people are sometimes also interested or something, they find it exotic, for example, haha, I have a set ring, that's nose ring that's through the middle of my nose, (R: Oh yeah, hm-hmm) and um…at my…one of the teachers in high school, she was like, "oh! I didn't know that you had that! That's very exotic," as if was some kind of cultural, haha, um… cultural nose ring, some kind of piercing that everyone, anyone can have.

65. R: Yeah, exactly. It's not…I mean a lot of Dutch people or Western people also have this…this…these kinds of piercings, it's not something that's typically, I don't know, from another country or something, right?

66. P: Yeah. But then they probably won't call it um…'exotic' so for me it was like 'exotic' and for Dutch people it probably wouldn't be, so that was kind of funny also.

67. R: Yeah, okay, interesting stories. Um…then, you mentioned that two years ago you went back to Indonesia, where your mother is from, and how do you feel whenever you visit there?

68. P: Um…I don't particularly like being there, I guess. Um…I'm pretty used to um… well Western culture, and it's pretty different there, and…the climate's also very different. And I'm not really used to both I guess, and also, I like…Asian food in the Netherlands, but I don't particularly like um…Indonesian food.

69. R: Oh! So you prefer the Asian food um…like made here by Asian restaurants or cafeterias than the Indonesian food, the local food there.

70. P: Um…in a way, I guess. And um…

71. R: Okay.

72. P: Well it's also because I don't really like eating meat, and usually here you always have vegetarian options. But in Indonesian there's almost no vegetarian food, so there was kind of a problem for me, haha.

73. R: Oh, okay, yeah I can imagine yeah. And um…so you don't really like…you feel more comfortable in the Netherlands, can I say that?

74. P: Ah yes, definitely.

75. R: Then um…would you every concern living in Indonesia permanently or you…totally would not think about that?

76. P: I would not think about that at all. And…

77. R: What is the main reason for that? Because of the cultural difference, or you just prefer the Netherlands more?

78. P: Um…yeah, cultural differences, and I also really don't like the climate and I also don't think that um…the kind of career I would want to pursue I could do…I would be as successful as in or I could do nicely as I could do here I guess. So science and um…yeah that kind…IT careers, I think um…there's much better prospect here in the Western world than in Indonesian for example.

79. R: Yeah, because your major was artificial intelligence, right?

80. P: Ah yes.

81. R: Yeah that would, I think the Netherlands has indeed a more future of this ahead right now than Indonesia compared.

82. P: Yep.

83. R: And um…how about…how do you actually handle the fact that you're not Dutch in the Netherlands and neither are you Indonesian in Indonesia, like you're not from both sides, how do you handle this?

84. P: Um…well, here I don't really have any…I don't have any conscious struggle with it I guess. I mean I go to university, I work at university, um…and at university and…especially in the master's,

everyone is international themselves, so they're just from all over the place, so right, it's just very normal actually. So I don't really feel like I'm any different from anyone else. And in Indonesia, well, I look very Indonesian, so when I'm there the people just see me as a native basically. (R: Okay.) So they don't really make, when they heard that I don't speak Indonesian they know that I'm not Indonesian. Funny.

85. R: Okay. Then how about…have you ever wanted to like um…look more Dutch in a way?

86. P: Un….yeah I think in high school. Then everyone, and I was almost the only Asian person in my entire year. Um…and I felt kind of different then, but yeah, but then I was like "it would be nice to be like the other people but now not so much I think."

87. R: Yeah I think university is different, because like yeah, just like you said, more international, people come from different countries so that problem should not be…should not be a struggle anymore.

88. P: Yep, definitely.

89. R: Yeah. And then um…I have one last question for you, um…how would you um…imagine your future to look like, your ideal future? Like you can think of relationship wise, or career wise, or just in general.

90. P: Um…well haha, I hope um…to make a lot of money, of course. But I don't…I think everyone wants that. But in the end I just hope to have a pretty stable and comfortable life, like the partner, have a descent amount of money such that it's not something to worry about and just to have a descent house, and a family in the end I guess.

91. R: Like your own family, like getting married, and children?

92. P: Yeah, just the generic stable life I guess, nothing too crazy.

93. R: Hm-hmm, okay. Um…sounds promising. Yeah and that was the last question actually. (P: Okay.) Yeah thank you very much for being so participative and telling so much about your personal stories and experiences.

94. P: Okay, it was um…no problem.

Appendix 3.3 Interview Two

Date: 28 February 2018

Time: 13:30 – 13:55

R: Researcher

A: Alison

R: Okay, so good afternoon, thank you for taking part in my interview for my thesis. Before we start I would like to make sure that you understand what this conversation will be about so um…this conversation will be recorded and the recording of this will only be used for analysis that extracts from our interview and your responses will be kept strictly confidential so your name will not be linked with research materials and it will also not be identifiable in the reports that result from this research. So first, can you please briefly introduce yourself?

A: Okay. Um…so in English?

R: Yes, in English please.

A: Um…I'm (censored), I'm 22 years old. I study (censored); um…yeah I don't really know what to say.

R: Um…like um…what's your ethnicity, where are your parents from?

A: Um…so my father was born in China, in Wenzhou, and then when he was, I think he was two or four, I don't know, he went to Hong Kong and when he was seven or eight he went to the Netherlands, so my mom's Dutch, she's from Brabant. And…yeah.

R: Okay. Do you have any siblings?

A: No.

R: And at home, what language did you speak growing up?

A: Dutch. My father never taught me his Chinese dialect, that's 'Wenzhou-hua', so we only spoke Dutch.

R: Hm-hmm, so um…did you ever send you to a Chinese school?

A: No, never. No, he specifically didn't want me to learn Chinese, because he taught that that would ruin my Dutch, like my competencies in Dutch, but um…I did learn Chinese on my own.

R: Okay.

A: Or not on my own but not from my father, haha.

R: So like self online?

A: Um…no I took a master class in Mandarin Chinese in high school, which is just a little bit, it was really easy, and then um…I took some Chinese courses during my bachelor, and then I went to Shanghai for an exchange for half a year and I took a full time Chinese courses, so I learnt Mandarin there. And then when I came back to the Netherlands I took a year again, like a Chinese course every week, so I went to this Chinese school with all these other Chinese Dutch students. So yeah…

R: So actually you are for yourself you are interested in learning the language?

A: Definitely.

R: Okay. And what is the reason that you want to learn?

A: Um…I think basically all my life everyone was always like, "what is this in Chinese?" and then you're like, "I don't know." Haha, so um…I don't know, at some point I was just like maybe I should learn it, and it started off as a joke in high school because there was this master class in Chinese and me and my friends just took it. And then I found it to be really interesting and I think the first time when I went to China, which is in 2011, I went there with my parents for one month, and then people in China, they really just assume that you are Chinese, 'cause I look really Chinese, haha, um…and it was really frustrating that I couldn't speak to them and couldn't understand them, it felt like they were just yelling at me, "why don't you understand me?" and but now I learnt that it's just the Chinese language that sounds like that. So yeah…

R: Yeah, because it's a tonal language, that's why it sounds like that.

A: Yeah, exactly! But now I know, haha.

R: And how about your grandparents, can you tell me a little bit more about both sides of your grandparents?

A: Um...yeah so my father's parents, so my Chinese grandparents, um…when they lived in Wenzhou there was not enough food so that's why I think why my grandfather first moved to Hong Kong to start making money. Then when he had enough money um…he made the rest of the family move there. And then when they and more money they moved to the Netherlands. And then they started a Chinese restaurant of course, haha. Um…also somewhere in Brabant. And my mom's parents, so my Dutch grandparents, um…they had a farm, also somewhere in Brabant. And so yeah pretty different families I guess.

R: Yeah, and do you see them often?

26. A: They all passed away now, but um…and my Dutch grandparents they passed away at a really early age so I didn't really get to know them. But I knew my Chinese grandparents, so yeah. I knew them a bit, used to visit them.
27. **R: Can you communicate well with your Chinese grandparents?**
28. A: No, their Dutch was not that good. Um…so it was a little bit difficult. But I think my grandmother passed away when I was seven, and my grandfather passed away when I was 18 or something or 17, so I never really knew them that well, I had a really hard time understanding my grandpa's Dutch but he spoke a little bit of Dutch. And it was funny we always ate like Chinese soup at his house.
29. **R: Yeah, typically Chinese food I assume.**
30. A: Yeah.
31. **R: Okay, next, what are your hobbies? Do you often like watch TV or can you tell me a bit more about what you do in your free time?**
32. A: I like to go out with friends, I love dancing. I used to take dance classes like all my life, um…(R: what kind of dancing?) hip-hop. And I love that, and dancehall. And um…now just going out with friends, I work at a restaurant, it's not really my hobby but something I do in my free time.
33. **R: Like part-time job?**
34. A: Yeah, exactly.
35. **R: And what kind of restaurant is that?**
36. A: It's called In-Stock, it's a restaurant that's…that works against…like it works with food surplus, to work against food waste, so it's like sustainable.
37. **R: Oh okay, yeah. Um…hm-hmm.**
38. A: Yeah.
39. **R: And spoken of food, like what kind of food can someone wake you up in the middle of the night? Like what food do you love the most?**
40. A: Um…everything. Haha. Um…I don't know.
41. **R: Just typically something you can eat anytime of the day.**
42. A: Hm…I don't know. I love chocolate, fruit. Um…and then yeah, I really like Chinese food but when I lived in Shanghai I got really fat because I loved Chinese food so much, haha.
43. **R: Hm, yeah. But you do love Chinese food?**
44. A: Yeah, but not the Chinese food that they serve in Chinese restaurants in the Netherlands because I think that's not really Chinese food.
45. **R: No, it's not…not really local and it's u…changing because to…adapt to the Dutch (A: Yeah, exactly.) taste.**
46. A: It's basically Dutch food.
47. **R: Actually it is. Haha, yeah.**
48. A: But I love the real Chinese food, so I love when my dad cooks Chinese, or um…the food that I ate in Shanghai when I lived there. Like baotze. You can wake me up for a baotze anytime, haha. Or Jiaotze. Hahaha.
49. **R: And how about…can you tell me a little bit more about your past holiday for example, what did you do? Did you travel abroad for example?**
50. A: This past summer?
51. **R: Yes.**
52. A: Past summer I went to Morocco with friends, we were a group of seven, or six. And um…we just travelled around in Morocco for like three weeks. It was a lot of fun.
53. **R: And did you go to Casa Blanca, or…?**
54. A: No, we went to um…Taka Sut, Agadir, haha, um…Marakkesh, and the desert. So we went for like camel rides, through the deserts.
55. **R: And those were your university friends, or your friends from high school?**
56. A: No, those were friends from high school.
57. **R: Okay. The high school that you went to, was it a local high school or a international high school?**
58. A: Local.
59. **R: So like with Dutch kids usually?** (A: Yeah.) **Mostly.**
60. A: Yeah. But I did bilingual um…bilingual education, so there were a lot of like Canadian kids as well, or English, or Irish. Haha.
61. **R: Yeah, because your English is pretty good.**
62. A: Thank you, hahaha.
63. **R: Okay. So now I'm going to show you a little clip about a project, it's called Hafu2Hafu, which actually translates into half to half, because 'hafu' means half in Japan, like mixed blood in Japanese. And um…there's this photo project of this half Belgium half Japanese photographer who captures and interviews people who are half blood in living abroad, so half blood people living in Japan and also other countries in the world. So we're going to watch this, it's three minutes, and then I have some more questions for you.**
64. plays video –
65. A: Hm.

