

THE VOICES OF PARENTS, STUDENTS, AND TEACHERS
REGARDING CHINESE HERITAGE SCHOOLS
IN SOUTHEAST TEXAS

A Dissertation

by

LI-YUAN LIAO

Submitted to the Office of Graduate Studies of
Texas A&M University
in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

August 2011

Major Subject: Curriculum & Instruction

The Voices of Parents, Students, and Teachers Regarding
Chinese Heritage Schools in Southeast Texas
Copyright 2011 Li-Yuan Liao

THE VOICES OF PARENTS, STUDENTS, AND TEACHERS
REGARDING CHINESE HERITAGE SCHOOLS
IN SOUTHEAST TEXAS

A Dissertation

by

LI-YUAN LIAO

Submitted to the Office of Graduate Studies of
Texas A&M University
in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

Approved by:

Co-Chairs of Committee,	Patricia J. Larke
	Valerie Hill-Jackson
Committee Members,	Yvonna S. Lincoln
	Jeffrey Liew
Head of Department,	Dennie L. Smith

August 2011

Major Subject: Curriculum & Instruction

ABSTRACT

The Voice of Parents, Students, and Teachers Regarding Chinese Heritage Schools in
Southeast Texas. (August 2011)

Li-Yuan Liao, B.A., Providence University, Taiwan;

M.A., Oklahoma City University

Co-Chairs of Advisory Committee: Dr. Patricia J. Larke
Dr. Valerie Hill-Jackson

This qualitative study shared the voices of parents, students, and teachers and their perspectives on and experiences at community-based Chinese heritage schools (CHSs) in Southeast Texas. Their voices can be seen as critical inquiries that truly represent the phenomenon of after-school Chinese language education in the United States. With in-depth interviews and content analysis, this dissertation sought to provide greater understanding in: (a) creating a dialogue among the unique perspectives and voices of parents, students, and teachers; (b) documenting how teachers, first-generation parents, and second-generation students negotiate their own unique roles within the CHS system; (c) providing recommendations to school leaders, administrators, and teachers regarding particular methods of working with parents, to make students' heritage language (HL) learning more meaningful; and, (d) underscoring the contention that HL learning is a critical component of a functioning in pluralistic society.

DEDICATION

I have competed well; I have finished the race; I have kept the faith.
— 2 Timothy 4:7

To my devoted parents

John Huan-Ping Liao and Ling-Ling Chen

My father and my mother made all of this possible, through their endless love, encouragement, inspiration, support, and resourcefulness. My dissertation honors their generosity, hard work, and endless faith in me.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

People see your glory, but they don't know your story.
— *Anonymous*

I'd like to take this opportunity to thank my committee, whose intellectual light has shined so brightly over the last five years, leading me to this moment in my life:

My Co-Chair, Dr. Larke, has been my academic mother, standing close by my side throughout this process. I found great joy in participating in her courses, in attending several conferences together, as well as working on two publications. Dr. Larke is a professor who truly embraces diversity, taking pride in planting this intellectual seed among her students. She is also a professor who acts from a philosophy of “students first.” At one conference, she drove three hours just to support her students when they gave their presentations. I was so touched that day, when I saw my academic mother sitting among the other scholars in the audiences, with her encouraging smile looking at me. After my presentation and before she drove the three long hours home, she talked to me, firmly reminding me to “support students like me in the future.”

My other Co-Chair, Dr. Hill-Jackson, has been my mentor for many years, always close by my side. Back in 2005, I was anxiously waiting for the doctoral program admission process to be completed. I received Dr. Hill-Jackson's interview phone call, and even though we had not yet met each other, she seemed to take pleasure in discussing what I had already accomplished, much like an old friend. She has great insight into her students' future potential, and works diligently to help them achieve their

goals. Dr. Hill-Jackson is not simply brilliant, but astonishingly industrious and full of inspiring passion. She was always quick to share her books, journal articles, and any other resources I needed in my studies. Countless times she reminded me that while I traveled down this long academic road, immersing myself in my studies and my research, I was never alone.

Dr. Lincoln was my 師父 “shīfu” (master), who introduced and trained me in the study of naturalistic inquiry and qualitative methodology. My research paradigm shifted from quantitative to qualitative in its methodology, primarily due to the influence of Dr. Lincoln’s courses: Naturalistic Inquiry and Advanced Field Methods. Qualitative methodology became the governing forces and overall framework for my study. Beyond being a distinguished professor, Dr. Lincoln is also a great storyteller. She is truly a master, delivering and transforming the hard core of naturalistic inquiry into the rich historical background and real-life experiences that give the study life.

Dr. Liew was my role model through this process, encouraging the international students to experience American culture and to proudly represent one element of the diversity of Texas A&M University. A critical stepping stone in the future achievement of international students is the building up of their professional networks. Dr. Liew has an impressive and culturally sensitive networking system that provides invaluable assistance to international students, helping them to form greatly needed connections in the academic realm. When Dr. Liew learned of my research interests, he immediately introduced me to a friend on the faculty of The University of Texas at Austin. Such a

connection helped to broaden my intellectual exploration, as well as obtain resources and input from outside the Texas A&M campus.

I am grateful to all of my committee members: Dr. Larke, Dr. Hill-Jackson, Dr. Lincoln, and Dr. Liew, for their insightful guidance and generous support throughout my research.

I would also like to take this opportunity to thank my family: Fu-Ping Chou, Paul Liao, Tsai-Han Chen, Anna Liao, Dr. Ran Lu, Alice Chen, Bing-Bing Chen, Hsiao-Cheng Liao, Spencer Wu, Dr. Simon Liao, and Cecilia Liao for providing prompt support, a patient ear, and superb back-up, whenever they knew I was in need.

Thanks also go to my unique and splendid friends Yvonne Yeh, James Du, Vickey Chen, Hsiao-Ling Lu, Mingchien Li, Tingting Ma, Christine Frank, and Jaewoong Won. During my five-year journey at Texas A&M University, I had remarkable and unforgettable experiences in Aggieland with these young and creative Aggies, far too many to list out here. But each experience was special to me.

I also want to extend my gratitude to all the Chinese heritage school parents, teachers, and students who were willing to participate in this study and provide such rich data through their vivid stories, and to David Publishing Company, which published my first study on parents' voices in the US-China Education Review.

I appreciate Texas A&M University for providing me with three separate scholarships, all of which helped to support me during the process of writing this dissertation. And to my colleagues, the faculty, staff, and librarians, all of whom had a hand making my time at Texas A&M University great, I'd like to thank you all. Gig'em!

NOMENCLATURE

CHS(s)	Chinese Heritage School(s)
HL	Heritage Language
L1	First Language
LM	Language Minority
SLA	Second Language Acquisition

TABLE OF CONTENTS

	Page
ABSTRACT	iii
DEDICATION	iv
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS	v
NOMENCLATURE	viii
TABLE OF CONTENTS	ix
LIST OF FIGURES	xi
LIST OF TABLES	xii
1. INTRODUCTION.....	1
1.1 Introduction	1
1.2 Background of the Study.....	4
1.3 Statement of Problem	5
1.4 Purpose of the Study	7
1.5 Research Questions	9
1.6 Significance of the Study	12
1.7 Definition of Terms	12
1.8 Content of the Study.....	13
2. THE VOICES OF THIRTEEN CHINESE AND TAIWANESE PARENTS SHARING VIEWS ABOUT THEIR CHILDREN ATTENDING CHINESE HERITAGE SCHOOLS.....	16
2.1 Introduction	16
2.2 History of Chinese Heritage Schools in the United States.....	17
2.3 Methodology	21
2.4 Findings: Three Categories	24
2.5 Conclusion.....	28

	Page
3. THE VOICES OF SECOND-GENERATION CHINESE- AND TAIWANESE-AMERICANS' EXPERIENCES AT CHINESE HERITAGE SCHOOLS IN SOUTHEAST TEXAS	32
3.1 Introduction	32
3.2 The Second-Generation HL Learners.....	34
3.3 Methodology	37
3.4 Findings.....	40
3.5 Conclusion	60
4. THE VOICES OF TEACHERS' PERSPECTIVES AND TEACHING EXPERIENCES AT THE CHINESE HERITAGE SCHOOLS IN SOUTHEAST TEXAS.....	62
4.1 Introduction	62
4.2 Sociocultural Theory in Chinese Language Teaching	65
4.3 Methodology	68
4.4 Findings.....	74
4.5 Conclusion	99
5. SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION.....	101
5.1 Summaries of the Research Findings.....	101
5.2 Implications for Future Research.....	105
5.3 Implications for Educational Practices.....	106
5.4 Conclusion.....	109
REFERENCES.....	110
APPENDIX A. EXTENDED THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK	132
APPENDIX B. ADDITIONAL METHODOLOGY	144
APPENDIX C. RESEARCH QUESTIONS	154
APPENDIX D. CONSENT FORMS	156
VITA	161

LIST OF FIGURES

FIGURE	Page
1-1 Three Case Study Dissertation	2
1-2 Chinese Heritage School	8
1-3 The Case Study of CHS in Three Manuscripts	11
3-1 Content Analysis Index Card: I-SF01-010409	39
4-1 Content Analysis Index Card: I-TF07-081010.....	71

LIST OF TABLES

TABLE	Page
1.1 The Outline of Interview Questions in Each Case Study.....	10
1.2 The Comparison between Traditional and Three Journal Article Dissertation	15
1.3 Prospective Journal for the Manuscripts	15
2.1 Zhuyin Fuhao, Hanyu Pinyin, and International Phonetic Alphabet	19
2.2 Profiles of Parent Participants	23
3.1 Demographics of the CHSs in the U.S.	33
3.2 Profile of Student Participants.....	38
3.3 Categories of the Student Study	42
3.4 Units of the Student Data for Identified Themes	43
3.5 Language in Use.....	45
4.1 CHS System Types.....	63
4.2 Profile of Teacher Participants	69
4.3 Categories of the Teacher Study	72
4.4 Units of the Teacher Data for Identified Themes.....	73
A.1 Family and Community Language Environment for Bilingual Children 0-3 Years Old.....	138
B.1 The Codes of the Index Cards	150
B.2 The Color Coding of the Index Cards	150

1. INTRODUCTION

Ethnic schools are a manifestation of immigrants' special adaptation to the American environment. They demonstrate a group's conscious perception of itself as a distinct group with a cultural legacy to be passed on to the next generation.
— Elena Bradunas

1.1 Introduction

The purpose of this qualitative dissertation was to examine the voices of parents, students, and teachers and their perspectives on and experiences at community-based Chinese Heritage Schools (CHSs) in Southeast Texas. Governed by sociocultural theory, the study mainly addressed how cultural factors impact the parents, students, and teachers' perception on CHSs. An overview of the CHSs, and in-depth explanations from parents, students, and teachers are articulated and analyzed across three case studies (see Figure 1-1). Because a case study is described as “[to] investigate a contemporary phenomenon in depth and within its real-life context” (Yin, 2003, p.13), the dissertation divided here by three case studies is an effective means of studying socio-cultural phenomenon.

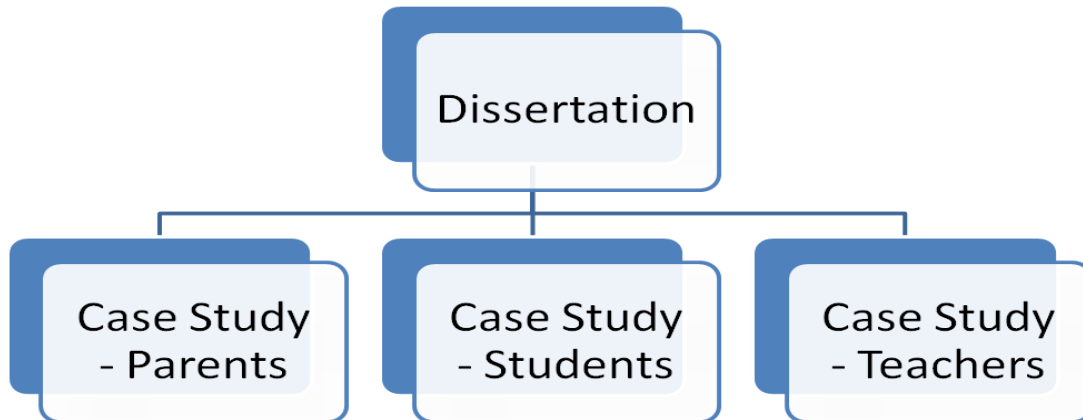


Figure 1-1. Three case study dissertation.

The dissertation contains three case studies on parents, students, and teachers.

The first case study, involving parents, briefly examined the history of CHSs, their programming, and how the schools were implemented in the U.S. Then the study focused on the reasons why first-generation immigrant parents have enrolled their U.S.-born child(ren) in CHSs. Parents spoke of how they arrived at the decision to raise their child(ren) to be bilingual, how a mastery of Chinese is a competitive advantage for their child(ren), and the positive values they believe a CHS education can instill in their child(ren).

The second case study involved college students and young adults (ages 20-30) who attended the CHSs during their primary years. The motivation level of most of these second-generation immigrant youths to learn Chinese was quite low, while their parents have high expectations for their heritage language (HL) development. Both this conflict

and the cultural distance between first- and second-generation immigrants were a large source of interest in my research of these second-generation Chinese HL learners. The study also looked at how the students view their HL learning process now when looking back upon it. The research guiding questions were: What role did their CHS experiences play in their intellectual development? Did their CHS experiences and outcomes meet both their needs and their parents' expectations?

The focus of the third case study was to seek the voices of teachers and their roles as facilitators and how they have motivated their students to learn Chinese language and about Chinese culture. More specifically, the study was interested in finding out what factors led them to become teachers, the role they saw themselves playing in the language acquisition and cultural literacy process, and what unique experiences they had at CHSs. In addition, the study examined how these teachers negotiated the relationship between students and parents, specifically how they have attempted to meet the parents' expectations while simultaneously raising the motivation level of their students.

The voices of each stakeholder group and their specific experiences relating to CHSs drew a more complete picture of CHSs and what role the CHSs play in the lives of all of the participants involved. This dissertation was divided into seven sections and three of which (Section 2, Section 3, and Section 4) were formatted as journal manuscripts.

1.2 Background of the Study

Ethnic heritage language schools in the U.S. serve as a means for immigrant parents to pass down their HL, ethnic identity, and cultural knowledge to the next generation (Bradunas & Topping, 1988). HL schools in the U.S. not only benefit immigrant children, but also, as Fishman (1999) emphasizes, “make important contributions to American education and the development of education-related laws” (pp. 85-86). The languages taught at these ethnic schools in the U.S. include Chinese, Dutch, Greek, Hebrew, Japanese, Korean, Polish, and Turkish (Bradunas & Topping, 1988; Sacks, 1985). CHSs, which teach Mandarin Chinese and seek to educate students in Chinese culture, have existed for about 100 years in the U.S. Due to the influx of immigration, historical pathway, and political circumstance; CHSs in the U.S. are established by two major immigrant groups. Taiwanese-run and Chinese-run CHSs have their own target student population based on the choices of adopting different phonetic and written systems. As Chao (1996) reports, new immigrants from Taiwan developed Chinese language schools during 1965 and recent immigrants from Mainland China in the last decade have reshaped and brought different resources to the Chinese language school system here in the U.S.

Most Chinese-speaking immigrants, whether in a single or inter-ethnic marriage, believe that keeping their HL alive is critical for future generations. Their care about and concern for the preservation of their mother tongue has endured in part because of a belief that they are solidifying cultural identity, strengthening social connections, and helping their children tap into China’s rapidly expanding economy (Liao & Larke,

2009). Second-generation immigrant learners who have been raised bilingually have wrestled with the perennial problem of switching between two languages and two cultures. By day, they are expected to live in America, an English-speaking world; and at home, they are asked to speak their mother tongue and abide by the cultural customs of their parents. Indeed, there is a linguistic, cultural, and interpersonal gap between second-generation immigrant children and their parents. Viadero (1996) describes how “two distinct cultures are bumping up against one another, forming an invisible wall that stands in the way of learning and communication” (p.14). This phenomenon not only affects children’s HL learning, but also shapes how teachers approach HL instruction. Some teachers of Mandarin at CHSs have discussed the challenges they face in encouraging students to learn Chinese when there is little motivation to do so.

1.3 Statement of Problem

In Lao’s (2004) study, she surveyed 86 parents and found out that there was a gap between parents’ general desire for Chinese to be spoken and actual practice in the home environment. The following scenarios depict the voices from parents, students, and teachers about their expectation, limitation, and disconnection within these three groups.

1.3.1 Scenario 1

講中文 “Jiang Zhongwen” - which means “Speak Chinese” - was the phrase that Mr. Chen reminded his children to say at home every day. Mr. Chen, a first-generation Chinese American, thought that the rule of “Chinese Only” at home was necessary for his children to maintain their HL skills. He and his wife explain that their children will

speaking Mandarin-Chinese either when they are talking about what happened at school or when they talk to their siblings. Mr. and Mrs. Chen enrolled their children in a CHS close to their neighborhood when their children were of school age. They had hoped that their children would be able to speak Chinese more and learn more about their culture heritage. However, in reality, the parents' expectations did not match the outcomes.

1.3.2 Scenario 2

Lin, now a 22-year-old college student, attended a CHS to study Chinese every Sunday starting at the age of five. She was raised to be bilingual. During her years of study at the CHS, Lin always wondered why she had to go there every Sunday while her American friends could do something they liked, such as going to movies, hanging out with friends, or playing online games. Thus, learning Chinese was a burden for her at that time.

1.3.3 Scenario 3

Miss Wang, from Taiwan, has taught Mandarin Chinese and Chinese culture-related subjects for five years in two different CHSs. Her educational philosophy on Chinese teaching is to make it as enjoyable as possible so as to increase the students' interest in Chinese language and culture. To these ends, she once folded Mandopop¹ singing and Chinese calligraphy writing into her curriculum. While her high-school-age students loved it, she nonetheless received a complaint from a parent that not enough Chinese homework had been assigned to her child. For teachers who have taught in the

¹ Mandopop is an abbreviation for "Mandarin popular music," which is currently booming in Taiwan, the leading producer and industry of pop idols and pop songs.

CHSs, it is constant challenge meeting both parents' expectations and somehow encouraging their students to excel in HL.

The scenarios given above highlight the diverse and often conflicting roles parents, students, and teachers play in the HL learning process. They bring to light some of the conflicting perspectives on best practices in language acquisition, instruction, and how best to maintain those language skills once outside of the CHS setting. Scholarly research of CHSs generally focuses on the perspectives of either parents, students, or teachers, and thus is segmented into pieces. Therefore, this study can provide a more complete picture of CHSs in the U.S. with multiple perspectives through a combined look at the voices of parents, students, and teachers. How the groups interact between and among each other, and what factors drive these particular interactions were discussed and revealed in a three-article dissertation format.