66. R: Yeah. So that's his project and it's actually still ongoing and the funny thing is that he actually started this project in Amsterdam, he lives in Amsterdam, and it's been like almost two years since this project, so he's collecting all kinds of photographs and interviewing people and yeah, what do you think about this project?

67. A: It sounds really interesting.

68. R: Hm-hmm. And um…why?

69. A: I think it's interesting that they have to ask a question back.

70. R: At the end, yeah.

71. A: Yeah, that's so interesting and what he said about like sort of feeling of not belonging to a country where you are 'cause um…because other people don't see you as part of that society. I think that's really relatable for a lot of half bloods.

72. R: And what do you think about the fact that he mentioned um...like the experiences of the other half is also very significant in how they get treated in the society, for example, if the other parent is half African (A: Yeah.) compared to the other parent half European, or half Asian, um…do you…

73. A: Yeah I never thought of that before, because I always think about half-bloods if I think about like half Asians always in the sense that the other half is either European or American or Canadian and I never thought about that affect that it has than…but of course it's so different if you're from any other country and even within your…whatever, of course it has a big affect (R: Yeah.) and if it has a big affect on how the country is viewed as the country where you live in. For example, so if in the Netherlands you have a view on China than in South Africa or America. (R: Yeah, exactly.) So different. That's really interesting it goes into that.

74. R: And do you have any similar experiences like Tetsuro, that's the photographer's name. Um…Like for example, he mentioned about the football team, the struggle.

75. A: Yeah, I remember in um…the last grade of lower school, how do you say…

76. R: Primary school?

77. A: Yeah. Um…we had this…. yeah I don't know…this thing and we all had to represent countries. It was sort of like a show. And then I remember my teacher being like, "so you're China." So I was like "what I don't even get to choose? Why… I don't even want to be China." I wanted to be like… I don't know…France, haha, you know it was just this stereotypical thing where you had to bring objects ,so France with like croissants or something. And then I was China but I didn't wanna be, I didn't want to represent China 'cause you always sort of represent China and I was really young and at least when I was really young I was like why am I not blond, like all of my friends, and I am Dutch, why do people assume that I'm Chinese, 'cause I didn't really feel Chinese at all. Um…yeah.

78. R: And has this changed over time?

79. A Yeah, definitely. So at first I only wanted to be blond and Dutch when I was really young and then I went to middle school and it sort of stayed that way. And then somewhere half way puberty of after puberty I was just like, "oh actually this is really interesting!", so I started taking Mandarin courses, I started working at an…IWokandGo, and so I met other Chinese-Dutch people, and I never…'cause I always saw my cousins who had both Chinese, is it cousins? Nicht?

80. R: Yeah, cousins.

81. A: They had both Chinese parents, so like you said, they had to go to both Chinese um…like classes, course, schools, they had other Chinese Dutch friends. And I never had that, I just grew up like a Dutch girl, I guess, sort of. Um…yeah, so then I just started to wanting to have that part as well, and I think up until that part I just wanted to push the 'Chineseness' aside, and that's where I started to be really interested in it.

82. R: Hm-hmm, yeah. Interesting, yeah. So identity can indeed change over time.

83. A: Yeah, definitely so I think if you're really young you're just so vulnerable of what other people say, and I just wanted to fit in. (R: Yeah.) But you're never gonna completely like fit in with the Dutch prototype, because you're just not, haha.

84. R: Hm-hm, yeah. Um…Okay. And um…you mentioned that two years ago or in 2011 you went to China right?

85. A: Yep.

86. R: How about before? Do you often go back there regularly with your parents, to visit family or something?

87. A: Um…so 2011 was the first time for me and I went with my parents. And then I met my great grandmother, haha, she lived there, and some other far away family that they call family in China but I'm not sure if they're family, you never really know, haha! Um…and the second time I went back was year after that, so I went back for school, it was an exchange for two weeks, I lived with a Chinese family in Beijing. And it was really interesting, and then the next time I went back is when I lived there in Shanghai, so that was like two years ago.

88. R: 2016?

89. A: Yeah.

90. R: So in your childhood when you were really younger, you really never went back there?

91. A: No, we never really went back there which is really weird when you think about it because we went to Malaysia, Vietnam, so pretty close but we never went to China but I think it's because my dad is so not interested in China. I think all his life he just wanted to not like even relate to China, so…yeah.
92. **R: Do you know the reason behind this? Is it because he came here at a young age or…?**
93. A: Maybe because he feels really Dutch, and um…like his brothers and sisters, they don't. They feel quite Chinese I think. And they all married a Chinese person, and my dad was, "No I don't wanna be like that, I wanna marry a Dutch person and I am Dutch." (R: Hm-hmm.) And I guess he just wanted me to grow up as a Dutch person as well, but I'm not sure.
94. **R: Interesting, yeah. And how about if you think of, would you ever consider living in China permanently?**
95. A: Un…I would love to live in China for a couple of years, or have a job for example that takes me to China every year or a couple of months, but I would not want to raise my children in China, because of how the society is shaped and um…it's just crazy growing up there I think, so…and I think in the Netherlands you have so many more opportunities, um…and yeah, haha.
96. **R: Hm-hm. And um…how do you actually handle the fact that, because you're half Dutch half Chinese, you're neither entirely Dutch in the Netherlands, but also neither entirely Chinese in China.** (A: Yeah.) **How do you deal with this?**
97. A: Yeah you're never good enough haha. 'Cause when I lived in Shanghai, people would always assume that I was Chinese I guess, so that they would speak Chinese to me and my Chinese is very basic, so they would immediately hear that I'm not Chinese and they'd be really like, "what? But you look really Chinese! Where are you from?", and I would be like, "well, my Dad's Chinese blablaba", and they'd be like, "why didn't your father teach you Chinese!?" and get angry. So…
98. **R: "It's a disgrace"?**
99. A: Yeah yeah yeah, exactly. They would really get so angry. And um…here now it's okay but I used to feel not Dutch enough. And yeah, still one of the first questions that people ask me is where are you from? No, where're you really from? Where are your parents from? What are your roots? Um…but now I think it's nice, it's less boring than just being Dutch. I don't know. It's interesting. And I really like it. And yeah. Now it's okay, haha.
100. **R: And um…yeah you talked about that do you ever want to look more Dutch, but you said that in middle school you did actually during your puberty period you really wanted to look more Dutch to fit in with the other kids at school. And growing up you started having this feeling less and less. So…that um…leads me to my final question, how do you want your ideal future to look like, and you can think of different aspects, like relationship wise, or career wise, or just in general.**
101. A: Um…I would love to work in sort of mediation between Dutch and Chinese organizations or companies and um…I would love to improve my Mandarin Chinese so I could go back to China soon after my studies and learn more. And maybe…maybe help other Dutch companies do business with Chinese companies, or the other way round, sort of build a bridge between the two because I suppose that's what I've been doing all my life. Haha. Um…I hope I have a husband, somewhere, haha, in the future, in the long-term future, and I want to have kids for sure.

Appendix 3.4 Interview Three

Date: 5 March 2018

Time: 14:30 – 15:00

R: Researcher

S: Sarah

1. **R: So um…good morning (name censored), thank you for being here and taking part in this interview for my thesis. First, can you please briefly introduce yourself: your name and age.**
2. S: Sure. So my name is (name censored). I'm 25 years old, I currently live in Amsterdam and I grew up in Almere, which is a city pretty nearby Amsterdam. So do you already want to know something about my background?
3. **R: Um…yeah like what do you study?**
4. S: Yep, so I study communication science at the University of Amsterdam. I'm currently in my short track programme, 'cause I'm following a program at the university of applied sciences. Um…and apart from that I work at an advertising agency.
5. **R: Okay. And um…can you please tell me a bit more about your family?**
6. S: Yep. So um…my mom and dad they still live together in Almere, my mother is from Indonesia. She has lived in Jakarta until she was 17 years old and then she came to the Netherlands. Her background is actually half Chinese and half Indonesian. So therefore I'm a quarter Chinese and a quarter Indonesian. And my dad is originated in the Netherlands and he comes from Friesland.
7. **R: Friesland, okay. So your mom came to the Netherlands to meet your dad?**
8. S: Well my mom came to the Netherlands because my grandfather was a politic, um what do you call it (R: Politician?). Well he was a journalist but because Indonesia that time didn't have like a lot of freedom of speech, so he got into a political jail and therefore my grandmother that she had to go to another living and to see if she could provide a better future for her children so my grandmother left I think about maybe 7-8 years earlier than my mother and she left to Britain in first instance and there she got her master's degree and her education degree and then she came to the Netherlands because she got a job offer here and then she could teach English at the university.
9. **R: Okay, so they're pretty well educated people.**
10. S: Yeah.
11. **R: And then how about at home? What kind of languages do you speak at home?**
12. S: Well at home we speak Dutch actually. I wish I could have speak Indonesian too but I can't because my dad didn't approve of me speaking Indonesian when I was a child. Cause he didn't know that language and he was afraid that my mom and I will talk to each other in Indonesian and then he could not understand what we would say. So that's why he didn't approve of me to speak Indonesian at home.
13. **R: Okay. So the communication is mainly in Dutch?**
14. S: Yeah.
15. **R: And how does it work for you?**
16. S: It's okay I mean it's my mother tongue of course so…I've been used to using Dutch my entire life but yeah now I'm getting older I kind of wish I would be able to speak Indonesian also with my family that's still in Indonesia. It would be nice if I was able to speak in Indonesian with them too.
17. **R: Yeah. And you told me about your grandparents just now. How's your relationship with them? Do you see them often?**
18. S: Unfortunately they both passed away. My grandfather passed away after he had been in prison in Indonesia because the circumstances were that bad that he got sick, and my mom had to take care of him and after he passed away my mom came to the Netherlands so that's kind of how that story ended. And my grandmother passed away I think about four years ago now, maybe three or four years ago, cause she had…um…how do you call that…she had a blood clot in her head, twice, and she couldn't really get better from that anymore. Her relation wasn't very well; she was very old too, so she passed away unfortunately.
19. **R: Okay. But about before, that's very unfortunate that they passed away now. How about when you were a child, did you have any good memories with them?**
20. S: Yeah, with my grandmother especially because my grandfather I didn't knew him as he was never in the Netherlands but my grandmother and I used to cook together, she taught me Indonesian cooking skills, and she taught me how to read English, 'cause she thought that was very important, of course, with her job being a teacher at the university. I guess when I was two or three, I started to learn Dutch, she actually taught me how to speak English too. So from a very young age on I was used to talking in English too, so that's nice.
21. **R: And this is your Asian grandparents, right?**