1.4 Purpose of the Study

The purpose of this study was to investigate the phenomena relating to: (a) the conflicts and dynamics that first-generation Chinese immigrant parents face, (b) how their American-born children negotiate their dual identities and roles; and (c) the experiences Chinese teachers who have taught in CHSs. An overview picture of CHSs (see Figure 1-2) can be made by examining the parents' perspectives, the particular learning experiences of the students, and the teachers' challenges and successes.

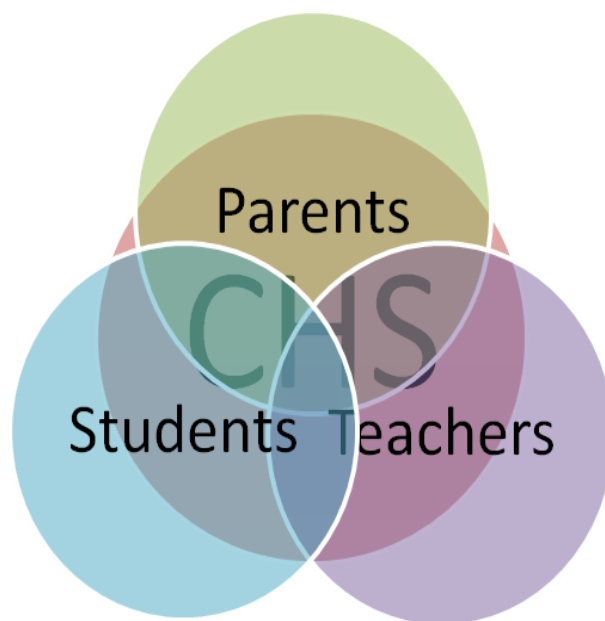


Figure 1-2. Chinese Heritage School.

Multiple voices of parents, students, and teachers regarding CHSs in Southeast Texas.

This dissertation provides greater understanding in the following areas:

- (a) Create a dialogue among the unique perspectives and voices of parents, students, and teachers;
- (b) Document how teachers, first-generation parents, and second-generation students negotiate their own unique roles within the CHS system;
- (c) Underscore the contention that HL learning is a critical component of a functioning in pluralistic society; and,
- (d) Provide recommendations to school leaders, administrators, and teachers regarding particular methods of working with parents, to make students' HL learning more meaningful.

1.5 Research Questions

The guiding research question for the three cases is: What is the overview picture of CHSs from the voices of parents, students, and teachers in Texas? This question will guide and unite the three case studies analyzed within the dissertation. Table 1.1 provides an outline of the three cases as they relate to the research questions as well as specific research questions within each study.

Table 1.1 The outline of interview questions in each case study

	Study 1	Study 2	Study 3
Interviewee	Parents	Students	Teachers
Guiding Question	What are the multiple voices regarding CHSs in Texas?		
General Questions	Interviewees' background information Interviewees' perception of CHS The experiences the interviewees had in the CHS		
Specific Questions	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • What is the language parents spoken to their child(ren) at home? • What are the reasons the parents had their children learning Chinese in the CHS? • What is parents' view of bilingualism? 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • What are the reasons the students attended the CHS? • What are the benefits that students got from the CHS? • What is the value of having bilingual ability? • What are the suggestions for the CHS and future CHS students? 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • What is the teacher's role in the CHS? • What are the challenging and accomplishment of Chinese teaching? • How does the teacher assess his/her teaching that match students' learning? • What are the teacher's views about students' bilingual ability?

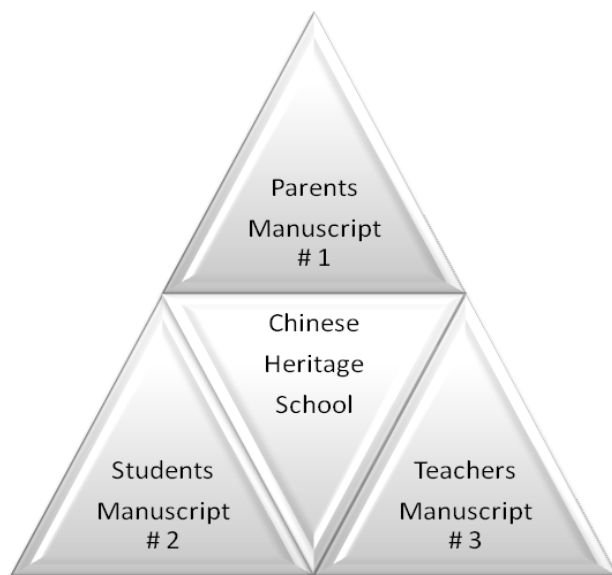


Figure 1-3. The case study of CHS in three manuscripts.

1.6 Significance of the Study

In the past decade there has been a plethora of quantitative studies published examining parents' attitudes, perceptions, and perspectives toward their children's learning of dual and/or heritage languages (Lao, 2004; Park & Sarkar, 2007; Shannon, & Milian, 2002; Shin & Gribbons, 1996; Shin & Kim, 1996; Young & Tran, 1999). There have also been a few studies examining teachers' perspectives (Liu, 2006; Rodríguez, 2007; Shin & Krashen, 1996) on CHSs and students' bilingual development. Yet, rarely does this research occur in qualitative methods which look at collective narratives and combined stakeholder perspectives (i.e. parents, children, and teachers). Herein lies the saliency of this study, as it looks at these narratives and perspectives qualitatively, produced in a three-article format (see Figure 1-3).

1.7 Definition of Terms

The terms and definitions in this study are as follows:

Chinese Teacher: Those teachers who speak native Mandarin-Chinese, and who are from China or Taiwan. The majority of those teachers who teach in Chinese Heritage Schools are parents and volunteers who do not have teaching credentials and/or who are not trained in education or Chinese language instruction (Liu, 2006).

First-generation Chinese Americans/Parents: Roberge (2009) defines first-generation immigrants as "those who grew up in cultural and linguistic contexts outside the U.S." (p.4). Here, *first-generation Chinese Americans/parents* are people who have immigrated to the U.S. from China, Taiwan, or from other countries but whose ancestry can be traced back to China or Taiwan.

Second-generation Chinese Americans: Refers to those who are U.S.-born (Min, 2002; Roberge, 2009). Both or one of their parents immigrated to the U.S. from China, Taiwan, or from other countries but whose ancestry can be traced back to China or Taiwan.

Heritage: Refers to “all the qualities, traditions, or features of life there that have continued over many years and have been passed from one generation to another” (Sinclair, 2001, p. 734). *Chinese heritage* refers to those qualities, traditions, or features of life that people of Chinese descent maintain and pass down to future generations.

Heritage Language (HL): Can be categorized as “indigenous heritage languages, colonial heritage languages, and immigrant heritage languages” (Fishman, 1999). In this study, heritage language refers to the heritage language of immigrants, the language spoken at home, the mother tongue, and the language spoken within the community (He, 2008a).

1.8 Content of the Study

This is a three-article format dissertation (see Table 1.2) and it contains five sections. Section 1 Introduction outlined the overall background, statement of problem, purposes, significant, and content of the study. It included a summary of the CHSs and an overview of the study. One manuscript has already been published, which was contained in Section 2. The remaining two ongoing manuscripts were contained in Section 3 and 4 (see Table 1.3). Section 2 contained Manuscript 1, entitled *The voices of thirteen Chinese and Taiwanese parents sharing views about their children attending Chinese heritage schools* which captures the views and voices of parents who have

enrolled their children in CHSs. Section 3 contained Manuscript 2 and focused on college-level students who have attended CHSs. Section 4 contained Manuscript 3, which examined teachers' opinions and their experiences teaching in CHSs. Section 5 concluded with the summaries of the three articles, and with discussions and recommendations for future research. Appendix A included an extended theoretical framework, which was governed by socio-cultural theory. An additional methodology according to naturalist inquiry appeared in Appendix B, which was applied using the qualitative method of naturalistic inquiry. The interview protocol appeared in Appendix C.

Table 1.2 The comparison between traditional and three journal article dissertation

	Traditional	Three Journal
Chapter 1	Introduction	Introduction
Chapter 2	Literature Review	Manuscript # 1
Chapter 3	Methods	Manuscript # 2
Chapter 4	Results	Manuscript # 3
Chapter 5	Conclusion	Conclusion
	References	References
Appendix A	Measurement Instruments	Extended Conceptual Framework
Appendix B		Additional Methodology
Appendix C		Research Questions
Appendix D		Consent Forms

From “Five-Chapter Traditional vs. Journal Article Format” by College of Education & Human Development, Texas A&M University.

Table 1.3 Prospective journal for the manuscripts

Manuscript	Title	Journal
1	The voices of thirteen Chinese and Taiwanese parents sharing views about their children attending Chinese heritage schools	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>US-China Education Review</i>
2	The voices of second-generation Chinese- and Taiwanese-Americans’ experiences at Chinese heritage schools in Southeast Texas	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>The 7th volume of an Asian and Pacific American education research anthology series.</i> • <i>Bilingual Research Journal</i> • <i>Heritage Language Journal</i>
3	The voices of teachers, and their perspectives and teaching experiences at Chinese heritage schools in Southeast Texas	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>Language, culture, and curriculum</i> • <i>Teaching and Teacher Education</i>

2. THE VOICES OF THIRTEEN CHINESE AND TAIWANESE PARENTS
SHARING VIEWS ABOUT THEIR CHILDREN
ATTENDING CHINESE HERITAGE SCHOOLS*

Chinese parents believe that they know what is best for their children
— Amy Chua

2.1 Introduction

Chinese heritage community schools in the United States were established about 100 years ago because of their roles in helping Chinese parents and other parents of Asian descendant to assist themselves and their children in keeping ties to their cultural and linguistic heritages. Even today, Chinese and Taiwanese parents in the U.S. are concerned about their children being able to speak the language and retaining their cultural identity. In addition, there has been an increase in the number of Chinese students, those who are American born as well as those who are native born living in the U.S. Parents want their children to develop cultural and linguistic ties to their native countries. These parents realize the importance of learning and maintaining their native language and cultural traditions. In fact, many support Tannenbaum and Howie's (2002) research that stated that language is the means by which people are socialized into their culture.

Historically, immigrants in the U.S. have learned the English language for

* Reprinted with permission from "The voices of thirteen Chinese and Taiwanese parents sharing views about their children attending Chinese heritage schools" by Li-Yuan J. Liao & Patricia J. Larke, 2008. *US-China Education Review*, 5(12), 1-8, Copyright 2008 by David Publishing Company.

employment and communication. While in the past, many immigrants wanted their children to learn English to improve their education level as well as their quality of life; today, many immigrants want their children to be fluent in both English and their native language. Yet, many of the studies about parents' attitudes regarding these issues have been quantitative, and there are very few, studies that have captured the voices of the parents. As such, this paper seeks to share: (1) the history of Chinese heritage schools; and (2) the results of a study involving thirteen (N=13) Chinese and Taiwanese parents about their perceptions of Chinese heritage schools and the reason why they send their children to Chinese heritage schools in a city of one southwestern state.

2.2 History of Chinese Heritage Schools in the United States

The first Chinese heritage school in the U.S. was established in the mid-nineteenth century (Lai, 2000). According to Lai (2000), one of the earliest compulsory Chinese language classes on record was developed in 1874. The purpose of this Chinese Educational Mission in Hartford, Connecticut, was to preserve Chinese heritage for 120 Chinese students sent by the Qing government to study in America.

Between 1912 and 1945, many Chinese communities in America started Chinese language schools, especially in San Francisco and Honolulu (Lai, 2000). In 1957, there were 31 Chinese schools in the U.S. that included 4,286 students and 152 teachers (Lai, 2001). Chao (1996) reported that U.S. immigration regulations promoted a new influx of immigration that incorporated well-educated immigrants from Taiwan and Hong Kong in 1965. These immigrants and their families became residents or citizens of the U.S. The National Council of Associations of Chinese Language Schools (NCACLS) in 1995

reported that there were 634 Chinese language schools in 47 states that included approximately 82,675 students (Lai, 2001; Chao, 1996).

Chinese heritage schools are mainly managed by community members consisting of volunteer parents and students from local colleges and universities. These Chinese and Taiwanese immigrants volunteer to teach their youngsters in Chinese language schools. They are motivated by a strong aspiration to preserve their Chinese heritage and promote the ethnic identity of second-generation Chinese-Americans. Gordon (2005) emphasized that well-resourced families and communities provide optimal development and effective education through supplementary education that under parents' aspiration for children's personal development and achievement.

2.2.1 Types of programs

Chao's study in 1996 points out that there are three types of programs generally offered in Chinese language schools. They are weekend programs, after-school programs, and summer programs. Weekend programs are held three hours a week during the day on Saturday or Sunday. Some schools have two hours language learning class and one hour Chinese cultural performance/activity class, such as calligraphy, painting, yo-yo, gong-fu, chess and dance. After-school programs are held from around 3 p.m. to 6 p.m. Monday to Friday. Classes include Chinese, Chinese cultural-related class, tutorial lessons in English, mathematics, or other homework. Summer programs are held each day from Monday through Friday during the summer months for about six to eight weeks. The classes provide students with intensive training in Chinese language and Chinese culture.

Table 2.1 Zhuyin Fuhao, Hanyu Pinyin, and International Phonetic Alphabet (IPA) notations

Onsets			Rimes		
Zhuyin	Pinyin	IPA+	Zhuyin	Pinyin	IPA+
ㄅ	b	[p]	ㄚ	a	[a]
ㄆ	p	[p ^h]	ㄛ	o	[o]
ㄏ	h	[x]	ㄝ	e	[ə]
ㄇ	m	[m]	ㄨ*	u*	[u], [w]
ㄈ	f	[f]	ㄟ*	i*	[i], [j]
ㄉ	d	[t]	ㄨ*	ü*	[y]
ㄊ	t	[t ^h]	ㄟ	ei	[ei]
ㄋ	n	[n]	ㄞ	ai	[ai]
ㄌ	l	[l]	ㄞ	ao	[au]
ㄍ	g	[k]	ㄞ	ou	[ou]
ㄎ	k	[k ^h]	ㄞ	an	[an]
ㄏ	r	[ʒ]	ㄞ	en	[ən]
ㄇ	s	[s]	ㄞ	in	[in]
ㄆ	z	[ts]	ㄞ	un	[un]
ㄆ	sh	[ʃ]	ㄞ	ang	[aŋ]
ㄆ	c	[ts ^h]	ㄞ	eng	[əŋ]
ㄆ	ch	[tʃ]	ㄞ	ing	[iŋ]
ㄆ	ch	[tʃ ^h]	ㄞ	ong	[uŋ]
ㄆ	j	[tʃ ^h]	ㄞ	er	[ər]
ㄆ	q	[tʃ ^h]	ㄞ	ie	[iɛ]
ㄆ	x	[ç]			

* also used for medial glides, as in GUANG [kwa], TIE [t^hi] or JUAN [tʃuan].
 † the IPA notations are those used by Li & Thompson (1981, pp. 5–7).

Source: P. Bertelson, H. Chen, & B. Gelder. (1997). Explicit speech analysis and orthographic experience in Chinese readers. In: H. Chen (Ed.). *Cognitive processing of Chinese and related Asian languages* (p.37). Chinese University Press.

2.2.2 Two different systems of Chinese heritage schools

Chinese heritage school systems are run by either Chinese or Taiwanese communities. Although the Chinese schools share Chinese cultural heritage, due to the historical evolution and political circumstance, the schools run by Chinese and Taiwanese use different phonetic systems and Chinese characters. Hanyu Pinyin and Simplified Chinese Characters are taught in schools under Chinese community settings. Zhuyin Fuhao and Traditional Chinese Characters are taught in schools run by Taiwanese communities.

Zhuyin Fuhao (see Table 2.1) was adopted from the Wade-Giles System and was modified by Herbert Allen Giles in 1912 (Laychuk, 1983). It is a syllabary system still used in Taiwan as the symbols b (ㄅ)、p (ㄆ)、m (ㄇ).... There are 37 phonetic symbols which represent different pronunciations to recognize each Chinese character.

Since the 1950s, Hanyu Pinyin (see Table 2.1) has been the standard Chinese phonetic alphabet system (Lai, 2001). Hanyu Pinyin is Roman alphabetic letters used as the standard Mandarin romanization system to teach Simplified Chinese Characters. In the 1950s, the People's Republic of China (PRC) government simplified the Chinese language. The Simplified Chinese Characters are used in Mainland China, Singapore, Malaysia, and most Chinese-printed publications. To preserve the traditional culture, the Traditional Chinese Characters have remained and students are taught in Traditional Chinese Characters in Taiwan, Hong Kong, and Macau.

By employing different phonetic systems and Chinese characters, the Chinese schools offer different Chinese instructional systems. That reflects in the method of

teaching, textbooks, pronunciation learning, Chinese writing, and parents' choices. However, more and more Chinese heritage community schools provide both types of characters and both types of transliteration methods to prepare students to be in China, Taiwan, or Chinese communities abroad (Lai, 2001).

Asian-American children who attend the Taiwanese-Chinese schools are taught the traditional Chinese characters and Zhuyin Fuhao. The characteristics of the Chinese school in the Taiwanese community are (1) belonging to the governance of the Overseas Compatriot Affairs Commission (OCAC), Republic of China (ROC, Taiwan), (2) using the facilities and classrooms of local university, and (3) recruiting teachers from master and doctoral Taiwanese students of the universities. Many Asian-American children who attend a Chinese school managed by the China system are (1) supported by Consulate General of the People's Republic of China (PRC) in Houston, (2) using textbooks designed by Jinan University in Guangzhou, and (3) recruiting teachers from volunteers (Chinese parents and residents).

Generally speaking, Mandarin is the primary language used in class. For children who were born in the U.S. and at primary level, teachers express and teach in English more often. Depending on the student's level and teacher's instruction, the curriculum may vary. The schools use textbooks from China and Taiwan which are designed for overseas compatriots or Chinese as second language learners. Most teachers use flash cards, posters, music, films, and pictures as supplementary educational materials.

2.3 Methodology

In naturalistic inquiry, interview is one type of data collections for utilizing

human sources (Lincoln & Guba, 1985). This qualitative study was conducted by interviewing and involved thirteen parents who sent their children to learn Chinese in a city of one Southwestern state. The study was approved by the university's Institutional Review Board (IRB) and the parents were interviewed between October and November 2007. Five parents sent their children to a Chinese school that was operated by the Chinese community, eight parents sent their children to a Chinese school that was operated by the Taiwanese community. The two Chinese schools shared different classrooms in the same building. The parents usually wait for their children in empty classrooms located in the building and eleven parents were interviewed in the school setting while they were waiting for their children to attend classes. One couple, John and Kelly, were interviewed at their home.

This qualitative study was guided by two research questions:

- (1) What are the reasons parents send their child(ren) to Chinese heritage schools?
- (2) What were the benefits and experiences for their child(ren) to attend Chinese heritage schools? Describe the benefits and values of the experiences.

More specifically, the study addressed the following questions:

- (1) Describe your background. What is the age of you and the age of your child(ren)?
- (2) What are your child(ren)'s place of birth and their age when they came to the United States?
- (3) What is the language spoken to your child(ren) at home?
- (4) What are the reasons you give to your child(ren) for having them learning

Chinese?

(5) What are the reasons you enroll your child(ren) in Chinese heritage schools or

Chinese programs?

(6) What Chinese schools or regular programs are your child(ren) attending?

All the names of the parents and children in the study are pseudonyms. Four participants were first-generation immigrants from China and four were from Taiwan. One American parent married an Indonesian of Chinese descent, three American parents married Taiwanese, and one Korean parent married Taiwanese. All parents had higher education degrees or were working on terminal degrees at the local university. Some parents were employed in companies within the community. More information about the participants is described in Table 2.2.

Table 2.2 Profiles of parent participants

No.	Name	Nationality	Educational Level	Intercultural Marriage	System Type	Note
1	Emily	China	Master		China	
2	Alice	Taiwan	Master		Taiwan	
3	Batty	China	Bachelor		China	
4	John	USA	Bachelor	Married Kelly	Taiwan	
5	Kelly	Taiwan	Bachelor	Married John	Taiwan	
6	Mark	China	Ph. D.		China	
7	Kevin	USA	Ph. D.	Married Indonesian	China	
8	Joyce	China	Bachelor		China	
9	Bill	Korea	Ph. D.	Married Taiwanese	Taiwan	
10	Haley	Taiwan	Master	Married American	Taiwan	
11	Gina	Taiwan	Master		Taiwan	
12	Nancy	USA	Bachelor	Married Taiwanese	Taiwan	Adopted 2 children from China
13	Ivy	USA	Bachelor	Married Taiwanese	Taiwan	

Most of the interviews were conducted in Chinese with some in English. The majority of the field notes were written in Chinese and some written in English, and the descriptions were transcribed in English. According to Lincoln and Guba (1985), content analysis is a systematic process that provides a division of the text into units of meaning. Our data were sorted using a content analysis in which three main categories were: (1) maintenance of heritage language and culture, (2) perspectives of bilingualism, and (3) value of Chinese heritage school.

2.4 Findings: Three Categories

2.4.1 Maintenance of the heritage language and culture

Vygotsky (1997a) believes that human beings pass along large amounts of knowledge across generations not biologically, but culturally. We can say “language” is the mediator to deliver knowledge culturally and a bridge of generation gap between the first generation immigrant parents and the second generation immigrant children.

In our study, maintenance of heritage language was noted among the parents. Mark responded when he said straightforward that, “She [My daughter] is Chinese, so she needs to learn Chinese.” It is natural for most Chinese and Taiwanese parents to think that way. They will either speak Chinese at home or send their children to Chinese schools in the close Chinese community. Mark also suspected that it will be difficult for students to learn Chinese without fundamental understanding. It will also be harder for them to learn Chinese when they are older. Bill had similar feeling when he stated that his two sons are Chinese descendants, so they have to learn Chinese.

The main reason that John sent his daughter to learn Chinese was that he thought

of it as “the cultural thing.” He thought that his daughter needed to know about her culture. Kevin enrolled both his son and daughter in the Chinese school because he thought that his children should know that they are of Chinese descendant. He felt that his children could explore their Asian culture and learn how to understand it more.

2.4.2 Importance of bilingualism

Within the broader theme of perspectives on bilingualism, we noticed that there were three areas that parents noted for sending their children to Chinese heritage schools. They were the need for learning two languages, for communication and social skills and for professional competitiveness. The parents believed that their children should learn two languages and one of the languages should be Chinese. They felt that Chinese is a universal language and that it is more popular today. Gina made a comment that “if students have more than one language ability then they would get more benefits”. Ivy concurred when she stated that “it is important to learn other languages.” Kevin and Bill felt that language is a tool for people to access different linguistic groups. Some agreed that students should be able to master both English and Chinese and that it was most important for Chinese and Taiwanese immigrants.

We found that most parents did not expect their children to write Chinese characters; but were more interested in their children developing communication and social skills. For example, Alice and her husband often took their daughters back to Taiwan. They hoped their two daughters will be able to communicate with their grandparents and relatives when they return home. Kevin and his wife are frequent travelers and Kevin expected his children to help them communicate with others in

Chinese when they traveled to Asian countries. He stated that writing Chinese characters was not his first priority. Joyce reiterated similar feelings when she stated that it is important for her children to communicate with people in China when they go back. She also encouraged her children to learn Chinese. She wanted them to be able to ask directions and read road signs in Chinese. Haley's son, Peter, talked to his grandparents every week by phone and often returned to Taiwan. Peter plays with his cousins when he returns. Haley wanted Peter to be able to converse with grandparents and play with cousins was the reason she wanted her son to learn Chinese. In the study, many parents wanted their children to learn Chinese to keep the language alive, meet people, and make friends. They felt that speaking the same language tied families together, and that being able to speak one more language gave their children more access to their culture.

Chang (1998) states that "the interdependent global economy requires that youth be prepared with bilingual and cross cultural skills so that they can be competitive and productive in a multicultural and multilingual society" (p.157). In our study, many parents felt that learning Chinese would help them be more marketable in the future. Alice stated it best when she described her cousin who is American-born and works at an American Institute in Taiwan (AIT) where it is an advantage for her to speak Chinese. Kelly shared information about her daughter's future and John agreed. John believed that knowing the Chinese language could expand his daughter's opportunity. He said to his daughter, "If you learn to read and write Chinese, there are so many jobs for you." Gina said that her son, Allen, got a summer job, because he could speak Mandarin fluently. Speaking the language fluently, provided him an opportunity to expand his business by

successfully selling his products.

2.4.3 The value of Chinese heritage schools

Based on our qualitative study, parents felt that there was much value in their children attending Chinese heritage schools. Parents also thought that social networking was one of the values they received for sending their children to Chinese heritage schools. We noticed that there were differences between native-born parents and intermarriage parents about their language speaking at home. Our study shows six families have children who are second generation heritage Chinese learners. Four families have both father side and mother side from China and two families both father side and mother side from Taiwan. The parents from this group (parents from the same countries) speak Chinese at home and also encourage their children to speak Chinese them. Emily said, “My daughter couldn’t speak English before she went to school. She spoke Chinese at home. I let her know that she must speak Chinese at home.” Emily and her husband would say to their daughter, “I don’t know what you are talking about” when she spoke English to them. Alice told us that her two daughters know they have to speak Chinese at home.

Chinese heritage community schools provide a networking opportunity not only for parents but also for their children. The parents felt that the experience was positive as noted in several comments. Emily wanted to let her daughter know that there were many other children learning Chinese. Joyce felt that the Chinese school as a place for parents to exchange thoughts on helping children to learn and excel in Chinese. Nancy mentioned that the Chinese school is a place where her daughters could see other

Chinese people. Haley appreciated the values of the parents, teachers, and principal of the Chinese School. She said that “Everybody in Chinese school is attentive and diligent.” Batty praised the Chinese school for its fair tuition and qualified teachers but most importantly that her daughter liked to go to the Chinese school.

2.5 Conclusion

In this study, we found three reasons that Chinese and Taiwanese parents in America sent their children to Chinese heritage schools. These reasons were: (1) Maintenance of the heritage language and culture; (2) Importance of bilingualism; and, (3) The value of Chinese heritage schools. Most Asian immigrant parents think that learning Chinese is important and that their care and concern for Chinese (native language) were important as noted in our findings in the theme, maintenance of heritage language. Based on the results, most parents sent their children to learn Chinese because it is important for their children to keep their native language and to retain their culture. The American parents who adopt children from China, such as Nancy, cared about their children’s cultural identity development. However, Gina noted that there were “more and more immigrants from Mainland China tended to ask their children to speak English and no Chinese”. According to Gina, these parents wanted their children to assimilate into the American culture. These themes were similar to Chen (1996)’s report when she stated that most Chinese parents in the U.S. are eager to prepare their children to assimilate into America. These parents maintain and build up their children’s Chinese abilities. However, in reality, once their children enter the American education system, their knowledge of Chinese language and culture may be eliminated.

Sending young children learn a second language was an overwhelming phenomenon. De Houwer (1999) points out that more and more people nowadays want their children to grow up to be bilingual. The case for the immigrant parents is slightly different. Most immigrant parents have to raise their children bilingually. Danico and Ng (2004) indicate that since the first generation immigrants are foreign born, they immigrate to the U.S. with the language and cultural values of their homeland. The second generation, however, grows up in the U.S., has fluent English rather than their parents' native language. Many immigrant parents in the US are facing the dilemma of wanting their children to acquire English fluently and to maintain their heritage language at the same time (Worthy & Rodríguez-Galindo, 2006).

The first generation wants their next generation to have more access to the mainstream and be more acceptable to others. They think speaking good English is holding a ticket to enter a better life in the U.S. Therefore, one of the swift ways for immigrants to assimilate into a country is to speak its dominant language. Yet, during this migration process, in order to preserve their cultural identity and their heritage, the immigrants from different ethnic, cultural, and linguistic groups, encourage their next generation to master the heritage language. However, we found similar patterns from the parents like Emily, Alice, Batty, Mark, Joyce, Haley, and Gina.

Students' population shows the diverse groups in Chinese schools. It also represents the difference within the parents' population. The types of student groups in Chinese schools are classified into four major groups by Lee (1996): (1) second generation heritage language learners; (2) first generation heritage language learners; (3)

learners with Chinese heritage background who do not speak Mandarin in the family; and, (4) non-Chinese heritage language learners. According to Lee (1996), second generation heritage language learners are the majority enrolled in Chinese language schools. The students are Chinese-Americans whose parents' first language is Chinese. Our findings parallel to Lee in that we found most students are second generation heritage Chinese learners and several students are Chinese heritage background who do not speak Mandarin in the family.

Although it was not stated by the parents, yet, from our observation, there is another group rising rapidly into this study. More and more American parents adopt children especially girls from China. In this particular group, American parents enrolled their children in the Chinese language schools for inheriting Chinese culture, identity and language. Usually, American parents will attend the class with their children to acquire Mandarin and Chinese culture. Liao (2004) found that in an Oklahoma study of American parents who enrolled their children in a Chinese heritage school that American parents wanted their children to attend the school. One American parent stated: "She (My daughter) is Chinese and I want her to know her native language." While another American parent wrote, "She is Chinese. She understood Chinese at the age of three. We hope she has maintained her understanding and will be able to speak Chinese fluently."

In summary, the voices of the parents clearly stated that having their children attend Chinese heritage schools was important not only for their children but it also provided value for themselves. They believe that their children should be able to speak the language and communicate with members of their families and communities to help

them retain their heritage language. Moreover, having their children become bilingual also strengthens their children's social and future competitiveness in the job market. The parents have positive value of enrolling their children in the Chinese heritage schools. From the results of this study, we conclude that Chinese heritage schools serve the purpose for which they were developed and that even today, parents continue to have a desire for their children to attend Chinese heritage schools. Therefore, we believe that Chinese heritage schools will continue to exist in the U.S., especially at a time when the demographic population of people from Asian descendant continues to increase.

3. THE VOICES OF SECOND-GENERATION CHINESE- AND TAIWANESE-AMERICANS' EXPERIENCES AT CHINESE HERITAGE SCHOOLS IN SOUTHEAST TEXAS

3.1 Introduction

Chinese language education in the U.S. is mainly divided by two systems: (1) Mainstream Chinese language programs (e.g. foreign language Chinese courses at the middle-school, high-school, and university levels; and Confucius Institute outreach programs at the high-school, college, and community levels); and (2), Supplementary, community-based Chinese heritage schools (CHSs). Over time, curriculum within CHSs has changed as the target audiences of the schools have evolved. In the beginning, community-based CHSs were designed primarily for Chinese heritage-language (HL) learners whose mother, father, or both parents had immigrated to the U.S. from mainland China, Hong Kong, or Taiwan. According to the data from the Chinese School Association in the United States (CSAUS) and the National Council of Associations of Chinese Language Schools (NCACLS), there were approximately 811 CHSs in the U.S. Of those CHSs, there were around 170,559 students who studied Chinese language in 2009 (see Table 3.1).

Table 3.1 Demographics of the CHSs in the U.S.

	National Council of Associations of Chinese Language Schools (NCACLS)	Chinese School Association in the United States (CSAUS)
CHSs in the U.S.	401	410
Total CHSs in the U.S.		811
Students	70,559	100,000
Total students		170,559
Teachers	5,354 (428 certified)	No data available

Source: CSAUS, 2009; NCACLS, 2009; H.-M. T. Lu, personal communication, May 30, 2011

This demographic has begun to shift, however. Influenced by China's growing economic power and the Chinese Government's systematic promotion of the Chinese language, Chinese language education has become a booming business worldwide. Many parents and students, whether they are in heritage or non-heritage group, have recognized this current trend. According to Furman, Goldberg, and Lusin (2007), Chinese language course enrollments in U.S. colleges and universities increased by 20% between 1998 and 2002, and saw dramatic increase by 51% between 2002 and 2006. An increasing number of non-heritage learners, and Chinese children adopted by American parents have also begun attending Chinese heritage schools. The study here only focuses on U.S.-born, second-generation Chinese HL learners' experiences of attending Chinese schools.

In the field of HL study, the students' voices are often rendered mute. There has been a plethora of quantitative studies investigating parents' attitudes toward, perceptions of, and perspectives on their children's learning of dual and/or heritage languages (Lao, 2004; Lee, 1999; Park & Sarkar, 2007; Shannon, & Milian, 2002; Shin

& Gribbons, 1996; Shin & Kim, 1998; Young & Tran, 1999). There have also been a few studies examining teachers' perspectives (Liu, 2006; Rodríguez, 2007; Shin & Krashen, 1996) on CHSs, and students' bilingual development. Yet, rarely does this research examine the subject from the student's viewpoint, including their feelings towards growing up bilingual, and their experiences attending CHSs. Until now, the student voice could be heard only via online forums (Chris, 2006; Wongy, 2007), and journal reports (Macabasco, 2005; Wang, n.d.), both of which revealed that the students were often reluctant when it came to their pursuit of Chinese language-learning at CHSs.

The purpose of this study was to explore the retrospective voices of ten second-generation Chinese- and Taiwanese-Americans and their Chinese HL learning experiences at CHSs in the U.S. In addition, this study provides useful information to various actors involved: to parents for better understanding their children; to Chinese school teachers for preparing curriculum to meet students' needs; and, to Chinese school administrators in order to create better HL learning environments.

3.2 The Second-Generation HL Learners

Compared with the foreign-born first-generation parents, second-generation Chinese- and Taiwanese-Americans are U.S.-born and their ancestry can be traced back to either China or Taiwan. Most second-generation Chinese- and Taiwanese-Americans are HL learners and Chinese-English bilinguals. "Heritage-language learner" here refers to "a student of a language who is raised in a home where a non-English language is spoken, who speaks or merely understands the language, and who is to some degree

bilingual in English and the heritage language” (Valdes, 2000, p.375). These U.S.-born, second-generation HL learners generally face the dual task of trying to be accepted by mainstream American culture, and of mastering their parents’ mother tongue (Liao & Larke, 2008; Luo & Wiseman, 2000; Worthy & Rodríguez-Galindo, 2006; Wu, 2005; Zhang & Slaughter-Defoe, 2009). For second-generation HL learners who were born in the U.S., it is tougher for them to keep their parents’ native language alive. Luo and Wiseman (2000) concluded that, “as a result, a comfortable degree of bilinguality is necessary for the immigrant children to satisfy their parents’ dual expectations” (p. 308). However, second-generation HL learners who have been raised bilingually have wrestled with the perennial problem of switching between two languages and two cultures. By day, they are expected to live in America, an English-speaking world; and at home, they are asked to speak their mother tongue and abide by the cultural customs of their parents.

Sung (1985) explains the conflicts of “the language, ways of thinking, behavior, responses, customs, and fundamental beliefs of the two cultures are poles apart” (p.255) for second-generation children and youths. For most second-generation Asian immigrants, they live in two worlds simultaneously (Bacon, 1999). One way for these second-generation HL learners to adjust to two different speech communities is through code-switching. Code-switching is defined as “the systematic shifting or alternation between languages in discourse among bilinguals sharing a common language code” (Grant & Ladson-Billings, 1997, p. 44). Wei (2005) believes that Chinese-English bilinguals choose their languages, attitudes, and identities based on their rational choices

within the social interaction fabric. Often-times, second-generation HL learners change their language, speech, mannerisms, and mindset depending on whom they talk with, which culture they are in, and what situation they are dealing with. They employ code-switching to shift back and forth between the two linguistic worlds.

The other way for second-generation HL learners to integrate into American society while still retaining individuality is to show their ethnic identity. When first-generation immigrant parents come to the U.S., they bring with them their ethnic identity along with their culture and language. The parents often yearn for their descendents to be able to inherit the tradition, culture, and language of the country they came from. “Ethnic identity” emphasizes the total feeling on the part of immigrant group members about those values, symbols, and common histories that identify them as a distinct group (Rotheram & Phinney, 1987; Royce, 1982; Smith, 1991). For second-generation immigrants who do not have roots as strong as those of their first-generation immigrant parents, they may go through the process of ethnic identity formation. Smith (1991) describes how essential that ethnic identity development provides a sense of belonging and historical continuity for an individual. Tse (1998) constructed four stages that typify the development of the ethnic identity of young Asian-Americans. Stage one is *ethnic unawareness*, which occurs when immigrants are still unaware of their minority status. Stage two, *ethnic ambivalence*, occurs during immigrants’ childhood and adolescence, when they typically have an ambiguous image of themselves in regards to others. In this stage they tend to adopt and follow the trends of the ethnic mainstream. Stage three, *ethnic emergence*, occurs when immigrants recognize themselves as part of their ethnic

group. Lastly, when they reach stage four, *ethnic identity incorporation*, the immigrant experiences fewer ethnic identity conflicts and embraces their corresponding American ethnic minority group. To be clear, the concept of the ethnic identity stage does not imply that all immigrant youths develop at the same pace and will act exactly the same. The concept is a way of explaining how second-generation youths acculturate themselves within two worlds.

3.3 Methodology

This qualitative study was conducted by in-depth individual interviews, a way of “assessing people’s views and capturing the nuances of their statements” (Stromquist, 2000, p.142). With snowball sampling, a research method in which participants in a study are recruited through information that is provided by other informants (Noy, 2008), the target participants were referred by their parents, CHS teachers, and CHS classmates. Interviews were guided by an interview protocol with open-ended questions that mainly focused on the ten CHS alumni’s: (a) spoken language preference in the home environment; (b) reasons for and experiences of attending Chinese school; (c) attitudes toward and perspectives on the Chinese school; (d) the differences in attitude between before and after attending the Chinese school; (e) The value of being bilingual; and, (f) suggestions for the CHS and future students.