22. S: Yes.
23. **R: How about your Dutch grandparents?**
24. S: My Dutch grandparents unfortunately I never knew, because my father, is quite old, you can say. I come from a second marriage, so my father was already in his 50s when I was born so his father and mother had passed away quite a long time ago before I was born.
25. **R: Yep, okay. Thanks for telling me about your family. How about your daily life, what hobbies do you have?**
26. S: Um…so I really like to eat, so I tend to eat out a lot or go to the Zeedijk and try different kinds of Asian foods, or just see what kind of restaurants have recently opened or Google food trends and see some food blogs. Well since I'm a woman it's kind of obvious that I like fashion too I guess, so I do a lot of online shopping, I guess you could almost say that that's a hobby, haha. Yeah. And I like to go to the gym, at this moment it's a bit less because I'm quite busy with my education and with my work. And also with the moving stuff, so normally I go to the gym about three to four times a week.
27. **R: Oh, that's pretty intensive.**
28. S: Yeah. I like to clear my head in the gym. It kind of gives me some headspace and think about the stuff that I did or about my goals so, yeah that's pretty nice. Yeah travelling of course I really like, so I think those are my main hobbies.
29. **R: And you like travelling, could you tell me a bit more, for example, what did you do in the past summer holiday?**
30. S: Yeah, so past summer holiday we only did a….no I did not. We went to Rome for a long weekend for my birthday. So that was really nice and at the end of the summer I went to Israel and Jordan with my mom. And in early summer Dylan and I went pack backing in Indonesia and we visited my family and just explored Indonesia and its islands.
31. **R: And have you been to Indonesia before?**
32. S: Yep.
33. **R: Do you go there often to visit family?**
34. S: So I went there for the first time when I was two, and then in between my second year and my twenty first I never went there anymore.
35. **R: Oh that's a long time.**
36. S: Yeah that's a really long time, so when I got older I started to get more interested in Indonesia and in my family because I didn't see them very often. Sometimes we emailed or they would visit Europe and then I would see them but yeah as I got older I became more and more interested in them, so now I try to visit them regularly, but I've only been there three times now. Yeah.
37. **R: And how does it feel when you go there?**
38. S: Feels like home. Yeah. It's super weird because of course yeah from the visit that I had when I was two I can't remember much because first you're that young, you don't really know what happens, but the first time when I got there when I was older, immediately it just felt like home. Just the people are so nice, the climate is nice, the country itself is very hectic, 'cause my family lives in Jakarta, so that's quite intense. But yeah it's really nice; I really like it there.
39. **R: And because you told me you don't really speak the language there, how do you communicate with the family?**
40. S: So my family is quite well educated, so they all speak English and they even speak English at home, it's kind of like their main language of communication now because the children in the family they all go to international schools, and when they're older they study in foreign countries such as the U.S., and a lot of my family members have also studied in the Netherlands, so therefore some of them can even speak Dutch actually, so that's nice.
41. **R: So you don't really actually feel left out or anything when you go there?**
42. S: No, not really. No, and sometimes I do understand the things that they talk about when they do speak Indonesian, but I guess that's mainly because I grew up with Indonesian food because of my grandmother so you start to know, get to know the words that the foods have, yeah and the main thing that everyone talks about is food so you kind of know what they're talking about, yeah.
43. **R: And you said you really like Asian food, can you tell me a bit for example, for what kind of food can someone else wake you up in the middle of the night?**
44. S: Oh I must say that like the main dish that everyone can wake me up is Babi Guling.
45. **R: Babi Guling? What is that exactly?**
46. S: It's a suckling peak so it's a Balinese dish. So they roast a pig overnight in the hole in the ground.
47. **R: Really?**
48. S: And then they add spices and it's so good, like the outside is super crispy and the inside is very tender, yeah, I recommend it to everyone.
49. **R: I think I might know this dish because Chinese dish you have this as well.**
50. S: Really? Because from the Chinese dishes I really like "char-siu".
51. **R: Um, it's also pork but I think it's another kind, um because this…**
52. S: Because that's roasted differently, right?
53. **R: Yeah, I'll show you later.**
54. S: Yeah.

55. R: Okay, right now I would like to show you the video that I told you about the project.

56. S: Sure.
– Plays video –

57. R: So after watching this video about the project, it's called Hafu2Hafu, what are your thoughts about this project?

58. S: Um…I really like it, I like that he very well explains his first kind of yeah the moment that he felt that he was not actually Belgian, it was very familiar, because I think all of us probably have had that moment like that. So that was really nice, it was very familiar, and you really get to understand where he's coming from and what he's aiming for, and I like that he's trying to get this subject more in the open.

59. R: Hm-hmm, yeah, exactly. And you said you also have familiar feelings, did you have similar experiences like him?

60. S: Yeah, especially when I was younger, so I think age four when you go to school for the first time, then I was playing outside with my friends, they would always be like "but you're Chinese", and I was like "no but I'm Dutch too", but yeah, you don't really feel Dutch because you don't look Dutch, and especially small children, they're super honest, they don't mean any harm but they just say what they see, so yeah, at that point I started to realize that I wasn't as Dutch as the blond girls from next door.

61. R: Yeah. And how often…sorry…yeah, so like when you started realized when you're not totally Dutch, or not as Dutch as the other kids, how do you actually handle or deal with that? Did you go to any like negative experiences?

62. S: Well, yeah, it felt kind of difficult because they only thing you want when you're a child is to fit in. That's all a child really wants I think. So for me that was kind of difficult because I grew up in a very white neighborhood, all my neighbors were very white and my high school fellow mates were all very white, so I felt kind of I didn't fit in, but then I was kind of older, I started appreciate the fact that I was different. And now I really value that, I really like that I'm not the same as everyone else but yeah, I think when you're a kid, you kind of have to go through your own identity discovery journey, sounds a bit vague, yeah, I think for a kid that might be a bit harder in the beginning but then after you accept it, it's really nice.

63. R: Like after puberty?

64. S: Yeah, after puberty.

65. R: And the schools you attended, were those local schools or…?

66. S: Yeah.

67. R: So the majority were Dutch kids?

68. S: Yeah.

69. R: And um…how about have you ever wanted to look more Dutch?

70. S: Um yeah I think especially as a child, I wanted that and even when I was in puberty I dyed my hair blonde one time, oh that was awful.

71. R: Haha, did you do that because of wanting to fit in or just because you liked the color?

72. S: Yeah I guess I liked it, kind of, and it might also be, like unconsciously again, trying to fit in, so yeah.

73. R: How do you handle the fact that you're not completely Dutch here in the Netherlands, but when you go to Indonesia, you're also not totally Indonesian?

74. S: No, no. Um…well the funny thing is in Indonesia everyone gets super excited about it, because I'm of course the Western Indonesian girl that comes in there, so everyone wants to take pictures with you, and they're super interested. They do speak Indonesian to me, so I guess they think I do talk Indonesian at least, so that's nice, that gives you a feeling of fitting in I guess. And here, yeah, now that I live in a bigger city, in Amsterdam, I feel like I fit in pretty well, because it's so multinational here and yeah, there's not a lot real Dutch people anymore around, so that makes it easier I guess, but yeah, because especially when I used to live in Almere, I often really had a feeling that I was different than maybe I was more open-minded to certain things. Yeah.

75. R: I think apart from Amsterdam, I think in the Netherlands it's quite multicultural society, so yeah.

76. S: That's true.

77. R: So, um…last question is could you tell me how your ideal future looks like, in a couple of years for example?

78. S: Oh I find it very difficult. Um because I really don't know to be honest, there's a lot of things that I would like, that's a part of me that really wants to work and live in another country for a couple of years. My ideal would be to live in another country in Asia.

79. R: Do you have a country in mind?

80. S: Well, maybe a country such as Singapore or Kuala Lumpur because I feel that you can get away with speaking English there, haha.

81. R: You can consider Hong Kong too.

82. S: Yeah, that would be really nice too, so that's something I would like. I would say that Indonesia would be a good option too but the economy is just not that stable there, so as an expat it's kind of hard to get a job, so that's why I guess not that ideal and also the good jobs are there are in

Jakarta and Jakarta is just crazy. So I don't think that if I would want to move with my partner he wouldn't want to come with me to come to Jakarta, pretty sure.

83. R: But you say "crazy", why? Because I haven't been there, so…

84. S: Yeah, so Jakarta is kind of … the infrastructure is really bad and the amount of people is just way too much for the city, so there's like a constant traffic gam and you can see a big difference between poverty and richness like within the same street, so that makes it a bit yeah a bit weird for us as Westerners. Yeah.

85. R: So how about job wise, do you have any career goals?

86. S: So yeah, I always thought I wanted to keep on working in the advertising industry and I still really like that, but when it comes to a couple of years from now on, I'm not sure. It could be that maybe I would be open to working in a corporate company to because it gives more stability of course, so that's something I find very difficult. I think yeah for now advertising agency still suits me very well, so maybe something um…in like more to data to advertising is what I find very interesting so I think my future is probably somewhere in that area. Yeah.

87. R: And would you ever consider living in Indonesia permanently?

88. S: Yeah, yeah, certainly.

89. R: Like permanently? For always?

90. S: Yeah, yeah. I don't think I would mind that, the only thing I find difficult about that is that um…my father is older, um…he's 83 years old now, um…so the only thing that I need to make sure of is that he doesn't need to be taken care of while I would be away, that's kind of a main issue for me.

91. R: Yeah, but otherwise you won't find it a problem to live there?

92. S: No, no. If I could yeah convince my boyfriend to come with me as well especially, that's also quite important I guess, but then I would really consider moving there.