3.3.1 Participants

A total of ten Chinese- and Taiwanese-American young adults (see Table 3.2) were recruited for the study. The group comprised two males and eight females ranging in age from 20 to 35. Among the ten of them, they had attended five different Chinese

heritage schools in one city in Southeast Texas. Currently, eight of the participants are college students; one participant is now working; another participant, SF08, provided rich information about the experience of being both a second-generation immigrant student and now a parent.

Table 3.2 Profile of student participants

Participant	Age	Father from	Mother from	Years in Attendance	School
SF01	20-25	Taiwan	Taiwan	13 years	1
SF02	20-25	Taiwan	Taiwan	12 years	1
SF03	20-25	Taiwan	Taiwan	10 years	3
SM04	25-30	Taiwan	Taiwan	13 years	4
SF05	20-25	China	Taiwan	10 years	1
SM06	20-25	China	China	9 years	2
SF07	20-25	Taiwan	Taiwan	10 years	1&3
SF08	30-35	Taiwan	Taiwan	7 years	5
SF09	20-25	Taiwan	Taiwan	8 years	3
SF10	20-25	Taiwan	China	9 years	2

1. The participants were coded for confidentiality. “S” means student, “F” means female, and “M” means male.

3.3.2 Data and analysis

Each individual interview, which lasted in length from 45 minutes to one and a half hours, was recorded via audio and transcribed in 2010. With content analysis, a systematic and meaning-making method, the data were unitized and categorized by emerged frequency of words from context units (Lincoln & Guba, 1985; Stemler, 2001). The data were unitized and coded on 4x6 index cards (see Figure 3-1) to be sorted.

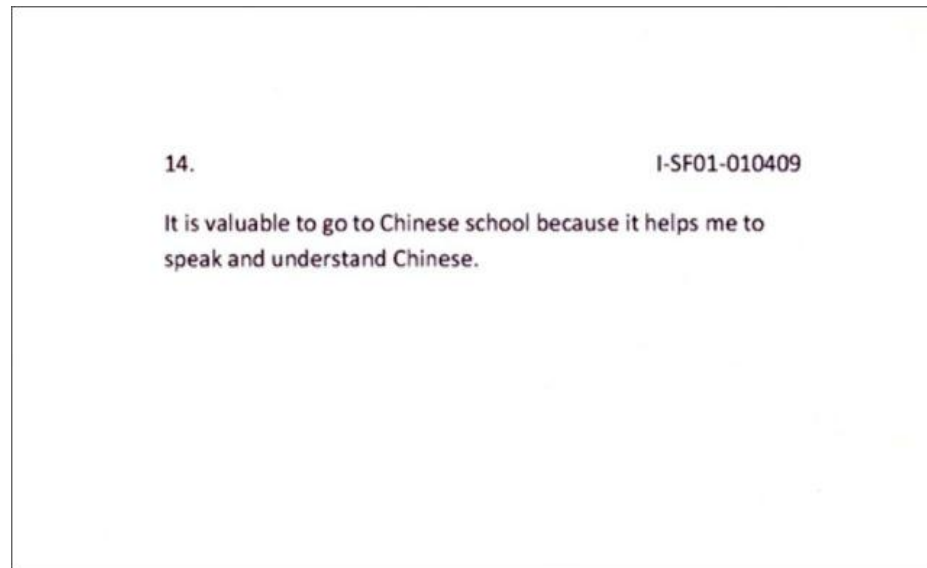


Figure 3-1. Content analysis index card: I-SF01-010409

Figure 3-1 shows the index card number 14 with the interview (I) of the student (S) female (F) number one (01) on the date of January 04, 2009. Text unit 14 from transcript SF01 on the card says “It is valuable to go to Chinese school because it helps me to speak and understand Chinese.”

From 452 units, 19 categories were sorted “to bring together...[those] that apparently relate to the same content” (Lincoln & Guba, 1985, p. 347). Categories were further refined into close relationships, and further clustered. Once clustered, the collapsed categories became “themes” or larger thematic units (Y. S. Lincoln, personal communication, March 21, 2011). Among 19 categories, five themes emerged: (a) The characteristics of Chinese HL learners; (b) Attitudes toward Chinese heritage-language learning; (c) Key experiences at the CHS; (d) Perspectives on the CHS; and, (e) Suggestions. 62 units fell outside of the research topic and were placed in the group entitled *miscellaneous*.

3.4 Findings

The findings represent the true voices from 10 Chinese- and Taiwanese-Americans’ perspectives on and experiences of attending a CHS. The results were generated from 19 categories (see Table 3.3) into five themes (see Table 3.4): (a) The characteristics of Chinese HL learners; (b) Attitudes toward Chinese heritage-language learning; (c) Key experiences at the CHS; (d) Perspectives on the CHS; and, (e) Suggestions. Besides, there were 62 units out of research topic that were placed in the miscellaneous group, which do not be addressed in the study.

3.4.1 The characteristics of Chinese HL learners

The U.S. represents as “melting pot” in early twentieth century. Immigrants came from different ethnic and linguistic backgrounds to immerse and blend in the U.S. looking for the American dream. As a pluralistic society in the world, modern American society has transformed into as the metaphor “salad bowl” which immigrants from

different background are proud of their heritage, their cultures, and their languages, but consider themselves as American (Colman 1981; Saville-Troike, 1976). Many of the HL learners that I interviewed saw themselves as Chinese American (SF01, SF03, & SF08). From different dimensions, people project as well as perceive their ethnic identity differently. It also involves interactional as well as developmental dynamics acting back and forth (He, 2010). The term ABC (American-born Chinese) was addressed by these Chinese- and Taiwanese-Americans throughout the interviews. The label ABC for these Chinese- and Taiwanese-Americans was perceived from others in society as well as they project themselves as ABC to others. It is worth mentioning that the term ABC is highly attached to the meaning of superior and prestigious in Taiwan due to the fluency in English and overseas life experience.

Table 3.3 Categories of the student study

	Category
1	Identity
2	Language preferences
3	The duration of attending the CHSs
4	The reasons for discontinuing studied at the CHSs
5	The reasons for attending the CHSs
6	Speaking Chinese as a means of improving one's career prospects
7	Advantages of having the ability to speak Chinese
8	Being bilingual
9	Challenges of Chinese language-learning
10	The role of parents
11	The role of teachers
12	Chinese language-learning at the CHSs
13	Cultural aspects
14	The role of the CHSs
15	The value of the CHSs
16	Retrospective thoughts on attending the CHSs
17	The limitations of the CHSs
18	Suggestions for the CHSs
19	Suggestions for current/future CHS students
	Miscellaneous

Table 3.4 Units of the student data for identified themes

Theme	Category	Units
A. The characteristics of Chinese HL learners	1. Identity	15
	2. Language preferences	30
	3. The duration of attending the CHSs	11
	4. The reasons for discontinuing studied at the CHSs	14
	5. The reasons for attending the CHSs	21
B. Attitudes toward Chinese HL learning	6. Speaking Chinese as a means of improving one's career prospects	17
	7. Advantages of having the ability to speak the Chinese HL	31
	8. Being bilingual	19
	9. Challenges of Chinese language-learning	35
	10. The role of parents	21
C. Key learning experiences at the CHS	11. The role of teachers	15
	12. Chinese language-learning at the CHSs	11
D. Perspectives on the CHS	13. Cultural aspects	24
	14. The role of the CHSs	17
	15. The value of the CHSs	32
	16. Retrospective thoughts on attending the CHSs	17
	17. The limitations of the CHSs	13
E. Suggestions	18. Suggestions for the CHSs	24
	19. Suggestions for current/future CHS students	23
Total		390
Miscellaneous		62

Although SF08's circle of friends comprised all European American girls - which made her grow up thinking she was American - she knew she was Chinese, because she went to Chinese school. She further explained that "those few trips back to Taiwan really made a big impact on my life because they really reinforced that I was an individual with dual identities." Upon reflecting on her experiences, SF08 felt that either attending a CHS or visiting parents' native land could reduce the conflicting and confusing feelings of her ethnic identity. SF09 identified herself as a Taiwanese-American because both of her parents are from Taiwan, and she has also visited Taiwan. Because both of her parents are from Taiwan she has also grown up speaking Chinese. SF08 and SF09's ethnic identity development were influenced by their interaction within the sociocultural context.

SF10 saw herself as part-American, as she was born in America; however, she was aware of being a part of a subculture, because her father is from Taiwan, and her mother is from China. She said she has consequently grown up in a culture that is *in-between*. SF07 noted that when she is around the general public she will say that she is Chinese-American; however, when among Chinese people, she will say that she is Taiwanese-American. Indeed, the Chinese- and Taiwanese-Americans in this study all felt they lived with dual identities. In this case, according to Tse (1998), both SF07 and SF10 were in stage 3, ethnic emergence, which they embraced their ethnic heritage as well as being a member in the mainstream. However, as Hall (1990) argues,

Identity is not as transparent or unproblematic as we think. Perhaps instead of thinking of identity as an already accomplished fact, which the new cultural practices then represent, we should think, instead, of identity as a "production,"

which is never complete, always in process, and always constituted within, not outside, representation (p. 51).

Precisely, ethnic identity is an ongoing process, especially for these Chinese HL students who are going back and forth in-between two worlds. Moreover, as I mentioned previously, the concept of the ethnic identity stage is not one-size-fits-all status that all immigrant youths develop at the same pace and will act exactly the same.

Table 3.5 Language in use

Language Preference	Participant
Mostly English	SF01, SF02, SF03, SM04, SF05
Half English & half Chinese	SM06, SF07, SF09, SF10
On special occasion speak Chinese	SF02, SF08, SF10

The majority of the participants speak mostly English, but they also switch to conversational Chinese in particular speech communities and situation because “language choice and the social symbolisms of languages may vary depending on the identity of the speaker as well as of the interlocutor and their inter-personal relationship” (Wei, 1994, p.150). SF01 indicated that English is her first language. SF01, SF02, SF03, and SM04 speak English most of time. SF05 speaks Chinese only with her parents or with any adults who also speak Chinese. SM06 speaks Mandarin Chinese at home with his parents, and also speaks the Sichuan dialect. He speaks to his sister in three languages, English, Chinese-Mandarin, and sometimes in the Sichuan dialect. In the

home environment, the participants speak Chinese with their parents and grandparents; they speak English only with their sibling(s). SF05 speaks Chinese with her parents at home but not with her sisters. She explained: “We don’t speak Chinese to each other because it’s just how we are.” SF01 speaks to her elder sister in English; only when they want to share secrets do they switch to Chinese. SF07, SF09, and SF10 also have the same tendency to speak to their sister(s) in English. There are some special occasions, however, where the three participants used their Chinese language abilities outside of their home environment. SF02 is able to speak Mandarin when there is an international event at her college. When SF10 goes to Chinese church, she speaks to people in Chinese. SF08 attended a summer camp in Taiwan as a counselor for what she describes as an “unforgettable three months.” It was a local Taiwanese camp and none of the children spoke English. She noted that it was an opportunity to soak up the culture, and thus she ended up learning more Chinese and spoke more fluently after the trip.

In this study, for these Chinese-English bilinguals, their language competency allowed them to better articulate themselves, and switch to between both the Chinese and American cultures. The notion put forth by Shin (2010) that “the switch to a particular language in the bilingual discourse can also be employed as an effective vehicle to signal ethnic identity” (p. 91).

The participants began attending CHSs at around of the age of 5 or 6. All of them went to CHSs for at least seven years and then went to standard middle school and high school. SM06 ultimately did not have enough time to make the trip back and forth to and from Chinatown and the CHS every week. “Chinese school took a lot of time because

it's three hours class. I needed time for schoolwork and didn't have enough time to study Chinese anymore" (SF07). SF09 stopped attending Chinese school in middle school because his regular schoolwork was too time-consuming. Ten of the Chinese- and Taiwanese-Americans had the same reasons for attending the CHSs. All of them concurred that their parents made, told, wanted, and/or forced them to go to Chinese school which parallels with the literature: "many young Chinese Americans attended Chinese school because they were ordered to do so by their parents" (Lai, 2000, p. 24). SF08 shared that her parents were open to the local environment and to the culture and they wanted her and her siblings to participate in and blend in with mainstream American society. At the same time, they did want to give their children an opportunity to learn the Chinese language and about Chinese culture. SM04's parents wanted him to experience Chinese culture. SF10's parents wanted her to learn Chinese and maintain her Chinese cultural heritage. SF09 replied straightforwardly, "It's my heritage." Another reason SF09 identified for wanting to learn Chinese was that she wanted to know what adults were saying when she heard them speaking Chinese. Similarly, SF05 said, "It's part of my culture. So, it's kind of awkward if I don't speak Chinese when almost everybody in my family can speak Chinese. That's part of the reason."

3.4.2 Attitudes toward Chinese HL learning

Not only HL is a valuable resource (He, 2008a), but also more than one language abilities for international global labor market is demanding (Sassen, 1984). Through the herald of a global village mentality, especially given the political, economic, and cultural ties between the U.S. and China, the importance of learning Chinese language is to be

globally competitive in the global workplace nowadays. Several CHS alumni in the study believed that their Chinese language abilities would aid them in future successes (SF01, SF03, SM04, SF05, SM06). They felt their language skills would make them more competitive job candidates. SF05 explained this in detail,

There's a chance that maybe when I grow up, people will require me to speak Chinese, and this gives me a better chance of finding a job. When I was young, I didn't take this stuff seriously, you know. But as I get older, I am like thinking that it's a possibility I could use Chinese as a part of way to get a job.....China is becoming more capitalistic. It's up there with the U.S.A. and becoming a lot more powerful. In this sense, many people will want us to speak Chinese, to communicate with Chinese people. When you do business with somebody, usually if that person has the same culture, same background, can speak the same language, and looks similar to you, talks to you, you will feel a little bit more comfortable. That's why Chinese will be important in the future, because people will hire those who can understand the culture and who can speak the language.

Sharing the same vision, SM06 thought knowing second language would be useful for when he grew up; he pointed out:

These days many businesses are moving their employees to China. Since I am already going to college, I'm looking at the benefits [of working in China], after graduating, I'll probably work in the U.S. for about three to four years, but then I will have the opportunity to go to China and to get paid more because I know the language.

The ten Chinese- and Taiwanese-Americans realized that knowledge of the Chinese language would be a competitive advantage in their near future. They also recognized that this linguistic knowledge is an integral part of their Chinese heritage.

“The Chinese language has been a very powerful language for almost 5000 years,” said SF10. Knowledge of the Chinese heritage language assists these Chinese- and Taiwanese-Americans in various ways. There is a congruent conclusion that knowledge and ability in Chinese make huge differences in their daily lives. Not only

can they relate to Chinese people well because they know the language (SF10), but they obtain a more well-rounded perspective on their lives and culture (SF09). Human culture has to be taken into account when one attempts to understand communication.

Communication is dynamic and an on-going process. Part of that process involves understanding the influence of one's culture upon things such as self-identity, one's value system, patterns of speech, and one's non-verbal communication (Dodd, 1982). Seeing the Chinese language as a communication tool that bridges relationships among family members, F01 mentioned that "English is my first language, but I speak Chinese to make me feel connected to my family and not be separated." Having analogous experiences, SF05 and F10 thought speaking Chinese was important for communicating with relatives, especially with those who cannot speak English and live in China and/or Taiwan. The Chinese HL as a means of outreach opens up these Chinese- and Taiwanese-Americans' circles of friends, as well expanding the world of people whom they communicate with. In college, SF10 is able to speak in Chinese to several international students from China and Taiwan. She said, "It's very good that I feel like I can connect with them in a very special way, and the conversation can be very deep." For these HL learners, learning the HL is not just simply a question of inheriting the language and maintaining cultural identity, but also of re-creating their identities (He, 2008b). From a different angle, having the ability to speak Chinese can be helpful for others. "If Chinese students don't understand English very well, I can translate for them. When there're notes in Chinese or there's a sign in Chinese, I can translate them for Caucasian [European American] people if they don't understand," SF07 explained.

SF07's willingness to translate for others reveals one of the positive aspects of being bilingual.

Despite bilingualism being positively associated with students' academic performance and intellectual development in many studies (Hakuta & Diaz, 1985; Perl & Lambert, 1962; Portes & Schauffler, 1994; Rumbaut, 1995), this study conducts the first-hand information direct from the CHS alumni that they highly value their bilingual ability. SF01 said straightforwardly, "To be bilingual makes me different from Americans." SF08 and SF10 even expressed a desire to learn more languages. SF08 claimed, "The more languages you speak, the more people you can communicate with." SM06 added, "I think it's pretty awesome that being able to speak certain languages means having options to communicate with the world and maybe better job opportunities." Although being bilingual has many advantages, SF05 shared the struggle of being bilingual. "There's a difficulty in that we have to learn English and we also have to learn Chinese." Chinese language-learning is also a challenge for these Chinese- and Taiwanese-Americans. Along with Arabic, German, and Russian, "Chinese is [one of] the hardest language[s] to learn" (SM06).

For second-generation Chinese- and Taiwanese-Americans, the most difficult part of Chinese language-learning is the Chinese characters. Differing from the English alphabetic spelling system, Chinese characters are a logographic system based on meaning (Tan, Spinks, Eden, Perfetti, & Siok, 2005). Therefore, to memorize each word and their corresponding Chinese character gave these second-generation heritage-language learners some challenges. SM06 stated, "Basically, we have to memorize

characters; there are thousands and thousands of characters to memorize.” SF07 also stated, “For me, the difficult part of learning Chinese is remembering all the words.” SF05 further addressed the subject. “In the beginning, it wasn’t too bad, I guess. But as we get older, the words become more diverse.” In terms of listening, speaking, reading, and writing in Chinese, most participants in this study concurred that reading and writing were the most difficult parts while they were learning Chinese. One study shows that Chinese reading depends on one’s grasp of writing in Chinese (Tan et al., 2005). Related to this topic, SM06 thought Chinese homework helped him memorize words as well as make him study.

Along with the difficulty of studying Chinese and in this English speech community, these second-generation HL learners’ parents and teachers play prominent roles in their children’s and students’ HL maintenance and cultural retention. In SF05’s family, her parents have created an environment that heavily encourages her and her sisters to speak just Chinese. SF08 and SF10 share the same view that parents can have a significant influence on their Chinese-language acquisition. SF08 explained,

My parents were considered first-generation overseas Chinese. Since they grew up in Taiwan, Chinese heritage is important to them, and Chinese is their first language. It’s just like all Chinese parents who come from overseas and want their children to learn Chinese... We always had Chinese homework. They took time to make sure we learned everything and also to make sure we understood everything. They were the ones who really supported us and helped us to be successful in Chinese school.

The voices from SF05, SF08, and SF10 correlate closely with Kenny, Blustein, Chaves, Grossman, & Gallagher’s (2003) parental engagement that family shows a significant source being supportive especially for ethnic and racial minority adolescents.

Particularly, studying Chinese heritage language involves a lot of parental reliance that parents are the key figure who facilitate their child(ren)'s learning.

Chinese heritage-language learners' successful learning also depends on their Chinese teachers. Pressley, Dolezal, Raphael, Mohan, Roehrig, & Bogner (2003) advocate that highly effective teachers who implement various strategies will motivate and provide cognitive support for children to learn. Nine of ten participants in this study had had very good experiences with their Chinese teachers. SF07 recalled that "each teacher had his/her own ways of teaching the students." SF03 thought a Chinese teacher should "be patient, helpful towards, and never give up on her students." SF05 had good experiences with her Chinese teacher and preferred teachers who understood that they had schoolwork from their non-Chinese HL school, and who took the time to listen to them. Additionally, she thought it was important for the teachers to "understand the American and also the Chinese ways. Because they are teaching Chinese in America, they need to understand America." SM06 even concluded that the advantage of a Chinese school is the teachers. His Chinese school tries to keep same teacher in the same class every year. "It's how you know the teacher and the teacher knows you," he said. Moreover, the teacher then had a better understanding of what he had studied, and when he asked for help, his teacher knew how to help him.

3.4.3 Key learning experiences at the CHS

The ten Chinese- and Taiwanese-American alumni of CHSs recalled that how they learned at the CHSs was via stories, Chinese customs, and textbooks (SM04 & SF09). Chinese language and culture were taught at the CHSs mainly through ancient

Chinese poems and literature (SF09 & SF10). When there was a Chinese holiday, the teacher would explain its significance to the students (SF09). All CHS alumni in this study attended CHSs run by members of the Taiwanese community. They were taught mainly Zhuyin Fuhao and traditional Chinese characters. Because SF05 attended an after-school Chinese program, she received more emphasis on Chinese words compared with those students who attended weekend-style CHSs. Chinese language-learning involves extensive “memorization and saying [words] aloud together (SF10).” It also involves “writing Chinese characters on paper (SF09).” These CHS alumni, however, did not learn the Chinese language simply from the CHSs they attended.

Exposure to aspects of Chinese culture had a significant impact on the ten CHS alumni’s Chinese language-learning. The developing an understanding of the culture behind the language is equally as crucial as obtaining written and verbal fluency. “Most of time, we interpret the world through our own [American] culture and [the English] language (SF10).” However, “instead of just speaking English and living in the American culture, I have another culture I can go to and enjoy (SF09).” From personal experience and from the point of view of culture, SF08 asserted that “a lot of the time, Chinese culture and the Chinese language are interrelated in many ways,” which is consistent with the literature: “language can be thought of as a part of culture” (Shaul & Furbee, 1998, p. 1). SF08 explained this in detail:

Even I don’t understand Chinese culture that much. After I married my husband²(because he grew up in that culture), I now think culture is a part of him. Even my husband and I have a culture gap. We have many late-night talks, and he has to

² SF08’s husband is a Taiwanese-born who came to the U.S. around college age.

explain the culture to me, the whole history behind all of that. It's absolutely fascinating. I think a lot of kids get lost because it's not necessarily taught to the kids when they go to Chinese school. I think that is the really fundamental thing that kids need to learn about, because you can't really understand the people and you can't really understand the language until you start to understand all the history behind them.

SF08's story parallels how Williams (1994) describes "language." She describes, "language, after all, belongs to a person's whole social being: it is part of one's identity, and it used to convey this identity to other people" (p. 77).

3.4.4 Perspectives on the CHS

As with any other ethnic language school in the U.S., the role of the CHS is to pass down the parental generation's HL, ethnic identity, and cultural knowledge to their next generation (Bradunas & Topping, 1988; Lai, 2000). SF08 is second-generation Taiwanese as well as the mother of her third-generation children. Regarding cultural knowledge, ethnic identity, and the CHS she attended, she said:

The Chinese school was a place to learn about my parents' heritage and culture and understand where the culture, my parents, and our ancestors came from. Hopefully, one day, it will become part of the heritage and culture that I can pass on to my children.

SF08, who owns dual roles of second-generation immigrant student and parent, has positive image of CHS. This finding reflected on the first case study of parents' voices that CHS has its unique sociocultural value in the U.S.

The fundamental characteristic of the CHS is to assist HL learners in mastering the Chinese language. SM06 portrayed her Chinese school as "a way that we could spread the language around. If there hadn't been a Chinese school, it would have been much harder to learn Chinese and keep up with Chinese because in America most people

learn English.” If there had been no Chinese school, SF07 thought she would not have been able to speak Chinese as fluently as she could now. Likewise, SF10 believed she would not be able to read and write Chinese as well. SF01, SF05, and SF09 pointed out that their CHSs provided a real environment for them to speak Chinese in and to be surrounded by the influence of the language and the culture. Not only that, Chinese school “is valuable for Chinese culture in America (SM04),” and it “provides a cultural link to me (SF09).” From an educational perspective, SF02 further explained that “going to Chinese school was not only to learn words, but also to learn about the history and culture behind [the language], which is handy and enhances our knowledge.” SM06 added, “Chinese school is a beneficial way for students to learn the language and also about Chinese heritage.” Attending the CHS was very eye-opening for SF10. She thought Chinese class let her see the world from a different perspective and through people from a different world. Said SM06, “If there are more bilingual schools, they can benefit Americans” Meaning, the more Chinese- and Taiwanese-Americans study their HL, the more the U.S. grows as a multicultural society and as a functioning member of a broader global village.

CHSs in the U.S. can be seen as one of the sociocultural centers where community members feel connected and a sense of belonging. “The Chinese class consisted of a lot of students who wanted to learn Chinese (SF10),” and therefore, SM06, SF07, SF09, and SF10 made many new and close friends at their respective CHSs. SF09 addressed the same topic: “While I was attending Chinese school, it was kind of something like that I had to do, but it was also to see my peers, who I could hang

out with and learn something from.” SM06 recalled that her social life extended beyond the walls of the school. “[My friends from my CHS and I] are still friends now. We spoke to each other in Chinese sometimes when we couldn’t explain something in English, especially when we talked about Chinese cultural stuff.”

In retrospect, it turns out that these CHS alumni have retained positive images of the CHSs, even though they might have experienced struggles during their years of attendance. SF01 and SF05 recalled that they reluctantly attended their CHSs; however, since then they have felt grateful for their experiences at the CHSs. SF05 explained, “When I was young, I didn’t understand why I went to the CHS. I found it took me away from the rest of my life, so I didn’t like it. It’s after school so it’s like having another class basically. But in the long run, it’s been worth it.” SF03 was very grateful that she had learned two languages, and SM04 did not regret going to the CHS. SF09 implied missing the CHS, saying, “It was a lot of fun...Now, looking back, it wasn’t burdensome. . . Definitely, I’d like to learn more Chinese...Chinese school was sometimes boring, but in the end, it’s been useful in my life.” Having a similar experience, SF10 shared:

I am very thankful for Chinese school actually. When I was little, I didn’t really care... because it wasn’t for a grade. I didn’t study a lot... When I look back now, I learned a lot of Chinese in class. I’m so thankful that my parents took me to Chinese school when I was in elementary school, although I really didn’t really understand why at that time.

During their time at the CHSs, a few alumni felt there were limitations that the CHSs had. SF08 found that Chinese school once a week for two hours was limiting. In terms of the facilities at the CHS, SM06 pointed out, “The Chinese school was really old, as was

the technology there.” He was wondering whether the new Chinese schools might not have better equipment now. SF07 thought that “the management team was not that great.” She knew the school had some financial difficulties, and that the school was “getting smaller and not many people were funding it anymore.” These young Chinese- and Taiwanese-Americans appreciate what they have learned from the CHSs and have high expectation for promoting a better Chinese language education in the U.S. They have several suggestions to the CHSs as well as to those who are current and future CHS students.

3.4.5 Suggestions

Several CHS alumni shared a broader vision of CHSs due to the recognition of Chinese language as an important foreign language nowadays. They thought the CHSs could serve a bigger population rather than focusing only on Chinese HL learners. SM06 and SF08 encouraged CHSs to do some outreach. SM06 stated:

I think Chinese schools should go and reach out to the larger community. I know that more and more people who learn Chinese are non-Chinese. Most high-class people know how the Chinese economy is going. They want their children to learn Chinese so that when they grow up, they will have a better future. So, the most important [thing] is to educate those people. I think Chinese schools should branch out and help more people in the United States learn Chinese and have a better future.

SF08 also suggested that the CHSs “expand their curriculum and the diversity of their student body” to solve the existing financial predicament. In terms of curriculum design, SF05 and SF09 recommended a conversation-based learning environment. SF09 commented,

The tests have to consist of less written vocabulary and more actual conversational Chinese, because that is more useful. When I was in Chinese school, I couldn't remember all the characters because they were not used that much. But I remembered all the conversation techniques possible that I learned... Maybe even make conversation skills part of one's grade, for example - just sit down and talk to the teacher in Chinese. I would like it because I really need to improve my conversational skills.

The ten CHS alumni who had at least seven years' experience of attending CHSs gave some instructive advice to current and prospective students. SF02 and SF05 suggested that the students who would like to learn Chinese should attend a CHS earlier. SF05 noted that "the younger they get exposed to the language, the better and more quickly they learn." Their suggestions in this study placed considerable emphasis on an effect of age of language acquisition which agree with a myriad of studies on critical period effects both first and second language acquisition (Johnson & Newport, 1991). A parents' understanding of how a child acquires a language helps in their child's heritage-language development. This emphasizes the importance of a parent's providing sufficient and meaningful input during that critical early period of language acquisition. Corresponding to the study on parents' voice (Liao & Larke, 2008), many parents who sent their child(ren) to study Chinese believed that the earlier the better. In fact, all the participants in this study received Chinese language instruction from a very young age. Their parents sent them to the CHSs when they were five or six years old. SF02, SM04, and SF08 hoped the current and future CHS students would stick with their CHSs and not become discouraged. They felt it was a pity that some of their friends had dropped out of their CHSs. SF02 said, "Some of my friends stopped attending Chinese class once we reached middle school. [Once this has happened] it's hard for them to get back into

learning the language.” SM04 also said, “I have a lot of friends who didn’t keep with it once they turned 10 or 12. They even can’t read Chinese menus.” SF09 would tell current and prospective students to “at least try and take Chinese school seriously, despite the feeling of being forced to go. It will help in ways you can't really foresee during those Sundays that you spend learning Chinese.” In order to make learning Chinese more enjoyable, SF08 recommended incorporating multi-media and pop culture into the curriculum:

Watch Chinese TV and dramas. Chinese and Taiwanese dramas can reveal the feelings and ideology of the people. They explain a lot about how the people view their world. I found that a lot of the time there are unspoken things you can see in Chinese dramas, and my husband views things the same way. It helps me understand the people...Expose yourself to different things, such as Chinese art. Take a trip. Go to Asia, because I think all of that will help you in your education on Chinese culture, including the language.

The practical strategy for effective Chinese learning from SF07 was to “pay attention in class and just practice speaking Chinese every day to get better.” SF10 concluded,

I think [the students] definitely struggle in Chinese class. They don’t really focus too much on their grades in class. I would hope that they could be open-minded not just about the Chinese language, but also about figuring out why and how this ancient language has become what it is today. What does this language show about the culture? Try to incorporate discussions of custom and culture into the curriculum, and figure out how to get the student to apply what they are learning to their everyday lives. Otherwise they will just want to finish class and not think about it anymore.

These ten CHS alumni’s recommendations not only provided practical thoughts for a better CHS, but they also shared some guidelines for current and future Chinese language learners so that they might have rewarding learning experiences at the CHSs.

3.5 Conclusion

This study captures the meaningful reflections and rich narratives from ten Chinese- and Taiwanese-Americans' journeys and experiences regarding Chinese heritage schools. Chinese heritage schools in the U.S. always strive to promote quality education for overseas Chinese communities. The findings from their voices support the relevant and pivotal role of CHSs in the U.S. including (a) characteristics of Chinese HL learners; (b) attitudes toward Chinese HL learning; (c) key experiences at the CHS; (d) perspectives on the CHS; and, (e) suggestions.

The second-generation young Chinese- and Taiwanese-Americans in this study spoke about their experiences after at least seven years of having attended Chinese school. They confirmed that Chinese education is very important for overseas Chinese communities, and that correspondence education is a crucial part of this foundation. They also reported that the CHSs not only helped them gain significant knowledge of Chinese culture, but also that they were able to maintain much of their Chinese cultural heritage through the process of learning and speaking Chinese. In addition, they were able to use Chinese as a communication tool and saw their linguistic skills as possibly providing them with a strategic advantage in future professional endeavors.

In their retrospective accounts, the second-generation Chinese- and Taiwanese-Americans might be confused and struggle with having to live in two environments - the American mainstream and their Chinese/Taiwanese home. To diminish the gap between first-generation immigrant parents and their second-generation immigrant children, heritage-language school plays a pivotal role in bridging first-generation immigrant

parents and their second-generation immigrant children by transmitting and passing down the parental generation's HL, ethnic identity, and cultural knowledge (Bradunas & Topping, 1988). This is indeed a struggle but can be a positive process. Portes (2000) mentions that "the educational progress of the second generation can be expected to depend heavily on parental guidance, as well as on support from other members of the community" (p. 5&6). By attending CHSs to learn their HL language and culture, these second-generation Chinese- and Taiwanese-Americans were able to resolve conflicting feelings, which is consistent with the literature on *code-switching* and the *ethnic identity model*. Moreover, in this study, the individuals valued their bilingual ability and accepted their dual identities. They expressed an ease with code-switching and even culture-switching within both their parental environment and the dominant American culture. With this unique cultural competence, they are more adept at navigating this pluralistic society while simultaneously developing a deeper intimacy with Chinese and Taiwanese communities. Therefore, parents, teachers, and educators need to see the value of acquiring cultural capital if students are to maintain their cultural ties with their language, identity, and history.

4. THE VOICES OF TEACHERS'
PERSPECTIVES AND TEACHING EXPERIENCES
AT THE CHINESE HERITAGE SCHOOLS IN SOUTHEAST TEXAS

Teachers are lifeblood of any school.
— Hillary Rodham Clinton

4.1 Introduction

Chinese heritage schools (CHSs) in the United States are established by community members originally from China and Taiwan. *System type* is called out, as, due to historical and political circumstances, CHSs are organized differently depending on whether they are run by Chinese or Taiwanese immigrants (Liao & Larke, 2008). Teachers in CHSs alter their teaching based on the systems. Generally speaking, the Chinese-based Chinese schools employ Pinyin and simplified Chinese characters that are the standard script of modern China. The Taiwanese-based Chinese schools employ Zhuyin Fuhao and the traditional Chinese characters which date back more than 3,000 years.

Many CHSs join one of two or both two national non-profit organizations (see Table 4.1): the Chinese School Association in the United States (CSAUS) and the National Council of Associations of Chinese Language Schools (NCACLS). CSAUS and NCACLS promote Chinese language education in the U.S. and each of them supports Chinese-based CHSs and Taiwanese-based CHSs.

Table 4.1 CHS system types

	National Council of Associations of Chinese Language Schools (NCACLS)	Chinese School Association in the United States (CSAUS)
Established on	April 16 th , 1994	May 10 th , 1994
Supports from	Taiwan	China
Textbooks	Huayu (華語)	Zhongwen (中文)
Textbooks are funded by	Overseas Compatriot Affairs Commission	Overseas Affairs Office, State Council
Phonetic system	Zhuyin Fuhao (Major) Pinyin (some schools provide it due to the current needs) Traditional (Major)	Pinyin
Chinese character	Simplified (some schools provide it due to the current needs)	Simplified

The Qing government dispatched first 30 teenage students to America in 1872 (Ning, 2002). According to Lai (2000), the earliest record of Chinese language classes in the U.S. was formed in 1874 for 120 Chinese youths sent by the Qing government to retain their Chinese language and heritage. In Texas, Mr. Theodore Wu started the first community-based CHS back to 1922 in San Antonio. 49 years later, the immigrants in Houston build their first community-based CHS (Martinello & Field, 1979). Recent decades, CHSs provide Chinese language and culture-related courses mainly for heritage-language (HL) learners whose parent(s) are Chinese, Taiwanese, and for the descendents of those HL learners. These community-based CHSs can be seen as supplementary education; as Fishman (1999) describes, they “make important contributions to American education” (p. 86). Before the U.S. College Board offered Advanced Placement (AP) Chinese language and culture courses in most public schools in 2006, and before the Confucius Institute was launched in the U.S. in 2005,

community-based CHSs undertook the role of Mandarin-Chinese development and Chinese cultural transmission. CHSs have served this role for almost a century.

Nowadays, many Mandarin-Chinese language teachers in the U.S. who serve on the front lines devote extensive time to their teachings, including teaching after work and on weekends. Differing from the mainstream school system, these Chinese teachers are not required to hold a teaching certificate and most of them have teacher-parent roles (Liu, 2006). Some volunteer parents who send their child(ren) are recruited for the Chinese teaching-ship. Some others are international students recruited from local universities. These students come from either China or Taiwan to pursue their master's or doctoral degrees. A few Chinese teachers have had experiences teaching English in their homeland. Having a basic image of who these teachers are, it goes without saying that it is critical that Chinese teachers embed cross-cultural practices in their curriculum to engage the students in their acquisition of the Chinese language. An ancient Chinese essay says, "A teacher is one who could propagate doctrine, impart professional knowledge, and resolve doubts." The Chinese language teachers here in the U.S. not only provide instruction at a level comparable to that of teachers in the mainstream school system, but they also play a pivotal role transmitting Chinese language and the entire culture to a wider audience.

There have been quantitative studies published examining teachers' perspectives toward their teaching experiences in CHSs and within bilingual education (Liu, 2006; Shin & Krashen, 1996). Lawton and Logio (2009) investigated parents' perceptions regarding teachers' teaching at a CHS. Despite these studies, rarely does the research

delve into qualitative methods to look at the rich narratives and voices of the actors involved. Schratz (1993) argues that very little original voices left from statistical data in social context of educational practices. Moreover, “biographical interviews offer teachers support in undertaking a personal enquiry into the nature of their own professional commitment” (Rudduck, 1993, p.9). Therefore, the significance of this study is to explore these voices, to take stock of these language teachers’ perspectives on Chinese heritage schools in the U.S. Looking at these narratives and perspectives qualitatively will contribute to the existing literature on sociocultural theory, as well as provides practical tools for improving Mandarin-Chinese language and education cultural practice.