93. R: Okay. Those were all the questions actually, so thank you for your taking part.

94. S: Yeah, you're welcome.

Appendix 3.5 Interview Four

Date: 7 March 2018, 12:00 – 12:45

R: Researcher

K: Karen

1. **R: So good afternoon, (name censored). Thanks for taking part in my interview for my thesis so before we start I first want to make sure that you understand that this interview will be recorded but the recording of this will only be used for my own transcription purposes and it will…all the responses will be kept strictly confidential and your name will not be linked with any of my research materials and it will not appear in my report.**
2. K: Okay.
3. **R: So everything is anonymised.**
4. K: Okay, yes.
5. **R: So can you briefly yourself?**
6. K: Yep. So I'm (name censored). Do you want to know my last name as well?
7. **R: No, that's not necessarily. Like what do you do? What do you study?**
8. K: I study Asian Studies or more specifically Chinese Studies within Asian Studies, and I'm 24 years old. I live in Zoetermeer.
9. **R: Did you grow up there?**
10. K: No, actually I was born in the Hague and then when I was really, really young, so I guess only a few months old, I moved to Leidsche Dam and then when I was around eight years old I moved to Zoetermeer, and that's where I've been living.
11. **R: And how about, can you tell me a bit more about your family? Where are your parents from?**
12. K: My dad is actually from The Hague as well. Yeah, so he was born there. It was not…so let me do it calmly. So my dad is from The Hague, from Holland; my mom is from Malaysia. So but my dad has not lived in Holland his whole life, I think when he was eighteen he moved to Australia first, I think he lived there around three years. And then he moved to England, lived there for quite a while as well, and then he moved back to Holland. And my mom after she met my dad I think she…maybe…how long has she been living here? At least more than twenty years for sure.
13. **R: Okay. So she came here first and then she met your dad.**
14. K: Yeah, exactly. It was because her friend from Malaysia was living here as well, so she came to visit her.
15. **R: So just to specify, your mom's parents are originally from China, right? Or they have Chinese ancestors?**
16. K: Yeah, yeah, yeah. They're from Guangxi, so at the South, they actually, their…for me I'd say their mother tongue is Cantonese, but apparently there is this Guangxi dialect, which is very close to Cantonese pronunciation.
17. **R: They're neighbouring provinces, but I'm not sure whether they speak the same language.**
18. K: I only know that "ho leng ah[3]" they would say "ho liang[4]".
19. **R: Oh okay. That's a little bit different but I think they're similar.**
20. K: Yeah, yeah, yeah.
21. **R: Okay. And how about at home, what languages do you speak at home?**
22. K: Me with my parents?
23. **R: Yeah.**
24. K: Well, with my dad I speak Dutch. With my mom, I used to, before I could speak Chinese, I used to speak Dutch to her. But before she decided to live here, or after she decided to live here, she went to a Dutch school. So but that doesn't mean that her Dutch is that perfect, so I grew up in this environment where my mom kept speaking in English to my Dad, because they were used to it, and then I would speak Dutch to my mom, but she would (inaudible). For example, when it's about food, she would use certain Cantonese worlds, but then predominantly Dutch, and then English as well. I guess she's just used to it, but now I can speak Chinese it's like this weird mix of English, Dutch and then Mandarin and then sometimes little Cantonese words.
25. **R: But like your mom's mother tongue is actually Cantonese?**
26. K: Yeah.
27. **R: And you said before learning Chinese, you started learning Mandarin I assume?**

[3] Meaning "very pretty" in Cantonese.

[4] Meaning "very pretty" in Guangxi dialect.

28. K: Actually there was...when I was really, really small I could speak Cantonese. Then that stuff is afterwards, apparently my parents were scared my Dutch would become really bad, which it is anyway, haha, but it's okay, it cannot be improved anymore, but I continued to went to Chinese school when I was seventeen. And my Chinese was so bad that I…I was in this class which the youngest was like seven years old, so can you imagine a seven year old with a seventeen year old? And another one was thirteen but he was exception but it was mostly focused on Cantonese…no, no, no, it was mostly focused on Cantonese, and then one lesson was in Mandarin. So I got the "ah-ah-ah-ah" (Chinese tones) quite well, it helped a lot, but Cantonese, I wouldn't say it was great, because everyone could already speak Cantonese, basically I was just trying to memorise. I wasn't learning it actively, so yeah.
29. **R: Was it like your own decision to go to this Chinese school?**
30. K: Yeah. It's weird because in high school only I started to be interested, before I didn't really care about it. I don't know. I remember there was this moment I went to Malaysia for vacation, and I've been there multiple times, but there was just this moment when I met another family member who's actually half Indian, half Chinese, but from Malaysia, but she moved to America and she grew up there, and she could speak Mandarin! I was like, "oh, damn!", like maybe I should do something about this, because it's quite, I don't know if you have the same feeling, sometimes you don't really…oh because you can speak Cantonese, right?
31. **R: Yeah, I do, but for me it's like the opposite because I didn't grow up here.**
32. K: Oh, you didn't grow up here?
33. **R: Yeah I grew up in Hong Kong, but then my Dutch wasn't that good until I came here.**
34. K: Oh, I see! So did you have this feeling like oh you couldn't really understand Dutch and that made you feel…uncomfortable?
35. **R: It's not like I couldn't understand, I could understand most of it, but I didn't really feel comfortable in speaking it. Just because I wasn't fluent in it, and a lot of difficult words I couldn't understand it. I could just understand some basic words.**
36. K: Oh, I see.
37. **R: I'm not sure if you had the same?**
38. K: Because my grandma lives in a very…she used to live in a very little town, it's like this typical Chinese town far away…I wouldn't say like miles away from the city but it was that near (inaudible), so people weren't really able to speak English, except for my family who was actually from the big city, and I just felt a bit like…I don't know, that you really want to be able to communicate with them, but you can't. So when I saw this...I guess she's my…I don't really know how to call her…I guess my niece, maybe?
39. **R: Cousin?**
40. K: Cousin, maybe, yeah. When I saw her like speaking Chinese, I was like, "maybe I should do it".
41. **R: That's why you started wanting to learn it?**
42. K: Yeah, yeah. So I guess I don't…so my mom has a few friends here, so one of her friends, her son actually went to that school, and so I was like, maybe I should try it, and I tried it, yeah. She was like, "well, if you want to…".
43. **R: Yeah I think she would support your decision.**
44. K: A lot of people say that, not necessarily true.
45. **R: No?**
46. K: When it comes to Cantonese, no. Because when I told her I would just started learning Cantonese here at the school, she was like, "why? Because you're not going to use it." Even though…
47. **R: But it's her mother tongue, still she thinks it's not really useful in the society?**
48. K: No, but I don't… mean she actually told me, "oh, I'm happy that you're speaking Mandarin so you can help me improve my Mandarin!".
49. **R: So she prefers you to learn Mandarin?**
50. K: Yeah, yeah, yeah, she does. But she wasn't that happy of Mandarin either though. Because I guess she would rather want me to…I mean…at least at the beginning…something that is more straightforward, um…let me think, I have no idea actually. If there would be a master in translation, that would be quite right to the point, right? Like when you graduate, you're going to do…would probably do something in translation. But I think she would rather see me do something more direct, but after she understood that Mandarin is quite booming right now, she relaxed a bit and she actually enjoys it now, so that's good.
51. **R: That's good, yeah. And how about your grandparents, how's your relationship with them?**
52. K: Hmmm, on both sides or…?
53. **R: Yeah, on both sides.**
54. K: So my mom's family all live in Malaysia, now some have moved to Australia as well. So I didn't see them that much, probably…it used to be once every three years or so.
55. **R: That you go back there?**
56. K: Yeah, yeah, yeah.
57. **R: Okay.**

58. K: But of course I grew up here so I used to see my grandma and my grandpa before every week on Sunday.
59. **R: Like your Dutch grandparents.**
60. K: Yeah. And we still do that actually. So yeah, I just grew up and used to have sleepovers there, but yeah.
61. **R: Then how does the communication go with your Chinese grandparents?**
62. K: So this it the problem, hahaha, because my family can speak Cantonese, and I still cannot really, to be honest. For example, my grandpa he died when my mom was six, so I didn't really get to meet him; but my grandma…yeah…so I mentioned when I was smaller I could speak a bit Cantonese, right? So it was I guess I was speaking like a child would do, like, (R: Basic words?) "cookie!" or "I want!", or I don't know, stuff like that.
63. **R: Yeah, I get you.**
64. K: And then as I got older, it was mostly (inaudible), and then I remember…okay my pronunciation sucks, but the word for cooking, I remember like one of the last the things the way she used to communicated with me when she was walking towards me with this cookie can, and then like, "beng-beng[5]!". I was like, "what is that?", but she was just asking me like, "a cookie?", you know?
65. **R: Yeah, "beng-beng" is cookie in Chinese…Cantonese.**
66. K: Hand signs, and then random words. So…and then I studied Mandarin and I was so excited because finally I could speak to her. And then I remember I came here, I think it was like many years ago, maybe three years ago, and I arrive there and it was I directly walked towards her, like, "Oh! How are you?", and then there was just blank. She was looking like laughing goofishly you know?
67. **R: Why?**
68. K: Because she cannot understand Mandarin.
69. **R: Really? People from Guangxi don't understand Mandarin?**
70. K: The thing she grew up in Malaysia, right? I think she…I guess she always grew up with Cantonese or Guangxi-hua[6] or something.
71. **R: Yeah, because the two languages are pretty distant from each other, like they are similar but then still they are different, because a lot of Cantonese people cannot speak Mandarin very well, or even none, so I can imagine that.**
72. K: Yeah, yeah, yeah, so with her it was not a very success but with other family members it was, but then I think she knew a little bit of Mandarin, I remember the last time I saw her, she was also a bit death, so it was hard communicating with her.
73. **R: Hmm…so it's not only the language barrier but also a bit like physically.**
74. K: Yeah, yeah. So that's a pity.
75. **R: That's a pity, yeah. And how about can you tell me a bit more about your hobbies or your daily life? What do you like to do?**
76. K: I like to draw, hahaha, have not been doing that much but let's say I like to draw. I like to watch Youtube.
77. **R: Like every person in their twenties would like to.**
78. K: Yeah, yeah. I think that's like a legit hobby right now. It has become a real hobby. It's like the same as watching movies or watching series actually, right? So I guess you can say I like watching movies as well. Yeah I'm really basic, I don't have special hobbies.
79. **R: That's okay.**
80. K: I used to go on Tumblr, but I haven't done that either.
81. **R: I think that's a bit falling out of the Internet world, I haven't seen a lot of Tumblr posts, (K: No?) like people talking about Tumblr like a few years ago it was quite hit, like everyone talks about it but now not that much.**
82. K: That's true actually, yeah.
83. **R: And how about, do you have any favourite food?**
84. K: Oh yeah. I love…I've prepared this question before, I'm ready. I like chocolate volcano cake.
85. **R: The lava cake, right?**
86. K: Yes! I love it!
87. **R: That's delicious, yeah.**
88. K: And then I also love okay so I'm not sure about this because let me say it the Chinese name, but I'm sure it's very similar in other countries. It has different names…like I studied in Taiwan, they call it "kung-rou[7]". It's basically like meat, fat, meat, fat, and that's greased very slowly in this kind of sauce, so when you eat it, so soft and flavourable.
89. **R: Can you say the name again?**
90. K: Kung-rou.
91. **R: Kung-rou?**
92. K: It's the "kung" of…I think it's the "kung" of empty.

[5] Meaning cookie or biscuit in Cantonese.
[6] Guangxi dialect.
[7] Braised pork belly in Mandarin Chinese.