4.2 Sociocultural Theory in Chinese Language Teaching

Many scholars see language and culture as one social unit: “language can be thought of as a part of culture” (Shaul & Furbee, 1998, p. 1), and “language is one of the most salient aspects of culture (Nieto, 2002, p.84).” When we talk about “*language*,” we really cannot ignore its ties to culture. According to Vygotsky, a child’s language acquisition is affected by his/her sociocultural context (Daniels, Cole & Wertsch, 2007; Moll, 1990). From the sociocultural perspective, language and culture cannot stand alone. Vygotsky (1997a) asserted that a human being is highly bounded by his/her culture when s/he is a child.

In this study, Vygotskian’s sociocultural theory is connected to Chinese language teaching. If teachers connected Chinese language learning to students’ cultural and social experiences here in the U.S., students’ learning would be more effective. When a

student comes into a classroom, they bring with their own “baggage,” such as prior knowledge and experience (Vygotsky, 1986), modality preference (Kampwirth & Bates, 1980), and multiple intelligences (Gardner, 1983). Gay (2000) points out that through students’ cultural knowledge, prior experiences, frames of reference, and performance styles, teachers can make learning endeavors more relevant to and effective for their students. It is because learning occurs when students have social interaction with their teacher within meaningful contexts and communications. As Jean Lave addresses, the effective leaning will occur when a context (environment and world), culture (ways of being), and function of the activity, are all situated appropriately (Hill-Jackson, 2007). In order for a student to learn new concepts or skills, the teacher must provide scaffolds for the learning experience. These scaffolds refer to the changes in social support over the teaching of a concept. Scaffolding is directly linked to the personal needs of the individual. Moreover, the second-generation immigrant students have their unique needs in terms of learning Chinese. Bransford, Brown, and Cocking (1999) emphasize that learner-centered environments take place when teachers are aware that learners construct their own meanings, beginning with the beliefs, understandings, and cultural practices they bring to the classroom. A teacher who value learner-centered approach knows that each of the student comes into the classroom as individual, with his/her different family background, his/her own interests, and learning abilities. It stands the reason that one-size-fits-all curriculum will not meet the student’s needs. Therefore, a Chinese teacher can shape his/her instruction to fit each student. If the Chinese teacher can adopt learner-centered approach and apply differentiating instruction in the classroom, a shy second-

generation immigrant student will not be forced to speak up. Instead, s/he will be encouraged by the Chinese teacher to elicit the meaning what s/he wants to express in class.

At the Chinese heritage schools in the U.S., the Mandarin-Chinese language teachers have tried to make their language instruction relevant to Chinese culture. Because language teachers are cultural beings (McGroarty, 1986; Marshall, 2001); their beliefs and pedagogies convey cultural values and meanings to their students. This value-laden work bridges the cultural gap between the second-generation immigrant students and their first-generation immigrant parents as well as between the students themselves and their Chinese language acquisition. Joyce, Weil, and Calhoun (2004) mention “a major role in teaching is to create powerful learners” (p.7). In order to create powerful learners and engage them in the learning process, an active interaction with students can make effective transformation learning happen. As Perkins (2003) indicates, teachers can work to make thinking more visible than it usually is in classroom. Perkins (1993) mentions:

The teacher teaching for understanding needs to add more imagistic, intuitive, and evocative representations to support students' understanding performances.

The importance of sociocultural context has mentioned above, in order to engage students in language learning, the following describes that how play maximizes the function of the activity. For several teachers, *play* is one of ways to empower students' learning process of Chinese. The notion of *Play* is premised on the idea that language becomes the tool of play (Vygotsky, 1976). Play creates imagination, symbolic function,

and integration of emotions and thinking for students' developmental accomplishment (Bodrova & Leong, 1996). Students would construct their memorization of vocabulary, understanding of word usage, and communication practices through playing meaningful games. For Chinese language teachers, play is a trigger to motivate their students' heritage language learning as well as achieving effective learning outcome.

Vygotskian-based sociocultural pedagogy becomes part of mainstream educational practice in the Western world for decades (Lantolf, & Poehner, 2008). Sociocultural theory is implemented tremendously in general educational field such as early childhood education, educational psychology, mathematics education, and second language acquisition. In this study, sociocultural theory supports many Chinese teachers' teaching for the second-generation immigrant students' HL development.

4.3 Methodology

In the naturalistic paradigm, "there are multiple interpretations of reality and that the goal of researchers working within this perspective is to understand how individuals construct their own reality within their social context" (Singh, 2007, p.405). Clearly, this study is to bring forth the Chinese teachers' voices not only from their teaching experiences, but also equally from the socio-cultural context they live in. Because "people have a 'story life' [life-story] where both verbal and non-verbal are powerful" (Y. S. Lincoln, personal communication, October 7, 2008), qualitative researchers pay more attention to voices that share a broader view of the social reality in educational research (Schatz, 1993).

4.3.1 Participants

The participants of this study included 11 experienced Chinese teachers (see Table 4.2), comprising two males and nine females. Their ages ranged from 20 to 60 years-old. Although not all teachers had a background in education, three Chinese teachers held bachelor degrees, and eight held master's degrees. The length of their Chinese teaching experiences was from one to 25 years. TF03 had six years of teaching experience. TF05 had 10 years of experience teaching English in Taiwan, and F04 had seven years of experience teaching English in China. TF07, who is majoring in Chinese literature, had taught Chinese for 15 years in China and in the U.S. TF11 who is majoring in Chinese literature, had 20 years of experience teaching Chinese in Taiwan and in the U.S.

Table 4.2 Profile of teacher participants

Chinese Teacher	Age	Nationality	Educational Level	Years of Teaching Chinese	School	System Type ³	City
TF01	20-30	Taiwanese	Master's	1 year	8	Taiwanese	C
TF02	30-40	Taiwanese	Bachelor's	3 years	9	Taiwanese	C
TF03	30-40	Taiwanese	Master's	3 years	6	Taiwanese	B
TF04	30-40	Chinese	Master's	3 years	7	Chinese	B
TF05	50-60	Taiwanese	Bachelor's	10 years	1	Taiwanese	A
TF06	40-50	Taiwanese	Master's	8 years	2	Taiwanese	A
TF07	40-50	Chinese	Master's	15 years	7	Chinese	B
TM08	20-30	Taiwanese	Master's	1 year	6	Taiwanese	B
TM09	20-30	Taiwanese	Master's	1 year	6	Taiwanese	B
TF10	40-50	Taiwanese	Master's	25 years	3	Taiwanese	A
TF11	50-60	Taiwanese	Bachelor's	20 years	3	Taiwanese	A

1. The coding "F" here means female; "M" means male

³ System type please see Table 4.1

4.3.2 Data collection and analysis

In 2010, eleven Chinese teachers were recruited for the interview from six community-based Chinese heritage schools in three metropolitan cities of Southeast Texas. They were recruited via snowball sampling, which is “a way of understanding and utilizing the networks between key people in relation to the study focus” (Morris, 2006, p.93). Each personal interview covered topics regarding: (a) educational background; (b) attitudes and beliefs about Chinese language education; (c) teaching experiences in CHSs; (d) challenges of Chinese teaching; and, (e) suggestions.

All information they shared was confidential for this case study. Each interview ranged in length from 35 to 65 minutes. It was recorded on audio by informed consent obtained from the teachers. After the transcripts were carefully generated, the data were sorted with content analysis, which is “the use of replicable and valid methods or making specific inferences from text” (Krippendorff, 1969, p. 103). The data were organized via unitized coded and information and transcribed onto 4”x6” index cards (see Figure 4-1).

Upon re-analysis, from 844 units, 16 categories were further refined into close relationships, and further clustered. Once clustered, the collapsed categories became five recurring themes appeared as: (a) learner-centered curriculum and instruction; (b) teacher-parent cooperation; (c) enjoyable learning process; (d) cultural and linguistic ties to the Chinese learning; and, (e) alternative school climate. There were 52 units out of research topic that were placed in the miscellaneous group, which do not be addressed in the study.

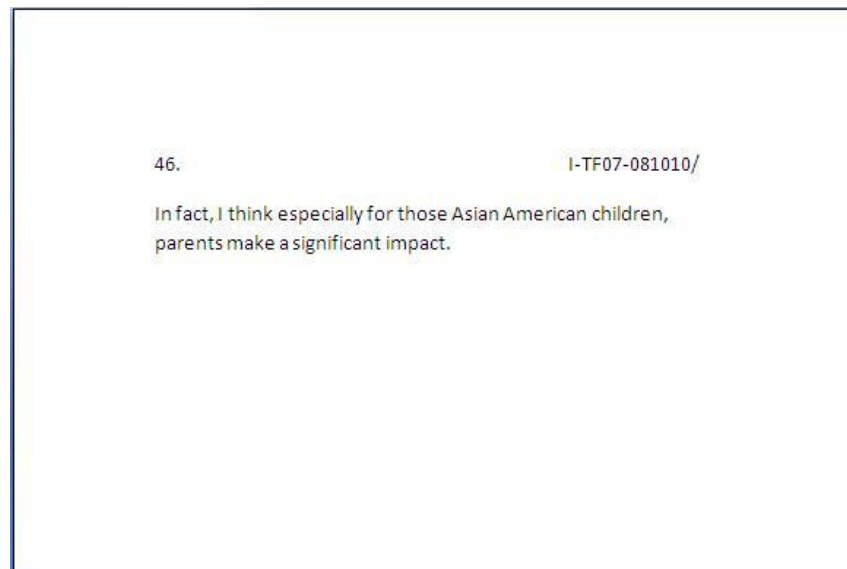


Figure 4-1. Content analysis index card: I-TF07-081010

Figure 4-1. shows the index card number 46 with the interview (I) of the number seven (07) teacher (T) female (F) on the date of August 10, 2010. Text unit 46 from transcript TF07 on the cards says “In fact, I think especially for those Asian American children, parents make a significant impact.”

Table 4.3 Categories of the teacher study

Category	
1	The reasons for being devoted to CHS teaching
2	Teachers' roles at the CHSs
3	Suggestions for CHS teachers
4	Perspectives on the ability to speak more than one language
5	Learner-centered curriculum and instruction
6	The importance of a Chinese language-learning environment
7	Parents' roles at the CHSs
8	Parent-Teacher cooperation
9	Language learning motivation
10	Teaching strategies for creating an enjoyable learning process
11	Cultural and linguistic ties to the learning of Chinese
12	Textbooks
13	Chinese language assessment
14	Chinese homework
15	The predicaments that the CHSs face
16	Suggestions for the CHSs
	Miscellaneous

Table 4.4 Units of the teacher data for identified themes

Theme	Category	Unit
A. Teachers at the CHSs	1. The reasons of devoting to CHS teaching	34
	2. Teachers' roles at the CHSs	77
	3. Suggestions for the CHS teachers	54
B. Teaching philosophy	4. Perspectives on having more than one language ability	29
	5. Learner-centered curriculum and instruction	79
	6. The importance of a Chinese language-learning environment	34
	7. Parents' roles of the CHSs	71
C. Teaching experiences	8. Teacher-Parent Cooperation	25
	9. Language learning motivation	62
	10. Teaching strategies for creating an enjoyable learning process	58
	11. Cultural and linguistic ties to the Chinese learning	47
D. Assessment	12. Textbooks	70
	13. Chinese language assessment	48
E. Alternative school climate	14. Chinese homework	51
	15. The predicaments that the CHSs face	31
	16. Suggestions for the CHSs	22
		Total 792
Miscellaneous		52

4.4 Findings

The findings provide direct data from the teachers' voices on their teaching philosophy and teaching experiences at seven Chinese heritage schools among three metropolitan cities in Southeast Texas. The results were generated from 16 categories (see Table 4.3), and emerged into five themes (see Table 4.4). These themes include (1) teachers at the CHSs; (2) teaching philosophy; (3) teaching experiences; (4) assessment; and, (5) alternative school climate.

4.4.1 Teachers at the CHSs

4.4.1.1 The reasons for being devoted to CHS teaching

Over the past several years, the developing of critical consciousness of HL teachers' voices is marginalized (Feuerverger, 1997). People do not know who those teachers are and why they chose to devote themselves to the HL schools. The noteworthy finding of this study is to recognize these Chinese HL teachers and their stories behind the scenes. TF01 was recruited when she was a sophomore in college due to a shortage of Chinese teachers in the city C. TM08, TM09, and TF10 had taught at the CHSs as graduate students since they came to the U.S. TF03 received a Chinese teacher recruitment email from a Taiwanese student association at a local college. TM09, who had had four months elementary substitute teaching experiences in Taiwan, had seen the recruitment posting on the Taiwanese student association website and contacted the association himself. TM08, who had had experience doing English-language tutoring in Taiwan, was referral by a friend. TF02 found out about the CHS because a child of her neighbor attended the school. TF02 then visited the Chinese school to see whether there

was a teacher vacancy or not. She was the extra class teacher and taught mathematics and any subjects the students asked for, including Chinese. TF04 had taught English in China for seven years; however, after she came to the U.S. with her husband, she thought she should teach Chinese instead. She contacted three CHSs directly; however, two had closed. Finally, she was offered an interview and was initially assigned to be a teaching assistant. She later on became a bona fide Chinese teacher at the CHS. TF11 had a neighbor who had also majored in Chinese literature in Taiwan and who taught at a CHS. The neighbor introduced TF11 to the CHS. TF11 had her children's Chinese HL maintenance in mind when considering teaching at the CHS. She ultimately taught at the CHS and brought her children with her. In all cases, these individuals had the initiative to devote themselves to Chinese language education in the U.S. The voices of these eleven Chinese teachers were identified and responded to the discourses through reflecting on their personal experiences.

4.4.1.2 Teachers' roles at the CHSs

Overall, the fundamental characteristic of the teacher is one who loves teaching (TF04), and is able to sympathize with others (TF05). The passion of teaching described by Ayers (1993) that "teaching is primarily an act of love" (p. 18). Differing from the mainstream educational system, CHSs in the U.S. incorporate a unique educational ecology into their everyday activities. Chinese teachers in the CHSs work on a volunteer basis, which means it is not an easy job (TF04 & TF07). TM09 said straightforwardly, "I taught in the Chinese school not for the money." "A person who makes a life out of

teaching has passion for the occupation,” TF04 expressed. She also said, “Once the school bell has rung, I enter into teaching mode.” TF11 addressed the topic further,

To go to Chinese school every Sunday, one needs to have a strong sense of responsibility. It means a Chinese teacher can’t do anything other than Chinese school stuff on the weekend, because you have to spend it preparing for the Saturday class.

Working in the CHSs is a long-term commitment but the pay consists of a token wage. Feuerverger (1997) points out the situation of heritage language teachers as: they “are caught in the cultural trenches, mired in vulnerable and precarious” (p. 40). TF06 reported that, the salary of a Chinese teacher in San Jose was \$45 per hour eight years ago and is \$15 per hour at the school she teaches at in Texas. As far as what drives these enthusiastic Chinese teachers to devote themselves to Chinese education, TF04 explained,

Although the Chinese school where I work doesn’t pay me very well, it has really arranged everything for me, such as the classroom, textbooks, schedule, and support, because there are many people who work behind the scenes. There are many details that the people who are in charge of the school have to take care of, such as renting the facility, arranging teachers’ schedules, managing students’ tuition, and so on.

This narrative was correlated with Liu’s (2006) report when she pointed out that the Chinese teachers teach voluntarily, but also that many parents and community members are volunteers who work at the administrative level and receive minimal pay.

The Chinese teachers in the study serve on the front lines of Chinese education, and all recognized their teaching role as a key component of the CHSs. They not only hope the students learn Chinese language them, but also hope that students will continue to be interested in learning because of them. TF01 stressed that her relationship with the

students was one of direct interaction. In this way, the teachers play an important role in affecting how interested the students are in studying Chinese. TF01 said that she did not want to ruin the students' positive impressions of the Chinese school. An expert teacher not only motivates his/her students (TF04), but also attracts more students who are willing to learn Chinese (TF07). In reality, TF07 explained, "once a teacher teaches well, his/her student retention is high. On the contrary, if the teacher does not teach well, s/he may lose the students sooner or later." From the cultural perspective, TF07 saw it is important that a teacher helps students deepen their cultural roots. TF04 concluded that her role was to plant the seed of curiosity in the students, as eventually this would, aid in their self-development pertaining to their Chinese heritage.

4.4.1.3 Suggestions for CHS teachers

At the CHSs, "most Chinese teachers are parents and without any teaching experiences or training (TF11)" and it was even their first teaching experience for some of them. In this case, many of them were also aware that they were not like real teachers in mainstream, they were people who really taught the students on front lines. TM09 hoped there would be some training lessons, such as classroom management for teachers to "increase teaching quality (TF07)." TF06 thought teachers should work on personal growth, and TF05 hoped teachers could broaden their minds to adapt to difference and change. TF05 further addressed the subject of change,

Some teachers might be satisfied with the current teaching styles, but these styles are out of date. These teachers still only stick to the old rules. They really need to improve themselves and mature with the students and familiarize themselves with pop culture and current cultural trends.

Senior teachers TF05 and TF11 hoped there would be fresh newcomers to take their turn of duty with teaching. TF11 not only supported new, younger principal but also supported young Chinese teachers at her CHS. She saw the younger teachers as more akin to the students' big sisters and brothers who could make a large impact on the students' learning, as the age and cultural gap between them is smaller. From TF01's experiences, teachers did not really have time to share teaching strategies with each other, and TF02 would have liked to have seen how other teachers teach Chinese. TF03 pointed out that "there was lack of the communication and sharing among teachers." TM08 wished the teachers could discuss how to make the teaching more systematical and organized. Thus, TF01 and TF07 suggested CHS should have a strong teacher team. What they pointed out is how important that collegial collaboration and teaching-resource sharing can create a resourcefulness team to support the Chinese teachers.

4.4.2 Teaching philosophy

4.4.2.1 Perspectives on the ability to speak more than one language

Being bilingual means the "students are able to maintain cultural identities while attaining a rightful place in American society" (Zimmerman, 2010, p. 26). The teachers from the interviews praised the mobility of being bilingual or multilingual as a powerful vehicle to access in this pluralistic society. TF02 and TM09 noted that it is beneficial for their students to be bilingual. TF02 said once to a student from Hong Kong, "You are so lucky that you can speak Cantonese, Chinese, and English." She added, "Here in Texas, the students may also learn Spanish." Agreeing with her, TF05 stated, "Bilingual, trilingual, and even multilingual are all important, and people should have an awareness

of multiculturalism and diversity.” TF10 believed that a person who is bilingual or trilingual is more open-minded. She explained, “If a person has the ability to speak another language, s/he will understand another culture because s/he can speak that language and be more familiar with that culture’s way of life.” In TF03’s opinion, the benefit of a child’s learning another language is immense, as it opens up new doors. TF07 added, “From the perspective of brain development, it’s better to know more than one language ability.” TF05 asserted, “The students never know when they will use the foreign language. If our students can speak one more language, they are gaining one more skill.” However, “when they are young, it’s hard for them to realize that they have advantage if they are bilingual,” said TF07. Therefore, TF03 advocated, “If we can enhance their language abilities when the children are young, it may be very helpful after they grow up.” TF03 hoped her students “could broaden his/her horizons by learning one more language.” TF01 thought that Chinese language-learning could be more efficient if the students kept practicing; as TF01 and TF10 noted, two to three hours once a week for the students to learn Chinese at the CHSs was not efficient. TF10 explained, “In terms of language-learning, this touching on something without going deeper into it is not effective.” In order to maximize the students’ learning and engaged them in the meaningful interactions, the Chinese teachers in the study applied learner-centered curriculum and instruction techniques.

4.4.2.2 Learner-centered curriculum and instruction

Chinese language teachers are not only adding meaning to Chinese heritage schools in the U.S., but also their “powerful teaching is increasingly important in

contemporary society” (Darling-Hammond, 2010, p. 224). Having had experience teaching English in Taiwan, TF03 and TF05 stated that the language teaching methods are all the same. The only difference is the key audiences, their “students.” Most Chinese heritage schools in Southeast Texas had small class sizes, with three to six students per class. Considering students’ individual linguistic and cultural baggage, most of Chinese teachers in the study, designed learner-centered curriculum to meet their students’ individual needs. TF01 pointed out that “The age of the students may vary when they go to Chinese school.” TF03 said, “Students at different levels and in different grades will have different expectations...It really depends on the student’s level.” What is more, “they are Americans, but they are different from most Americans (TF04).” TM08 stated, “Each student had his/her own needs in terms of Chinese learning, and I hoped the students who came to my class would learn something.” TF04 believed that “a teacher who pays attention to his/her students and teaches them according their individual needs will foster the students’ interests in the Chinese language.”

There are also age differences among the students, and thus age- appropriate instruction is essential. Several teachers shared their opinions of Chinese teaching at the primary level. TF02 thought that for those teachers who teach young children, they need to be very open and fun for the students, and they should also be energetic. In TF07’s opinion, “teaching Chinese to the youngest children has nothing to do with how much they learn; it’s all about how a teacher can pique the children’s interest in Chinese learning.

A teacher should help children feel that learning Chinese is meaningful. Then, they will keep learning. For those teachers who adopt Vygotsky's scaffolding as a teaching strategy, they "support the learner's development and provide support structure to get to that next stage or level" (Raymond, 2000, p.176). Because students master important cognitive and social skills in their learning environment (Crain, 2000), the Chinese teacher would base on each student's understanding by scaffolding and make connections to what s/he has learned. It is important to make a smooth transition for the student to move to the next level. TF02 chose reading materials based on the content and how it related to what the students had learned. When TF04 would introduce stories that her students might not be familiar with, she would provide a soft landing for them to understand the stories. What these teachers did exhibited one of the key traits of effective teaching, which is "based on the fact that learning builds on prior knowledge and experiences" (Nieto, 2002, p.84). TF03 usually conducted review of the previous class before she started the next class. She wanted to make connections between and among the courses she had taught and the new subjects she would teach. She said, "Actually, I felt very happy when the students were able to tell me what they have learned from previous classes."

4.4.2.3 The importance of a Chinese language-learning environment

One study shows that "environment support in the form of comprehensible input is necessary for language learning" (Long, 1996, p.425). All teachers emphasized how important that the students acquire language through building up knowledge from the environment. This concept made all Chinese teachers did their best to create a Chinese

language environment. TF04 clarified this significantly in saying, “We do our best to offer an ideal Chinese learning environment.” Starting with the fundamentals in TF04’s classroom, she would not respond to any students if they called her “Miss” or “Teacher” in English. She would only respond, if they called her “Lǎoshī,” which is teacher in Chinese. TF06 asked her students speak to her in Chinese. TF02 even made a rule in her class that students could speak only in Chinese. All of these teachers provide a great opportunity for their students to speak Chinese, because, as TF07 pointed out “It will be very difficult for them to use Chinese in places other than the Chinese schools.” It goes without saying that a comfortable “learning environment is very important” because “the more you use the language, the more you understand it,” said TF11. In reality for HL language-learners, the task of speaking their mother tongue is much tougher. First, their target speech community is within an English-speaking environment. Secondly, most of their friends are Americans (TF04), and there is the peer-pressure factor. TF03 noted, “They don’t think speaking Chinese on a daily basis is necessary, and most people around them don’t speak Chinese either.” In that case, “home environment is much more important (TF04).” TF03 discovered in her class that the children’s motivation and Chinese-learning efficiency would be better if their parents spoke Chinese more often at home with them. She believed the more time the parents spent creating a Chinese environment, the more the children would learn Chinese. “Some parents may think speaking in English is much easier,” but if they think in this way, “they won’t provide an environment their children can practice Chinese in (TF11).” Thus, TF11 recommended the parents do not hesitate to speak Chinese with the children at home. The findings

from these CHS teachers did correspond to several studies that there is a positive correlation between children's HL competence and parents' usage of HL (Portes & Hao, 1998; Kondo, 1998; Cho & Krashen, 2000).

4.4.2.4 Parents' roles at the CHSs

The home environment is the first place where children acquire their languages, and parents are the key figures and role models for their children's language development. "The parents who sent their children to Chinese school value their children's education very much (TF02)." Whether the parents are from China or Taiwan, "they all are passionate parents (TF03)." These first-generation immigrant parents here in the U.S. have the attitude that they want their children to assimilate into American culture while not forgetting about their Chinese culture. Many "bring their children back to China or Taiwan every summer (TF04)." TF04, TF07, TF10, TF11 emphasized how parents' attitudes toward enrolling their children at CHSs makes a huge difference. "If parents see learning Chinese as part of a routine, such as going to church every Sunday, going to Chinese school will be part of a schedule (TF10)." On the contrary, "if parents do not persist in encouraging their children's Chinese language education, their children will not be able to learn Chinese (TF11)." Moreover, "their heritage language acquisition will have been lost (TF10)." Thus, TF11 always encouraged parents in reminding them that their persistence with their child's language-learning would pay off in the future, as their children would ultimately appreciate being bilingual. TF04 spoke of two students who only spoke only English because their parents spoke only English at home. TF04

imagined that the children would ultimately speak Chinese merely passively and might simply understand it, and that eventually, they would be able to speak just English.

The children who often maintain non-English language but develop productive use of only English as TF04 portrayed, Tabors & Snow (2001) name them as the at-risk bilinguals. Once they notice their significant others also speak the societal language, they tend to shift rapidly to operate in a single language. In order to assist the second-generation immigrant children's successful adjustment in both languages, TF03 encouraged the parents to clarify for their children the reasons why they were attending the CHS. She thought the parents should discuss it first before they sent their children to the school. This also helps solidify the relationship between Chinese teachers and parents.

4.4.3 Teaching experiences

4.4.3.1 Parent-teacher cooperation

Lightfoot (1978) states that the roles of a mother and of a teacher share similar cultural images to propel socialization process. One shapes a child's primary socialization, and the other helps the child's transition into the adult world. In heritage language development and maintenance, parents and teachers are the most crucial individuals who, as a team, instill the value of Chinese heritage into the next generation. "The support of parents' is critical for these volunteer Chinese teachers (TF11)." This comment is consistent with parental support that family shows a significant source of aid for ethnic and racial minority adolescents (Kenny, Blustein, Chaves, Grossman, & Gallagher, 2003). Teacher F05 even asserted that "Chinese education is education in

Chinese daily life. We can say it's not just the teachers' responsibility." TF04 also expressed that "Chinese language education cannot rely on teachers alone." Both TF04 and TM09 had highly educated parents in their classes. It turned out that TF04 just needed to clarify certain points at times, and the parents fully understood and supported her. She said, "Once the communication gap had been bridged, they would understand."

All eleven teachers from the interview indicated that there is a direct and positive relationship between parental support and their Chinese language teaching. In TF06's opinion, her students who learned well were those whose parents cooperated with her well. TF05 shared that non-heritage-language parents had a strong desire for their children to learn Chinese even though they were not able to provide a Chinese-speaking environment at home like other Chinese and Taiwanese parents. She said,

The Vietnamese immigrant parents were really supportive and cooperative with us teachers, and the same as true with the American parents who had adopted (a) Chinese child(ren). Their attitude really gave the teachers a lot of encouragement, because they really focus on their children's cultural roots. If I have one or two parents like that in my class, it energizes me enough so that I don't get burnt out.

The teachers also said they needed encouragement from the parents. TF07 felt fulfilled because the positive interaction she had with parents showed that the parents trusted on her. TF03 felt accomplished when parents gave her positive feedback after the class. TF11 added, "If parents can support us teachers, we can save a lot of energy." In fact, many activities depend on parental participation, and "if they are not that enthusiastic, it is more difficult to get things done. (TF07)." Thus, what TF11 did at the beginning of the semester was to write a letter to every parent, because she thought the teachers should do their best to connect and engage with the parents.

4.4.3.2 *Language learning motivation*

“Language learning motivation is a complex [and] composite construct” (Csizér & Dörnyei, 2005, p.19). In terms of heritage language learning, it is more complex, as it is determined by the learners’ level of learning motivation and attitude. Almost all students who attended Chinese school were asked by their parents to do so, which means that the students’ attitude toward Chinese language learning did not come from their own willingness in the first place. According to Chua (2011), “Chinese parents believe that they know what is best for their children and therefore override all of their children’s own desires and preferences” (p. 53). In this study, two teachers made inquiries at the beginning of the class about their students’ reasons for attending the Chinese school. At the beginning of the class, TF01 actually gave her students a survey. She asked them, “What’s the reason you want to come to this Chinese school?” All of them wrote, “My parents made me to do so.” When TF02 started her first class every semester, or if there was a newcomer in her class, she would ask them reasons why they had come to study Chinese or who had asked them to come (re: did they themselves want to learn, or did their parents want them to learn?). Two-thirds of the students in her class said that their parents had asked them to attend the Chinese school. TF03 and TM09 also pointed out that their students who attended the CHS were partially or fully forced by their parents. In this way, “their parents had higher level of motivation compared with that of their children,” TF07 said. Other reasons for students’ low motivation levels vis-à-vis learning Chinese were “the school’s placing the student in the wrong level (TM08),” and the fact that weekend Chinese classes were a burden for most students. TF02 reported, “All my

students just wanted to have fun on Sunday. Who wants to go to class on Sunday?”

“People only want to be relax on the weekend, and this impacted the students’

motivation level and ability to focus in class (TF01).”

Several studies indicate that the characteristics of a successful learner of a second language are: aptitude, motivation, and general intelligence (Carroll, 1962; Gardner & Lambert, 1972). The Chinese teachers also shared their views about how motivation deeply affects their students’ learning of the HL. Corresponding to the literature, TF03 claimed that “if the students don’t have the motivation to learn Chinese, it is very hard for them to learn it well.” TF05 reflected: “Motivation to and drive for learning Chinese are very important.” The Chinese teachers even pointed out that their instruction and mood would be also influenced by the students’ low motivation to learn Chinese because “it would be impossible for us to teach the students without a cheerful environment (TF05).” TF02 expressed frustration about when her students’ motivation levels were low. The biggest challenge for TF01 and TM08 was how to improve the students’ motivation. TF04 encouraged Chinese teachers to cultivate students’ Chinese language learning. She thought each student relied on the Chinese teachers to instill in them a sense of incentive regarding their language-learning:

We teachers don’t blot out students’ passions and curiosities towards, and interests in learning Chinese. Although it’s a two-hour course, the students can bring the passion of learning Chinese home with them. If it becomes students’ passion and habit from within, they will tell their mothers they want to go to Chinese school every Sunday.

4.4.3.3 Teaching strategies for creating an enjoyable learning process

From the voices of 11 Chinese language teachers, they acknowledged their meaningful teaching is the key to raise their students' motivation to learn Chinese. The Chinese teachers motivated their students by actively engaging them in meaningful activities and interactions which accommodates to Vygotsky's sociocultural theory that social interaction with others as critical for the development of linguistic functioning (Schneider & Watkins, 1996). TF04 pointed it out, "I really want to create an enjoyable and pressure-free environment for my students." TF01 also emphasized the importance of creating an engaging learning environment: "All I could do was to teach the curriculum, which lasted a year. Yet, if I could keep my students interested in Chinese, that would have implications for their entire lifetime." Having the congruent opinion, TF04 said, "The main point of learning Chinese is to enjoy it." She believed that if the Chinese class was boring, the students would not be willing to learn anything. To these ends, she incorporated Chinese legends, tongue twisters, and riddles into her curriculum. TF03 led the students in dances and games. She wanted the students to feel that the Chinese class itself was fun. She explained it further:

Although I am just a Chinese teacher, and I only had three to four students, I hope my students are more interested in learning Chinese because of me. Their acquiring a language is less important to me than their gaining one additional interest, because once the students have the interest in the Chinese language, it will be an endeavor they will stick with for a lifetime. If a student has just speaking and writing abilities without any interest in that language, s/he might not return to that language in the future.

Play is one of key factors that enhance a child's mental and emotional development. The child is learning through playing because that play as catalyst arises

his/her interest in learning (Vygotsky, 1976). TM08 shared with his students some activities that Taiwanese children participate in. He would also played certain games with them and make them relevant to the students' language learning. "Although certain games have little relevance to the Chinese language, those basic activities did still raise the students' interests in learning Chinese." That was why he believed in the necessity of playing games sometimes. 15 minutes before the end of the class, TF02 would play games with her students that incorporated the vocabulary they had just learned. She combined this Chinese character game with computer technology. In Powerpoint she made would make 15 numbered slides, each containing its own Chinese characters. The students needed to click a number and a Chinese character would appear on the screen. The student would then have to tell her how to pronounce the character as well as make a phrase with that word. As it turns out, the students liked playing that game very much. "They all acted very nervous and excited while they were playing," TF02 said smiley. Chaput (2000) discovered that game activities in language class not only engage students in speaking, but also strengthen their motivation to socialize with other students. Outside of the classroom, TM08 would email Mandarin-Taiwanese pop songs with simple and articulate lyrics to his students. TF11 submitted her students' Chinese composition to a local Chinese newspaper. All her students were very happy to read that their pieces had been published in the newspaper. While teaching in the primary level, "because children's period of attention is pretty short (TF07)," TF05 suggested the Chinese teachers to teach more effectively through games and songs for raising those younger students' learning desire rather than just asking them to memorize.

4.4.3.4 Cultural and linguistic ties to the Chinese learning

Cultural factors influence language learning in various ways. More and more teachers, educators, and researchers are realizing that cultural values are the necessary pedagogical components to improving the quality of teaching and learning (Hinkel, 1999). CHSs in the U.S. not only provide, most critically, Chinese language education, but they also provide cultural richness and cultural awareness to both HL and non-HL learners. TF02 and TF04 spoke of how learning Chinese here in the U.S. is equally about learning cultural values and concepts. As Matsumoto (2009) argues,

that kind of traditional academic teaching involves knowledge-based outcomes, which are definitely important. But helping students gain skills that can aid them in navigating the difficulties of intercultural interactions or a multicultural life is also a valuable and worthy goal (p. 8).

TF02 said that if there was no Chinese school offering these language courses, these children might not know their own culture once they had grown up. Furthermore, if that situation persisted, a gap would develop among the children, their parents, and Chinese teachers. With same perspective but from a different angle, TF04 said, “If the students can keep in touch with Chinese culture, by the time they grow up, they will be able to realize where they are from and be able to understand the culture.” TF04 contended that a cultural root will grow from attending Chinese school.

Sternberg (2007) believes teaching is a cultural act where “when children are taught in a way that better matches their culturally acquired knowledge, their performance improves” (p. 151). With this mindset, several Chinese teachers realized that the content of their language curriculum should be tied into Chinese culture. The

opportunity of language immersion can arise when teachers offer sufficient connections to the culture that language is spoken in. It reflects to Vygotsky's ideas of constructing teaching and thinking about learning. He emphasizes teaching must aim to construct meaningful curriculum with students' sociocultural experiences (O'Hara, 2007). When TF11 taught Chinese, she focused extensively on culture. TF04 told stories related to China, and shared information about certain kinds of Chinese food that only can be found in China. She also taught them some Chinese colloquialisms. Through these activities, her students were able to see a more casual side of Chinese culture. TM09 told his students stories related to Chinese history to instill in them a sense of national pride. TF01 introduced her students to Mandarin Taiwanese-pop-music and music videos. While most Chinese teachers in the study tried their best to promote the spirit of Chinese culture, a few were still concerned that what they did was limited. Argued by Magnan (2008) "[there is a] lack of a social and cultural framework in our teaching practices" (p. 349). TM08 thought it was limited as far as how much of the culture the students learned about in his class. "The cultural aspects were not emphasized enough in the Chinese schools," TF07 stressed. TF07 has just come back from China and realized that "culture is a living thing and exists vividly." She went to Beihai Park in Beijing, where she witnessed people doing Taichi, martial arts, singing Kunqu, and writing Chinese calligraphy. Out of this experience, she acknowledged how crucial it was to develop a rich Chinese environment for her students here in the U.S. TF04 corroborated this in saying, "Although my students are Chinese-Americans, because they live in the U.S., there are still some barriers for them in terms of being exposed to Chinese culture." Here

raise the tremendous attention should be paid to connect students' sociocultural experiences with Chinese language pedagogy according the teachers' voices shared above.

4.4.3.5 Textbooks

All teachers had designed their curriculum based on the textbooks from the CHSs. TF01 said, "I did everything according to the textbook," and TF03 also followed the textbook. The CHSs ordered the textbooks from their native countries. TF04 and TF07 taught Chinese based on the textbook *Chinese for Children*, published by Jinan University in China. TF01, TF02, TF03, TF05, TF06, TM08, TM09, and TF11 all taught at Taiwanese-run Chinese schools and received free textbooks for their students from the Taipei Economic and Cultural Office in Houston. The textbooks *HuaYu* were funded by the Overseas Compatriot Affairs Commission, Taiwan and were published in 2004. Despite their widespread use, "a lot of the content in the textbooks was out-of-date (TF04 & TF05)" due to the design of the content. How it was presented was more like literary language (TM08)." Curdt-Christiansen (2008) argued that "textbook texts should be interrogated as social and cultural artefacts" (p. 111). To remedy these drawbacks, TM08 did constantly modify the curriculum design to meet the students' needs at the time. He said,

From the beginning of the class, some content from the textbook was too difficult for certain students. So I modified the content till it became very basic for the students to digest. If the content in the textbook was beyond the students' level, I would just skip it. I also modified the course content to be more colloquial.

TF11 thought the content of the textbook did not match the students' life here in the U.S., and TF04 said the topics she taught did not connect with the environment and the students' background.