93. R: **Is this a Taiwanese dish?**
94. K: Yeah, but the thing is I've seen it in China as well, and it's called "ba-tsz-rou".
95. R: **I've heard about it.**
96. K: "Bao-tsz-rou"?
97. R: **But the thing is that I actually never had it.**
98. K: I assume it's "ba-tsz-rou" in China but I assume it's "kung-rou".
99. R: **Maybe it's from Taiwanese origin then.**
100. K: Oh, sorry it's not um…it's this one.
101. R: **Oh, Slow braised pork belly.**
102. K: Hmm…it's so good, but basically it's "spek[8]".
103. R: **Yeah… "speklappen[9]".**
104. K: Yeah, hahaha. Or in Taiwan they have this dish called "lu-rou-fan". Oh it's so good, I love it. I really cannot choose though, I mean like I love like "xiao-long-bao" a lot, I love like gratin, like potatoes and cheese made in the oven and cream sauce?
105. R: **That's more a Dutch dish?**
106. K: I guess so, or French? I don't know. I basically love a lot of Cheese.
107. R: **You should go to Korea then, they're obsessed with cheese.**
108. K: I've heard about that, yeah. I would love to go.
109. R: **And um…next is what do you usually do during your summer holiday, like can you for example, in the last summer holiday, what did you do?**
110. K: Last summer holiday? I guess last summer holiday was a bit special because I love China right because of the one-year exchange, so I was actually in China during summer as well, so…
111. R: **So you went to exchange to China for one year?**
112. K: Yes, yes.
113. R: **In which city?**
114. K: Ji-nan, you know San-dong province?
115. R: **Yeah, yeah.**
116. K: It's like the capital, yeah. I went there. Actually I went to Taiwan before for exchange as well, and then I missed it so much and so I met a friend there, actually she's the one I'm waiting for, who's half Indian. She went there as well before. So I went there for three weeks. And then I came back, and then I met my parents in Beijing and then we travelled around a bit, and then they went to Ji-nan, and then they went back, so that was my…
117. R: **Okay that was nice. How was the two exchange experiences?**
118. K: It's great. Taiwan, especially…people ask me, "do you like Taiwan more or China more?" I don't know what stands on this is, but it's very political.
119. R: **Yeah, it is. I prefer Taiwan.**
120. K: I have to say, me too. It's just different. China is not as people make it out to be.
121. R: **It's not but I can talk about this later.**
122. K: Hm…
123. R: **But like the experiences were pretty good?**
124. K: Yeah, I miss it a lot.
125. R: **Do you want to go back there some days?**
126. K: Oh yeah, yeah. I'm really curious. Sometimes Taiwan keeps on calling me. So I would love to be able to live there, at least for a while, I don't know if it's possible.
127. R: **How about if permanently, would you like to go back to live in like Malaysia, or any Asian country, like for always?**
128. K: Personally I would love to if… but it depends. I've been thinking about this like have my experience just been great because I had like how do you call that? Love? You know when you get money…
129. R: **"Studiefinanciering"[10]?**
130. K: Yeah! No, no, no, not study financiering. Scholar…
131. R: **Scholarship?**
132. K: Yeah! Scholarship! Because I had a scholarship so my stress level was quite low.
133. R: **Like financially?**
134. K: Yeah, financially. And then I had my friends there. So of course these factors made my stay there really good, so I'm really curious to see if I can survive on my own but when it comes to Malaysia, it's really not as Taiwan or China. It's a pity because I would really like to see how it is to live there on m own. But to be honest, I have not even travelled there on my own. It's always with my parents, yeah, I don't know if it's safe enough, that's a pity.
135. R: **Yeah, it is.**

[8] Pork belly in Dutch.
[9] Pork belly slices in Dutch.
[10] Student allowances in the Netherlands.

136. K: So it would be nice to also…I guess live in my mom's native country for a while to see how life is there.
137. **R: Okay. Right now I would like to show you the project, the video, real quick**.
138. K: Yeah.
139. --- Plays video ---
140. **R: After watching the video, what do you think about this project?**
141. K: Actually I've been thinking this kind of research quite a lot. I don't know if you know the movie "Hafu"?
142. **R: I've heard of it but I haven't watched it.**
143. K: I haven't either, but I looked at it. Actually the video maker had a TED-talk about it.
144. **R: I think I saw it on Youtube somewhere.**
145. K: I think she started her talk was like, "my name is like blablabla" and then she immediately spoke in Japanese as well, it made me wonder like…because I haven't really grow up in an environment where halfies are that into their background, I don't know if that makes sense?
146. **R: Like most halfies don't…they aren't interested in their background?**
147. K: Not well…of course like my friends are, but I must say that their circumstances are different. For example my half Filipino friend, she grew up in a Filipino household, so living in Holland, although there's this whole idea of multicultural Holland, you know we don't really necessarily see differences, but that's not true. Like we always...that's human to see differences. So I feel like she used to…or still emphasizes her Asian background a lot because that is how she grew up, you know I mean her Dutch family wasn't really around that much as…you know. And my other friend, she's like me, she's like really interested in…but this is like a special case I'd say, my mom's friend right, who's also Chinese from Malaysia, I think they're all from Malaysia, yeah, funny enough. And some of them have half kids as well. And I know that the three of them the only ones I know, they're really interested. So one of them actually went to Chinese school, but she didn't like it at all, but she was forced as most of the children are. And the two of them they aren't interested at all. So I've been wondering, I know for me and I think for you as well, and for others, like people who participate in this kind of project, they are interested in those, because for them it means a lot. Somehow. It's like this feeling of getting to know yourself I guess, which is important to some people. But I think some people cannot comprehend this, I have this feeling that there are people who just don't understand.
148. **R: I think it depends on the person herself and on the whole social environment.**
149. K: But I've seen patterns like this as well, not only with half people. Half people, haha, but "halfies", like or "hapas", like I've seen this, actually because I'm interested as well, the anthropology minor, and there was this subject about discrimination, and there was this documentary that was talking about the 70's there was this rock band which was made out of people who were from Greenland, but at that time if you had to become something good in life, you had to go to Denmark, because it was like a… how do you call that again…a colony right? So all these Greenland young people they moved to Denmark, and there was this rock band and they started their performance there, and the thing is they didn't use like Danish, they used Greenlandic language and instruments, and this was really interesting because in that time when they were kind of seen as the weaker you know population, they try to go back to their roots, although they were first to take distance from their roots, so this idea of searching for your roots, it's…I think it's not that hard to understand. I think. So making projects like this myself I can understand why, I can see its value, but I don't know if other people can, which is understandable, because if you would start a project "People who used to live in…people who used to study at the Academy gebouw", I would be like, okay, maybe they are strong emotional types at the academy gebouw, but not for me. So I wouldn't have been interested.
150. **R: So yeah, again, it really depends on the person, and how the person grew up, in what kind of environment.**
151. K: Yeah.
152. **R: But…**
153. K: Let me just quickly say something, because I used to really be bothered by this idea, but I had this conversation with a Chinese guy, who was born in Holland, his name actually means born in Holland.
154. **R: Haha, what's his Chinese name?**
155. K: Actually he's also Cantonese, I guess it's "Ho-San".
156. **R: Ho-San, haha.**
157. K: Ho-San, so, and I was talking to him about this, and he was like, "actually I don't think about this anymore, like why would you?" Like when it comes to your ancestry or your background, and I don't know if that's really true or he doesn't realize it, because he basically he lives in this very Dutch community in this small town, but his parents are really Chinese, like in everything they do.
158. **R: Well, I could say that, what he says could be different than how he acts and how he thinks. And yeah, some things are unconsciously done, I think that a lot of people have that, like they would say…claim that they are something like that, but the truth is…it turns out to be different than they actually think they are, that can account for a lot of people, and that's why I'm doing this project not only to see how what you say about what you think, but also looking at the language you use, and how you express your emptions about it, so yeah.**

159. K: I think it's interesting and could be important as well. Because you as I said it's not like you talk about this too deeply to other halfies either, because sometimes it can be also a bit uncomfortable, because some people may have negative experiences with this. Let me think. I don't know, like for example, right, he was talking like he was half Belgian and half Japanese, but then he wasn't viewed as half Belgian.
160. R: Because others made a comment on him.
161. K: yeah because this is I think I would say it's because the way he looks. In my experience, people focus a lot on the way you look, and it's a bit…I don't know, it makes me feel a bit uncomfortable sometimes…how do you say…like the way you view yourself, sometimes it's very different the way how other people view you, which is not necessarily important, haha, but it's just like…hmmm…okay. Haha.
162. R: That's how the society works, the first thing people notice about you is your appearance.
163. K: It will never change but does it mean that it will stop being annoying?
164. R: Like have you heard what Tetsuro, the photographer, what he said about his experience on like when other people say, "you can't be Belgian, because you're half Japanese!" Have you had similar experiences like that?
165. K: Not this straightforward, but I had like in Taiwan I had like experience which really quite upset me. Like it's weird, let me just first say, people have such different views of what I look like. I don't know, have you had the same?
166. R: I've had the same.
167. K: Like let's make a list, like for example, I've been called like French, I've been called Hispanic, or something Mediterranean. Turkish comes out a lot. Then some people are a bit nearer, like Indo, of half Indonesian, or half Vietnamese, even sometimes half Chinese, which is great, because this isn't really something people say a lot. Or also the typical, "you're something different, you can see you're not that. You're something." Haha. Sometimes it's funny, but my experiences were really different, for example in Taiwan, let's say Taiwan, when I had the less nice experiences, I was just casually talking about my background, and then there were…there was one woman who was like, "oh!", and then she had to think about it for a while, and then she would say, "but you don't look like our people." Like…
168. R: Do they mean "our" as in Taiwanese people?
169. K: No, Chinese, just the whole Chinese population, which is like okay. Because it kinds of creates this boundary, you know?
170. R: It's like othering.
171. K: Yeah! It is! I was just like, okay, thank you. And then there was one girl who was the same, like, "oh, normally you can see it but I can't see it at all". And then this summer I went back to Taiwan, right? And suddenly people would say, "oh, are you half? Are you half Chinese?". So it's so weird how different view could be. And then in China this is funny, quite a few people thought I was Xin-Jiang[11].
172. R: I've had the same, hahaha!
173. K: Which makes sense.
174. R: You do actually!
175. K: I do? I don't know. Xinjiang, haha. But it's funny, because I've never heard that before, but it totally makes sense.
176. R: It does, actually.
177. K: Right? And I was surprised what I heard before when I came to China is that people are not used to foreigners or halfies at all. But they seem to be more open than Taiwanese. Well Taiwanese actually have programs that focus on the idea that people are halfies, have you seen them?
178. R: Not really.
179. K: It's interesting.
180. R: What kind of program?
181. K: It's like…for example, children with their parents, and it's like a talk show, so they can all speak Mandarin, and then they talk about their experience, but like in a funny way.
182. R: You should send me that.
183. K: Yeah, I will send you that. They have different kinds. Yeah. And also like I saw one, which was kind of like invite the pretty girls kind of show.
184. R: I think I might know this, is it a TV show?
185. K: Yeah, yeah, yeah.
186. R: Yeah, I know it.
187. K: It's interesting yeah. So this is quite weird, because in China, I don't think you're half this half that, while this is true, my experience they seem to be I don't know
188. R: Like more surprised?
189. K: No, less!
190. R: I mean in Taiwan they're more surprised?

[11] Xinjiang Uygur Autonomous Region is a provincial-level autonomous region located in the northwest of China. The main habitants are Uyghurs, a separate ethnic minority group, they are mainly Muslims and view themselves as culturally and ethnically close to Central Asian nations.

191. K: Yeah, and in China they seem to be more used to the idea that there are halfies or that they know what halfies look like if there's this like typical type.
192. R: Maybe because its China has opened its policy since years ago, and then now I think especially they're used to having Westerners around, I mean like, compared to twenty years ago, when you visit China as a foreigner, people would really look at you and take photo's of you but I don't that the case now anymore, because they're getting…
193. K: Oh no.
194. R: Still?
195. K: Ji-nan, or maybe it's just Ji-nan, it was horrible. Well it's lie horrible with like its quite funny as well, it's like, okay let me sketch you a situation. There's this lake called "Da-ming-li", which is a well-known lake, so a lot of people go there to have a walk, so I remember the first time, I was with a group, right? There were just all like ont even ask you like, they'd really come close to you and for it's weird, it can be annoying, because like sometimes you're just doing your thing, and then luckily I wasn't there. There was one time when my friends went to this festival, like a kite festival, and I saw this picture, they were just sitting in a little group, you know, they were just surrounded by Chinese people, taking pictures of them, (R: That's a bit rude actually.) showing them their babies. I don't know, it's a bit rude (R: It is.), so I don't know, for me, I will never understand this kind of action, even with my dad, when my dad and I went somewhere, they would want to take pictures with him as well.
196. R: Oh my god.
197. K: It weird. I actually had one experience in the bathroom, in a park, and I was on my own that day, and I was just going out of the toilet, the I heard some person talking to me, I was like shocked, because I was on my own there. I was like, "Huh? Is there another person?" And then she was like, "Oh sorry sorry!" and then she looked at me like, "Are you half? Oh my god you're half! You look really similar! Can I take a picture with you?" Like I thought she wanted to take a picture together, but she only wanted a picture of me, and she kept on saying…I don't know how to translate this…she was just saying something like, "you really look alike!" and then I was like, "Like what?" I was thinking. But it's funny because it's a positive thing, which sounds a bit weird.
198. R: How do you feel like people treating you like that?
199. K: Like half? Or…
200. R: No, people randomly taking photos and approaching you.
201. K: It's a bit weird, but maybe that's because I'm shy as well, I don't like to be the spotlight I feel a bit… felt quite annoyed I'd say. Yeah. A bit. I mean in the end you get used to it, you just turn around, you know.
202. R: But this happens mostly in Asia, right? It doesn't happen in the Netherland, or does it?
203. K: No, no, not at all. No, no, no. I had this very extreme experience as well, my friend who's just very Dutch, so tall, long blonde hair, blue eyes, you know? Then there were…it was in the same park actually, and then there was these two random guys I guess mid thirties or beginning thirties, they were just approaching her, like it was so weird, like she was posing for a picture, he just came really close to her, just like, "arrrgh!", I can't understand this kind of behaviour.
204. R: That's a bit weird, and rude, impolite.
205. K: It's rude. But Chinese themselves they get rude as well, but still they cannot…I guess…control themselves.
206. R: They are like that in a way, so…
207. K: I was thinking if...would there be a situation in which we would do the same?
208. R: No…no…definitely not.
209. K: Like what if there was someone who was…
210. R: Except for an alien, if an alien came on earth, I would take a picture.
211. K: Haha, yeah! Maybe are we the equilevant of them? And then we were joking because we got this (inaudible) at the beginning of the semester, it was tips for aliens, because you know like alien could be also like a foreigner, and it was so…like the meaning was so dumb.
212. R: This is the Chinese meaning, right?
213. K: Yeah…No, no, no, the English.
214. R: The English? Where?
215. K: You know that song from Sting, like "I'm an alien", like he says, "I'm an Englishman in New York", but "alien" could mean foreigner apparently.
216. R: Yeah, I've heard about it.
217. K: So this (inaudible) was in China. I don't know if you meant that. It was like tips for aliens, studying in China or something. And this whole meaning of alien was just so emphasizes during the whole stay there.
218. R: That you're not one of them, that you're an outsider.
219. K: Yeah, but at the same time I felt most…I even felt more like I was one of them than in Taiwan, I don't know, it's quite contrasting, right? Contradictory.
220. R: Yeah, I understand what you mean. I think maybe they accept you more, or that they're less surprised?
221. K: Yeah, maybe. Like actually when I was alone, when I moved around alone I was really stopped for being a foreigner.

222. R: **In China, right?**
223. K: Yeah. I don't know.
224. R: **How do you handle…how do you deal with the fact that actually when you go back to Malaysia or Asia, you're neither Chinese or here you're also not entirely Dutch as well.**
225. K: Yeah. To be honest, I've been thinking about this as well. I don't really feel Dutch…no…I don't know if that's…when I look around during high school, like the people who were around, I felt like I didn't fit in at all. And it's not necessarily on the way you look. It's I think it has to do with culture, maybe. So I didn't fit in with the very blondish type of people you know, maybe I'm being very discriminative.
226. R: **Yeah, I know what you mean.**
227. K: I don't know, you know what I mean, right? But so there was this up course very particular kind of group, like the "blonde tutjes" group, haha! And then there were me, and then at the same time there was also an Asian gang, but no…I couldn't fit in there either.
228. R: **So in both groups you didn't really feel…**
229. K: No, no…
230. R: **Have you ever wanted to look more Dutch? Like just Dutch like the blond girls?**
231. K: Actually, yeah. I remember I was reading this comment online, and then I was thinking…actually I had the same experience, like when I was young, I was really into Barbie, haha, I had this Barbie club like you would receive books, I think every month or something and then I had dolls as well, and I remember…I don't know if this has anything to do with Barbie, I remember I was small, I was like, "I wish I had blond hair," because people who have blond hair are more likeable, and then I was imagining this very bubbly blond person I could become. But afterwards actually turned around, I'm not saying that I want to be more Asian, but I feel like it's certainly a part of me. And hearing comments, I think that one thing, "Oh, you don't look like our people," it just really hit me hard, like a slap in the face. Because I definitely feel like both. Yeah.
232. R: **So, this is the last question actually. How does your ideal future look like? What do you want to do later in your life?**
233. K: You mean like work wise?
234. R: **Yeah, you can think of everything like work, family, relationships, or just in general.**
235. K: I would…I'm supposed to graduate this year. Haha.
236. R: **How about after that?**
237. K: I really don't want to lose Mandarin, because I don't know if you ever had this feeling that you like you were supposed to do this, like this is yours, it belongs to you. You know…I feel like speaking Mandarin is something which I was born to do, you know, like it feels like…it feels good, like it's supposed to be like this. I felt the same way with Cantonese as well, but I'm not sure how that will progress. So language wise I would like to keep Mandarin in my life. I would really want to do work which is connected to this. Whether it's like translation, or something like communication sector, I don't know what I can do with my degree, let's just say it like that, haha.
238. R: **With languages it's definitely…it's very good like nowadays that you know multiple languages, so yeah.**
239. K: Yeah, I hope so, I hope so, yeah.
240. R: **Okay. Well thank you for your participation.**
241. K: You're welcome.

Appendix 3.6 Interview Five

Date: 7 March 2018, 13:35 – 14:00

R: Researcher

A: Alan

R: So, good afternoon (name censored), thanks for taking part in my interview for my thesis. So before we start I want to confirm you that this conversation will be kept anonymous and will be recorded solely for the analysis for my own research and all your answers and responses will be kept strictly confidential, and your name will not appear in my paper. So first, can you please briefly introduce yourself?

A: All right. My name is (name censored), half Dutch, half Thai. I'm 28. I work as a researcher at Leiden University. I'm a man, hahaha.

R: Okay, thanks for telling met that. And what exactly did you study before this?

A: I did…well I worked for five years before entering university. Then I did Japanese Studies, then I did the research master Asian Studies and I'm now doing my PhD in International Public Policy at Osaka University, or working here as a researcher.

R: Okay. In which city did you grow up?

A: The Hague.

R: Okay, like your whole life?

A: No, I lived in Bangkok for a couple of years, and I lived in Delft for…I think eight years.

R: In Bangkok, how old were you when you lived there?

A: Four years old.

R: And you spent like…how many years there?

A: Three, four years.

R: So you were really young, can't remember much of it, right?

A: Well I can remember parts, yeah.

R: And what was the reason that you moved back to the Netherlands?

A: Um…I have no idea. Haha.

R: It's your family's decision?

A: Yeah, yeah.

R: Then can me tell me a bit more about your family, where do your parents come from?

A: Well my mom is from Thailand, she is ethnically Mon.

R: Ethnically…sorry?

A: Mon, so that's a specific group of people mainly located in Myanmar and Thailand.

R: Alright.

A: It's a very small group of people, so there's a couple hundred thousand left.

R: And your dad's Dutch?

A: Yes, yeah.

R: How about at home, what languages did you speak?

A: Well the first language I was taught basically was English.

R: So they taught you English as a first language?

A: Yeah, I spoke English with my mother, and yeah you know, my dad basically just well he spoke Dutch to me, but I spoke English to him, until I was eight years old, then I started learning Dutch.

R: So, what was the reason that you spoke English to your dad instead of Dutch?

A: No idea. Convenience probably. Easy? Easiness.

R: How about your mother speaks fluent Thai I assume? Or what is her mother tongue?

A: My mother's mother tongue is Thai, yes.

R: Did she ever teach you the language?

A: I basically spoke English and Thai until I was eight years old. Kind of forgot Thai, 'cause I haven't spoken it in a couple of years. I can still understand.

R: Like basic words?

A: No, I can understand the language, I just speaking it is difficult, it's more different.

R: So the comprehension is okay?

A: Yep.

R: Okay. How about your family? Your grandparents for example, do you see them often, how's your relationship with them?

A: Well my grandparents on my Dutch side are gone, both of them.

R: How about your Asian grandparents?

A: I see my grandmother once or twice a year, I go back once or twice a year. My grandfather passed away a long time ago, just before my mother was born, so I don't know him.

45. R: **You said you go back once or twice a year to visit them.**
46. A: To visit family.
47. R: **So still every year you go back there regularly?**
48. A: Yes.
49. R: **How does it feel to be there?**
50. A: Um…it feels like a second home. With family, I know a lot of people. It's Thailand so the food is always amazing. No, I basically feel…and um…the temperature and the climate is a lot better.
51. R: **You like it more?**
52. A: Yeah.
53. R: **Even though it's really hot there, right, in the summer?**
54. A: Well I don't feel that it's hot…like…I don't know.
55. R: **You just like it?**
56. A: Yeah.
57. R: **How about the communication with your grandparents, does that work well? What language…**
58. A: No, I have difficulty…difficulties communicating with my grandmother. She has a very thick accent, um…in Thai, that makes it very difficult for me to comprehend. Um…especially that she's becoming older; her accent is starting to become more unintelligible. Other than that, it's all right.
59. R: **Okay.**
60. A: She's old, makes it more difficult.
61. R: **What age around is she?**
62. A: Eighty-eight.
63. R: **Okay, yeah. That explains it. How about your daily activities, or your hobbies? What do you like to do in your free time?**
64. A: Where?
65. R: **Home, or when you're not at work for example.**
66. A: In the Netherlands, or Thailand or just in general?
67. R: **Just in general.**
68. A: In general, all right. Um…I don't know, I like to read, I read a lot. Um…
69. R: **What kind of books do you read?**
70. A: Mostly academic. Yeah. I don't really enjoy literature as I probably should, I just get bored very quickly.
71. R: **And are these books related to international public you said?**
72. A: Also…yeah…it's all kinds of topics, I'm reading George Steiner's *Babel* right now, which is basically linguistics, and I'm reading disability in Japan, but that's for my work. I'm planning on reading the *New Silk Roads* by Frankopan. Was that….I don't really remember the name.
73. R: **I don't know the author but I know the book.**
74. A: Yeah, yeah, alright. So I like books like those, and I like cooking.
75. R: **I was about to ask that, like what food do you like to eat? Your favorite dish for example.**
76. A: My favorite dish is probably Thai fried rice. Haha. I eat well, very well.
77. R: **Do you like other food? Because Thai cuisine is pretty popular.**
78. A: Yeah yeah yeah. No, there's a thousands of dishes that I like, it's everything, from beef soup from Masala, to green curry, everything.
79. R: **Yeah, curry, yeah.**
80. A: Yeah.
81. R: **Isn't it too spicy? Because like um…**
82. A: No, because I have…as you know I have a Thai mother, they kind of makes it…how do I say this in a politically correct neutral way? Um…
83. R: **Adjust to the Dutch favor?**
84. A: I was fed Thai food, like proper Thai food, so um…you've learnt to cope with pepper, which makes Dutch food taste kind of blend sometimes. Although I do like stoofpot, and stamppot and stuff like that. But yeah, it's very different.
85. R: **Yeah, it is.** But at home, I mean your mother has a restaurant, right?
86. A: Yeah, she has a Thai takeaway in The Hague. I told you this, yeah. So I go back once or twice a week, just taking ingredients and food.
87. R: **I would just go there every…really often.**
88. A: I went there yesterday and took like five kilo's of food. It's just ridiculous.
89. R: **In your childhood, did your mother often cook Thai cuisine at home?**
90. A: Yeah, only Thai cuisine, yeah. My dad used to cook once or twice a week. And my mom used to cook two or three times a week, and the rest of the days we usually went out to eat, just went to friends or family.
91. R: **So most of the time you really ate Asian food at home?**
92. A: Well yeah. I think 50% of the week consisted of Asian or Thai food.
93. R: **And can you tell me a bit more about your summer holidays? What do you usually do?**
94. A: I haven't had one in a very long time.
95. **R:** **Awww…how about the past summer holiday for example? Did you travel?**

96. A: I worked, in Japan though. No, I travel to Japan once or twice a year, for work, for leisure, for…um…I travel to Thailand once or twice a year. I travel to Europe but…that's far of as I'm financially capable of travelling, I'm travelling.
97. R: And in Japan, which cities do you visit?
98. A: Usually Tokyo, Osaka, Fukuoka, that's about it. Yeah, Kyoto but I don't even like Kyoto.
99. R: Why?
100. A: The people, especially the kind of people.
101. R: Ah, I think I know, they're like a bit…
102. A: Smug.
103. R: Yeah, I heard that there's this Kyoto people that they think they're prestigious?
104. A: Yeah, yeah, yeah, smug, they're very smug.
105. R: Yeah. Okay.
106. A: I like people that move to Kyoto.
107. R: I think most are actually the other way round, that they move to Tokyo and stuff? Anyway, I would like to show you a short clip called Hafu2Hafu.
108. A: Yeah, sure.
109. R: I think you've heard about it. It's a photo project started by a Japanese photographer who's half Belgian.
110. A: Yeah, Tetsuro Miyazaki, right?
111. R: Yeah, Tetsuro Miyazaki, oh you even know the name.
112. A: Well, we got funded by the same project, so his name came up.
113. R: Yeah, he actually worked in Amsterdam first.
114. A: Yeah.
115. Plays video –
116. R: I'm sure you've heard of this project before, like it's a crowd funding, it's still ongoing actually. It's been going for one and a half year around, and yeah, he's still collecting money from people to create more pictures more interviews. So what do you think of this project?
117. A: Um…
118. R: Do you like it? Do you think it's interesting or…
119. A: Yeah, let me…let me think about a little. I haven't thought about it this far. Um…I think it's both idealistic and problematic.
120. R: And why?
121. A: It's…idealistic because in some sense he's probably trying to create this sense of diversity among different sorts of peoples by taking his very narrow approach of um…well taking pictures of halfies and asking them what their experience is and what these were, and distilling them into this one question to which people who were supposed to respond. I think it's very problematic because it's in the sense very nationalistic; it's very national bounded. And he talks about culture like it's this bounded off concept, it's static, you have this culture which is Japanese, and you have this culture which is the other culture. And it's like these countries represent these cultures, where countries in a sense are inauguration of different cultures. So I don't agree with projects like these ideologically because they…just kind of opaqueness, when it comes to actually describing the very difficult and very complex process of identification, personal experience, and he just kind of simplifies it "well you're half Japanese so you have this experience" or "being half Japanese, please tell me about what this experience is of being half Japanese", he's constantly reiteration, it bothers me a lot. And it makes it harder for people who actually are confronted who are confronted with a lot of negative experiences to come up with their own way of dealing. Although it does open up the discourse for allowing yourself to become this other person, then what someone else is telling you who you are. But he's still justifying the othering, like people tell me what I'm supposed to be, and then he says "well tell me what you're supposed to be". That's just…
122. R: I'm actually not sure what kind of questions he asks, because he says like he interviews people but then what kind of questions he asks, I'm actually not familiar with it, the only thing I know is at the end he would just ask them…he would allow them to ask a question back, that's what he said. Basically what you're saying is that he is just being a little bit essentialistic, like overgeneralizing the whole half Japanese experience?
123. A: The fundamental ideology of the project that focuses on half Japanese people is already very problematic because it focuses on half Japanese people, right?
124. R: And in what way would that not be generalistic? For example, my project is about half Asian, what do you think of that?
125. A: I think it's similarly problematic, got to be very honest. It's always problematic to find this very generalized concept and then try to figure out how this concept functions in the society. I think the other way around would be much more helpful, like trying to figure out how these concept function in society, and then seeing how these affect personal experience, it's the other way around, how is this concept being structured, and then how the experiences and the project such as these don't do that. They just show the concept and then they add these experiences to them, reinforcing the concepts without actually critically accessing what it means to have this concept in the discourse. But then again I'm a discourse specialist, hahaha.

126. R: Yeah, I get that. But then, actually before the start of this project, I asked you like the questions unrelated to my whole study, for example asking you what you do in your daily life, and what do you eat, are actually also part of my analysis because I would like to do this biographic interview like by not only asking you questions about your experiences, like how you grew up, your languages, because those are really…yeah…the things you say might not be in line with what you actually are. So you're self-categorizing yourself but mostly analysing the way how you say it, like my whole analysis is not just only the content…

127. A: Oh but you don't have to defend yourself, you can do whatever you want with this information. Hahaha.

128. R: I'm just…

129. A: I'm just giving you my opinion, that's it. Hahaha.

130. R: Yeah. Well anyway, you actually…you told me your opinion about this project. And….

131. A: And don't get me wrong by the way, I think it's a lovely project, in a sense that it kind of gives people an outlet that's about the limit of my understanding.

132. R: Yeah. No, it's very good that you're being critical here, because it's important. And that also shows another part of that project and my project because not all the projects can be reflecting the whole information involved.

133. A: Yeah, it kind of easily to develop into this politically correctness of not talking about whether or not it's a valid claim that you're half this and half that, because people then start be yelling discrimination, discrimination, and we're in this wonderful position where we're half this, half that, probably, conceptually, so we can critically access the position within our society. We can go like, "this is racism", or "this is not necessarily racism". Like telling you…if I tell you I'm Thai, and you say, "Do you eat Thai?", it's not necessarily being racist, it's just you're being curious; but if you say, "well, Thai people are masseuses, right?", that's racist.

134. R: Yeah, well that's not necessarily racist, but more stereotypical.

135. A: Ah yes, stereotype, yes, I said it incorrect. Yeah.

136. R: Yeah, okay. Well you told me you go back to Thailand once or twice a year.

137. A: Yes.

138. R: Would you every consider living there permanently?

139. A: No.

140. R: Why?

141. A: I would probably live there a couple of years, but no.

142. R: What is the reason?

143. A: Um…a disconnect, probably. I don't feel like I'm experienced enough um…in the linguistic sense, in well not necessarily in the cultural sense, but definitely in the work culture, because I've never experienced getting a job in Thailand, never experienced school to an extent that has shaped me as a person, I'm not familiar with cultural tropes, I'm not familiar with anything actually that does not, that's not included in my experience in Thailand. So, no, I don't think I would want to live there permanently, but that's also because I don't want to live anywhere permanently.

144. R: Like you prefer to travel around and live in different countries you mean?

145. A: Yes.

146. R: Okay.

147. A: Hence me going to Japan for three years.

148. R: Yeah, that's actually my next question actually, like how do you see Japan differently? Because I understood that you studied Japanese, you really have affinity with the Japanese culture and language, would you consider living there for a couple of years, or living permanently?

149. A: For a couple of years, yes. Permanently, no.

150. R: Is it for the same reason, like you think you're not like suited or comfortable enough to develop your career there?

151. A: Probably. Yeah. And a couple of other reasons. I don't think I fit well into Japanese society for a very long period of time, 'cause I'm very um…you bring with you all these cultural baggage around when you go to a country. This kind of contradicts with aspects that you encounter when you move to another country, like being very direct, getting angry, stuff like that, doesn't really work well in certain settings in Japan or China, Korea, in certain settings it does work very well, because it's new, but you don't want to be continuously on edge.

152. R: I get it, yeah. How about like um…you're half Thai, like for example, you're in the Netherlands, how do you handle the fact that in the Netherlands you're neither like entirely Dutch but then in Thailand you're also not entirely Thai.

153. A: How do I handle that? I really don't.

154. R: You actually don't really think about it?

155. A: I do, because I'm confronted with it a lot.

156. R: In what sense?

157. A: Well, people asking me, "where are you from?", people speaking to me in English getting in a plane in the Netherlands, it's people speaking English to me on the streets here. People in Thailand considering me white, so yeah no I'm confronted with it constantly. And there's a way of interpreting this continues torrent of prejudice, which is one very negatively, kind of make it um…completely about

yourself, just like, "oh I'm being discriminated constantly, people are trying to categories me constantly". We can kind of play with it, and I think I do that more. People ask me where I'm from, then I say the Hague. You see it frustrates people, because they want to know where you're "from from", question which I fucking hate, like where you're "from from", right? Which you get all the fucking time…sorry, which you get all the time. So I just kind of play with it and frustrate people, kind of try and break these standard questions, standard stereotypes, standard commentary. So handle might not be the right word, 'cause I kind of deflect.

158. R: Yeah, okay.

159. A: Which I find very nice, straight joys.

160. R: As long as it works for you, I mean everyone has their own opinion on it. And um…how about like growing up being in the Netherlands, surrounded by mostly Dutch people I assume, have you ever had the feeling you wanted to look more Dutch and fit in with other people?

161. A: No, but that's because I'm very…I know a lot of people who have had that feeling, but I think this is a personal trait, I feel very comfortable in my own skin. Yeah. I don't know, I kind of used my exterior as…like a positive trait, which makes it a lot easier to accept who you are.

162. R: Yeah, of course, yeah. It depends how you look at it actually.

163. A: Yeah.

164. R: And um…

165. A: But then again you have all these Asian stereotypes, right, are very much focused on men. Um…you have a small penis, you're short, you're obviously good at Math.

166. R: You have been confronted with these…

167. A: Well, no, because I'm not very short, I'm not very good at math either. Um…I'm very confident when it comes to women. So I don't really have this problem, but I know of my friends who did have this problem. There's a lot of Asian friends I have who aren't very tall, they're confronted with these stereotypes all the time.

168. R: But those are like fully Asian people you mean?

169. A: No, like half Chinese. Yeah. But also (inaudible)

170. R: Yeah, how would you see your ideal future?

171. A: My ideal future? Ideally I would not think about my future.

172. R: So just let it be?

173. A: Yeah. Come as it may.

174. R: Yeah. Yeah one more last question, remember that Tetsuro in the video, in the beginning, like he had this feeling that he had suddenly people confronted him like "no, you can't support the Belgian football team because you're also half Japanese." And have you every had similar experiences like that?

175. A: Yes, positive.

176. R: Can you maybe tell one of the most significant experience?

177. A: A very recent one actually is I had a discussion with some of my best friends, 'cause on of my best friends is Italian and half Dutch; at least that's how he tells people this personal narrative. We had a discussion about this question of people asking you where you're from. And he was…he did not understand why I refuse to tell people sometimes (R: Where you're really from?) where my parents are from, 'cause I find it very personal to tell people this information, 'cause it's weird. If you're completely Dutch, nobody would ask you this, "where're you from?", "oh you're mom's was from this", "how's your family?", "do you have brothers or sisters?", all these personal questions without asking my name. Right? People think that they have this entry pass into your life; they can ask all these different questions which they're ridiculous personal. So I kind of refuse to answer those questions because I don't want to give those people access to my life in that sense. And he did not understand, 'cause he introduces himself, as "well I'm half Italian half Dutch", you don't even have to ask him and um…another friend of mine, a very accommodate that well it's nice to tell people you're half Italian, but you're still white. So you have not experienced discrimination because you look different. And although it was kind of essentialist, I did have to agree with him because there's a different stereotype connect to the foreign white born and foreign non-white.

178. R: What is the difference?

179. A: Well, the experience you have as being a white and a non-white in a dominantly white country.

180. R: That's actually what Tetsuro also said in the video, like experiences can differ a lot, like depending on what the…where the other non-Western parent is from, like if she's African it can also be very different than Asian or any…

181. A: But this is completely true, what he says is completely true, but the thing is that that stuck with me is the fact that one of my best friends did not understand where I was coming from, he just did not understand why I don't...,"why are you frustrating people?", "they're trying to be interested in you, they're trying to show interest in you, and you have to accommodate them. And I said, "well my personal perspective is tat you don't have to accommodate these people. You don't have to be this completely nice, personal all the time, accommodating all these questions, answering all these questions, feeling like you have this obligation towards the person you don't even know." So that's a very recent experience, one I have confronted with a lot, yeah, you can take that as a perfect example.

182. R: Definitely. Yeah, I think it totally depends on how the other person asks it, the way how he asks it…
183. A: Context.
184. R: The whole context, yeah. Because it some contexts it can sound rude, but then I do, I can understand that some people might have interest in you. But again, it totally depends on the…like how well are you befriended with this person. If they confront you with this question immediately, it is indeed very rude.
185. A: It's very intrusive, yeah, exactly.
186. R: Yep, well actually those were all my questions. Thanks for taking part.
187. A: All right. No problem.

Appendix 4: Terminology Analysis

Ethnic Terms	Amount of usage (5)
Dutch	2
Chinese	2
Thai	1

Racial terms	Amount of usage (2)
Half Dutch	1
Half Thai	1

Contrasting Terms	Amount of usage (9)
Different/kind of different	5
Did not fit in	1
Less Boring than being just Dutch	1
Not blond	1
Westerner(s)	1

Appendix 5: Perspective Analysis

Equative Predications: Intern Perspective.

Expression	Categorisation by Day (2006)	Perspective	Comments
Equative Predications			
P: I was almost the only Asian person in my entire year.	Equative: Dutch school vs. the only Asian person.	Intern Perspective	Sharing experience on racism.
A: I used to feel not Dutch enough.	Equative: comparison between Chinese and Dutch.	Intern Perspective: 'I used to feel' – I-perspective, expression of feeling.	Category used to describe how the feeling changed over time.
A: It's less boring than just being Dutch.	Equative: comparison between being fully Dutch vs. being half Dutch.	Intern Perspective: 'being'.	Category used to confirm that speaker likes her double identity and finding it less boring than being fully Dutch.
S: I think all of us probably have had that moment like that.	Equative: comparison between people who are mixed race and people who are not mixed race.	Intern Perspective: 'I think, Generalised Other: 'all of us'.	Category used to explain why the Hafu2Hafu project is successful.
S: No but I'm Dutch too.	Equative: comparison between Dutch vs. Chinese.	Intern Perspective: I-perspective.	
S: I'm of course the Western Indonesian girl that comes in there.	Equative comparison: Native Indonesians vs. Western Indonesian.	Intern Perspective: I-perspective – 'I'm of course'.	Category to describe how she was treated differently in Indonesia.
S: There's like a constant traffic gam and you can see a big difference between poverty and richness like within the same street, so that makes it a bit yeah a bit weird for us as Westerners.	Equative Comparison: Indonesians vs. Westerners.	Intern Perspective: 'us as Westerners'.	
K: I didn't fit in with the very blondish type of people you know.	Equative: comparison between speaker vs. Dutch people who are blond.	Intern Perspective: I-perspective VS the very blondish type of people.	Category used to explain why the speaker could not fit in with her Dutch classmates.
K: I was imagining this very bubbly blond person I could become.	Equative: comparison between people with blond hair vs. people with non-blond hair.	Intern: I-perspective – ' was…'	Category used to express speaker's desire to become a blond person.
S: I started to realize that I wasn't as Dutch as the blond girls from next door.	Equative: comparison between speaker vs. blond neighbours.	Intern perspective: 'I started to realise I wasn't…'	

Equative Predications: Generalised Other

Expression	Categorisation by Day (2006)	Perspective	Comments
Equative Predications			
A: You're never gonna completely like fit in with the Dutch prototype, because you're just not.	Equative: Comparison of the Chinese vs. Dutch prototype.	Custom perspective: generalisations – 'you'	
K: People who have blond hair are more likeable.	Equative: comparison between people with blond hair vs. people with non-blond hair.	Generalised Other: people who have blond hair' referring to Dutch or Western people.	Category used to describe why speaker desired to have blond hair when she was little.
A: I did have to agree with him because there's a different stereotype connect to the foreign white born and foreign non-white.	Equative: implication of comparison between mixed race people of one parent being white vs. one parent being non-white.	Generalised Other	

Ascriptive Predications

Expression	Categorisation by Day (2006)	Perspective	Comments
Ascriptive Predications			
P: No you can't play with us because you're brown.	Ascriptive: not allowed to play – related to racism.	Extern-Perspective/Generalised Other: from the perspective of the other about herself – relates to hetero-image.	Racism.
S: I grew up in a very white neighbourhood, all my neighbours were very white and my high school fellow mates were all very white.	Ascriptive: speaker could not fit in with other white people from the neighbourhood.	Generalised Other: 'very white'.	
K: The "blonde tutjes" group.	Ascriptive: speaker could not fit in the group with blond people.	Generalised Other: 'blonde tutjes' referring to the blond people at school.	Category used to refer to that she did not fit in the group with blond people.
K: There was also an Asian gang, but no…I couldn't fit in there either.	Ascriptive: speaker could not fit in the group with Asian people.	Generalised other: 'Asian gang' referring to all the Asian students at school.	Category used to refer to that she did not fit in the group with Asian people either.
A: People in Thailand considering me white.	Ascriptive: People in Thailand consider the speaker as 'white'.	Extern perspective: 'people in Thailand'.	
K: I wish I had blond hair.	Ascriptive: speaker wished that she had blond hair	Intern: I-perspective.	
A: If you say, "well, Thai people are masseuses, right?",	Ascriptive: people who say that Thai people are masseuses is racist	Extern perspective/Generalised Other: 'if you'	Associated with racism.

that's racist.	or discriminative.		
K: I'm not saying that I want to be more Asian, but I feel like it's certainly a part of me.	Reverse Acsriptive: speaker does not wish to be more Asian but feels like it is a part of her.	Intern: I-perspective & 'part of me'.	Category used to express that the speaker feels partly Asian as well.

Referring Expressions:

Expression	Categorisation by Day (2006)	Perspective	Comments
Referring Expressions			
P: They just thought that we were Chinese and we ran that cafeteria or something.	Referring Expression.	Extern Perspective/Generalised Other: from the perspective of the other about herself – relates to hetero image.	Associated with prejudice.
P: I look very Indonesian, so when I'm there the people just see me as a native basically.	Referring Expression.	Extern Perspective: 'People just see me as a native basically'.	Associated with prejudice.
A: People in China, they really just assume that you are Chinese, 'cause I look really Chinese.	Referring Expression.	Extern perspective: 'they really just assume'	Associated with prejudice.
A: I just grew up like a Dutch girl.	Referring Expression.	Intern Perspective: 'I just grew up' from the I-perspective.	
K: But I've seen patterns like this as well, not only with half people. Half people, haha, but "halfies", like or "hapas".	Referring Expressions.	Generalised Other: 'half people', 'halfies', 'hapas'.	Category used for speaker to identify with other half-blood people.
K: I don't really feel Dutch.	Referring Expression.	Intern Perspective: I-perspective – 'I don't really feel'.	
A: If I tell you I'm Thai.	Referring Expression.	Intern: I-perspective	Category used to give example of discriminative comments from other people.