TF05 suggested, "Chinese language teaching shouldn't rely on textbooks alone." Additionally, "the same materials and textbooks need to be used differently depending on different students (TF06)." In order to make the teaching Chinese match the students' needs based on their level and learning background, TF02 and TF06 developed their own handouts. In addition, TF03, TF04, TF05, TF06, and TF11 designed supplementary teaching materials to support their teaching and to improve their students' learning of Chinese. TM08 found supplementary materials from outside resources to assist those students at higher levels, and sought out ways to help the students feel more engaged in class. In doing so "the students would learn more from outside of the textbook," he said. All the teachers who reflected on the challenging of limited resources correlates to Liu's (2006) survey results for recommending more appropriate teaching materials.

In 2009, TF02's school changed the textbooks to *MeiZhou*, which was edited by Chinese teachers in California and published by a Chinese school in California. The content in *MeiZhou* takes direct cues from American culture and Native American culture, both of which being much more relevant to the students' lives here in the U.S. In any case, TF02 said that *MeiZhou* was still too easy for her most advanced students. TF02 nonetheless preferred *HuaYu* because "it provides a teacher's manual that is very clear and very easy for the teachers to follow." At TF06's and TF11's CHSs, the textbooks were changed frequently. At that time, "the students felt confused" and "the

parents also felt pressure” during that transitional period. Thus, TF02 hoped that the school could keep the textbooks consistent in the future.

4.4.4 Assessment

4.4.4.1 Chinese language assessment

In terms of assessment, different Chinese teachers have different methods of assessing students’ Chinese language abilities. TF01, TF02, TF03, and TF06 conducted quizzes in class. TF02 usually gave her students a vocabulary quiz after she had finished a chapter. TF01 and TF06 quizzed her students every week. The purpose of the test, according to TF02, was “just to know what they had have learned.” TF03 had various ways of examining her students’ proficiency level. In any case, she thought the straightforward paper-pencil test was necessary at times. She generally did want her students to feel pressure regarding the tests; however, she did not want them to feel too relaxed in class either. There were some teachers who gave their students test as a means of evaluation, whereas others teachers had different opinions regarding methods of evaluation. There were three teachers (TF04, TF05, TM08) who preferred applying communicative approach to interact with their students directly. TF04 mentioned, “I put student motivation as the first priority rather than their learning outcome, so I didn’t care how many Chinese characters they recognized.” Sharing a similar opinion TF05 said,

When I taught Chinese, I didn’t ask my students to follow the standard procedures for writing Chinese, because technology and software so pervasive nowadays. It was fine with me if a student only recognized a Chinese word without being able to write it. I don’t have high expectation regarding my students’ Chinese writing abilities. I only hope my students can learn something and be able to use it...Before I started each class, I would talk with them for ten minutes. I would encourage them to speak

Chinese and tell me what had happened in school that day. It's my way of assessing the students' learning.

TM08 thought it was difficult to ascertain from exams what the students had learned.

He explained further,

First of all, our school was not like ETS [Educational Testing Services], which designs standardized tests like TOEFL [The Test of English as a Foreign Language]. It's hard to find a test is like that in Chinese. For me, I didn't rely on the tests from the textbook. I tended to focus on my students' listening and speaking abilities in their daily communication. I valued their conversational ability more.

Whether which assessment for the teachers to implement in their Chinese language classrooms, they all wanted to maximize their students' learning to see what the students have learned. Besides tests and quizzes, Chinese homework was another alternative means of assessment for some Chinese teachers.

4.4.4.2 Homework

There are various measurements to evaluate students' Chinese language proficiency. Another way for the Chinese teachers in this study to ascertain what their students had learned was through their homework. TF02 not only quizzed the students, but also assessed her students' leaning from the homework they turned in. She focused extensively on the students' stroke order in their writing. She hoped the students would be able to memorize Chinese words through practicing them as homework. Every week for extra credit she would attach a reading assignment along with homework. She discovered that those students who did the extra reading homework improved significantly and more quickly compared with those who did not. She instilled the concept of time management into her oldest students. She would say to them, "There

will be more once you get to college, and you have to get used to it. You will all grow up and need to manage your time and schedules wisely.” TF04 valued the students’ homework because she believed it was a way for them to improve their writing abilities. She created three types of homework: (a) class homework; (b) actual homework; and, (c) extra homework. The homework she gave to the students was intended to be finished within ten minutes. The bottom line of giving homework was “Not too much and not too little.” Parents with high expectations would ask their children to do all the extra homework.

TF04 believed parents played a key role in whether students did their homework, and how much of that homework they did. She therefore felt that “the homework should be flexible and needed to accommodate the different expectations parents had.” TF06 assisted her students’ in doing their homework, and in this way she believed they would not bother their parents too much. The truth was that “the students didn’t like to do their homework,” said TM08. For this reason, TF11 would tell the students that studying Chinese was their own responsibility and that they were not doing it for their parents. These voices draw attention to recognize that parents as the prominent roles for their children’s Chinese language development. However, the parents should play the assistant role rather than the ones who do the homework for their children.

4.4.5 Alternative school climate

4.4.5.1 The predicaments that the CHSs face

Personnel, finances, and facilities are three critical resources for CHSs. Every Chinese school has its own problems that hinder their excelling as learning institutions.

The Chinese teachers in this study drew attention to the overall predicaments compassed within personnel, finances, and facilities that all CHSs face. Modern Language Association data (2006) showed that college and university enrollment in Chinese increased by 51% between 2002 and 2006, from 34,153 to 51,582. In recent years, the number of Chinese language learners has increased; however, there is an insufficient supply of Chinese language teachers to meet these increasing needs. TF01 shared that there is a constant need for Chinese teachers in her city. Actually, the shortage of Chinese language teachers is severe everywhere. In addition, “it’s hard to find qualified teachers in the field of Chinese education,” TF07 pointed out. Most CHSs in the U.S. are non-profit organizations, and the finances come directly from student tuition, which does not cover every expense the school incurs. Student tuition is divided up to pay teachers’ salaries, rent for facility, and activity fees. TF10 pointed out that for over 20 years her school had been seeking potential funding. She was worried because this situation seemed dire and had not been resolved in over 20 years. Most CHSs do not have their own facility and thus use mainstream schools’ classrooms. Some CHSs frequently move from one place to another. TF07 asserted, “Without the facility, it would be impossible to establish a Chinese school.” TF10 commented that, “the rent for school facility was constantly fluctuating and this forced the school to move to a cheaper place.” After the school had settled in to their new facilities, the next step was to recruit teachers and students from that area. For those teachers who wanted to incorporate technology and multimedia applications into their class, they had few options due to limited access.

TF11 noted, “Because we use another school’s facilities and it’s not our own school, internet access is limited.”

4.4.5.2 Suggestions for the CHSs

Most of the Chinese language teachers who participated in the study had taught at community-based Chinese schools for more than three years. They had a strong commitment to Chinese education, and provided some suggestions for improving the quality of Chinese heritage schools for the 21st century classroom. TF03 believed that in order to succeed the Chinese school needed to focus on preparation of curriculum, schedule design, and method of assessment. TM08 wanted to see more organization at the CHS. TF07 said, “The Chinese school need to grow and evolve, otherwise, it may become irrelevant as an institution.” In her opinion, if management could communicate with the teachers well, the teachers would be more willing to move forward in doing things differently, because the school’s attitude affected the teachers’ attitude.

From a big-picture perspective, it is becoming critical to figure out how to keep the CHSs sustainable. The popularity of a language is directly tied to a country’s economy and politics. Speaking Chinese has become in vogue due to China’s ongoing economic growth and political power. Thus, how one encourages the ongoing learning and study of the Chinese language is quite important given the current economic and political climate. TF07 gave the example that Russian and Japanese were very popular languages during the ‘50s in the U.S. but soon faded out of fashion. From a broader view, TF05 thought a 21st century CHS should be more flexible and open-minded, because “Chinese school shouldn’t be an isolated organization (TF07).” There were

always non-Chinese descendents asking about Chinese class and there were many Korean and European American students attending TF07's classes the summer prior to this study. TF07 shared a vision of a transformed CHS:

The CHS should not only provide the opportunity to study the Chinese language, but also as an opportunity for cultural immersion. This approach better ensure that the language and culture will persist rather than simply fade away over time. From the standpoint of a CHS, it should actively looks for every possible means of support and try to make more connections with communities, for example, to advertise that they are open to all community members.

4.5 Conclusion

Via the richest resources within the educational Chinese heritage language context, this descriptive qualitative study gains insight into 11 Chinese language teachers and their perspectives on Chinese language education, their teaching philosophies, and their teaching experiences at the CHSs in metropolitan areas of southeast Texas.

Through in-depth individual interviews and content analysis, the results from the teachers' voices have fallen into in five areas: (a) teachers at the CHSs; (b) teaching philosophy; (c) teaching experiences; (d) assessment; and (e) alternative school climate.

The key challenge for these 11 Chinese teachers was to raise these heritage language learners' motivation to learn Chinese. Students' learning depends on parent-teaching cooperation and on the quality of the language-learning environment. In the study, all Chinese teachers adjusted their curriculum and teaching materials to be more learner-centered and learner-tailored to create an enjoyable learning process. The Chinese teachers improved teaching and student learning depended upon an alternative school climate.

It is important for Chinese language teachers to help heritage language students develop a positive personal, cultural, national, and global identification through cultural appreciation. In order to prepare these heritage students to master the Chinese language on the one hand, and enhance their sociolinguistic and sociocultural communicative competencies within their heritage communities on the other, Chinese teachers play a pivotal role in Chinese education in the U.S. It is possible that these teachers may have influenced only three to five students in their class, yet, as TF04 pointed out, a Chinese teacher is one who plants the seed of interest in the student and can help that seed grow. They “can and do exert a great deal of power and influence in the lives of their students” (Nieto, 2003, p.19). For larger populations, several teachers recommended that the CHSs open their doors to non-heritage language learners in order to meet global demand. In that way, the wide range of diversity-related language and cultural courses and activities are able to cultivate a young generation of professionals who will contribute to the global community. Through transforming pluralistic perspectives and multicultural concepts in the long run, these young people will be able to interact well with others, and respect and appreciate racial, ethnic, and social diversity.

5. SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

The dissertation is laid out according to the following sections: 1. Introduction; 2. The voices of thirteen Chinese and Taiwanese parents sharing views about their children attending Chinese heritage school; 3. The voices of second-generation Chinese- and Taiwanese-Americans' experiences at Chinese heritage schools in southeast Texas; 4. The voices of teachers, and their perspectives and teaching experiences at Chinese heritage schools in Southeast Texas; and, 5. Summary and conclusion. Among these five sections, Section 2, Section 3, and Section 4 are three journal articles. The dissertation also includes an extended theoretical framework in Appendix A, and additional methodology in Appendix B. Section 5 here comprises the summary of the three case studies and an overall conclusion.

5.1 Summaries of the Research Findings

This dissertation focuses mainly on the three stakeholder groups' perspectives and experiences at Chinese heritage schools in Southeast Texas. Parents, students, and teachers are three primary actors at the CHSs. The combined richness of multiple voices from the parents' expectations, students' learning experiences, and teachers' self-reflections, brought out the meaningful narratives among three groups in each case study.

“Heritage languages also have a sociocultural function, both as a means of communication and as a way of identifying and transforming sociocultural groups” (He, 2010). Govern by sociocultural theory, three case studies showed that parental support

creates a direct interaction for their second-generation immigrant child(ren) to immerse in a Chinese speech community. The second-generation Chinese- and Taiwanese immigrant students who attended CHSs acquired their parents' L1 by their Chinese teachers who applied sociocultural teaching approach in their classroom. Thus, the findings from the three studies concur with Vygotskian's sociocultural theory that language learning requires the incorporation of a wide range of elements within the deeply sociocultural context (Dörnyei, 2001). It is because language learning involves not only a simply leaning skill or formula. It involves "an alteration in self-image, the adoption of new social and cultural behaviors and ways of being, and therefore has a significant impact on the social nature of the learner" (Williams, 1994, p.77).

Among three case studies on the voices from parents, students, and teachers, their perspectives of bilingualism agree with the recommendation of De Houwer's (1999) "a bilingual environment is most often a necessary, not a choice" for most immigrant families. The 13 parents, 10 students, and 11 teachers in the studies shared the same voices and valued that growing up bilingually does impact their child(ren)'s, students', and themselves daily basis and future life.

Individually, the parents, students, and teachers all played unique roles within the sociocultural context of the Southeast Texas CHSs. Aggregately, they shared the same picture, but from different angles, of the CHSs. Although the three pieces of the case studies were investigated separately, reading them in tandem reveals a shared vision the actor groups hold for the CHSs in Southeast Texas.

5.1.1 Voices from parents

In the first case study, 13 first-generation immigrant parents outlined the main reasons why they had their child(ren) to CHSs. First-generation immigrant parents are the key figures and role models for their children's HL development. In sociocultural framework, these first-generation immigrant parents valued their child(ren)'s HL development, as well as retention of their cultural identity. Their attitude and beliefs also included concerning their child(ren) as bilingual. They mentioned the importance of their child(ren) having more than one language ability. These voices correspond to several quantitative studies on different ethnic groups of Hispanic, Korean, and Vietnamese parents' perceptions of bilingual education (Park & Sarkar, 2007; Shin & Gribbons, 1996; Shin & Kim, 1998; Young & Tran, 1999).

Surrounded by sociocultural influence, most parents in the study not only spoke Chinese at home environment with their child(ren), but also sent their second-generation immigrant child(ren) to the CHSs. The reasons for the 13 parents enrolling their child(ren) to CHSs were: (1) maintenance of the heritage language and culture; (2) importance of bilingualism; and, (3) the value of CHSs.

5.1.2 Voices from students

The second case study targeted on HL learners who are "raised in a home where a non-English target language is spoken, and who speaks or at least understands the language, and who is to some degree bilingual in that language and in English" (Valdés, 2001, p. 38). The study captured ten second-generation Chinese HL students' voices on their retrospective experiences regarding their Chinese learning experiences at five

CHSs in a metropolitan city of Southeast Texas. The target informants were those CHS alumni who had attended CHSs. Their ages at the time of attending the CHSs ranged from 5 to 18 years.

The main findings include the first-hand information direct from the CHS alumni that they highly value their bilingual ability, whereas in many studies, bilingualism is positively associated with students' academic performance and intellectual development (Hakuta & Diaz, 1985; Perl & Lambert, 1962; Portes & Schauffler, 1994; Rumbaut, 1995). Among ten CHS alumni, SM06, SF07, SF09, and SF10 also shared that CHS as a sociocultural center where community members feel connected in Chinese culture and their social life was extended. The five themes of the study were: (1) the characteristics of Chinese HL learners; (2) Chinese HL learners' attitudes toward Chinese HL learning; (3) Chinese HL learners' key learning experiences at the CHSs; (4) Chinese HL learners' perspectives on the CHSs; and, (5) suggestions.

5.1.3 Voices from teachers

In three metropolitan cities of Southeast Texas, eleven Chinese teachers spoke about their beliefs towards teaching, and their individual teaching experiences. It was, in a sense, a collective self-reflection. These CHS teachers were the main characters who served on the front lines to deliver linguistic knowledge, as well as teaching on Chinese culture, to their students.

The value of these teachers' commitment to the students they have taught drives their engagement in several sociocultural activities. By employing Vygotsky's philosophy of play in a learner-centered Chinese classroom to motivate the students'

learning, these activities not only enhance the students' HL proficiency, but also expand their cultural knowledge. Several teachers in the study drew attention to embed their pedagogy in the context of culture that parallels to Alexander (2000)'s cultural and pedagogy. He argues that the notion of teaching should not be just curriculum, assessment, and class management to meet the government's requirement of curriculum, assessment, and examination.

The eleven Chinese teachers' responses and reflections, and the teachers' sociocultural context in relation to their knowledge and practice centered on: (1) teachers at the CHSs; (2) teaching philosophy; (3) teaching experiences; (4) assessment; and, (5) alternative school climate. Through their voices, CHS can enhance the educational development and prompt teachers' self-efficacy to meet the needs for a broader Chinese-interested population.

5.2 Implications for Future Research

This dissertation focuses on metropolitan areas where there were significant CHS parents, students, and teachers population in Southeast Texas and the major research questions were based on the researcher's interests. However, there are other considerations regarding the subject of CHS for future research to address: (1) How do the CHSs work in both language and cultural retention for the Chinese communities in other states, such as California? (2) What are the voices of administrators regarding the CHSs they serve? (3) What are the differences between Chinese-operated and Taiwanese-operated CHSs in the U.S.? (4) How do the CHSs teach Chinese to non-

heritage language learners? Will it different from teach Chinese to HL learners? (5) How does teacher-parent cooperation affect students' HL learning?

5.3 Implications for Educational Practices

An increasing number of actors within the CHSs have voiced their opinions regarding issues they feel need to be addressed. These voices and their accompanying first-hand perspectives create an opportunity for both policymakers and practitioners (Corson, 1999). From the voices of ten students and eleven teachers at the CHSs in Southeast Texas, it is clear that the CHSs still suffer from several limitations that need to be addressed. These chronic limitations exist despite great successes the CHSs have seen over the past 100 years in teaching Chinese and building cultural identity (Lai, 2000). Corresponding with Brecht and Ingold's (2002) report, CHSs face serious and problematic situations in regards to "funding, teacher training, appropriate instructional materials, and administrative infrastructure." This study makes three suggestions for improving teacher-parents relations; helping second-generation HL learners to retain their Chinese language fluency and ethnic identity; encouraging current teachers to become more deeply involved in the success of Chinese education in the U.S.; and, Chinese education practitioners striving for high-quality education:

(1) Recommendations for first-generation immigrant parents

In Section 3, it was noted that all second-generation HL learners had been sent to the CHSs by their parents. Several students asserted that their Chinese-language learning had been significantly influenced by their parents. In Section 4, and concurring with these same voices, Chinese teachers emphasized how parents' attitudes toward their

children's HL learning at the CHSs made a huge impact. Thus, first-generation immigrant parents are the key figures who determine their second-generation child(ren)'s successful HL development and learning.

Many teachers pointed out that the parental support made their jobs not only easier, but that the students' HL maintenance depends not only on the teachers, but also on the parents. First-generation immigrant parents should be aware that their support is critical for the success of their child(ren)'s HL maintenance. Parents should not only create a home environment conducive to learning Chinese for their child(ren), but they should also work with the CHS teachers.

(2) Recommendations for educators and Chinese teacher

The quality of the Chinese teachers at the CHSs has a direct bearing on learning outcomes. Many teachers in this study reiterated that teacher training program, and working with other teachers as a team are critical to the quality of teaching at the CHSs. A few senior teachers also encouraged the younger teachers to take the lead and recommended that current teachers incorporate technology into the classrooms.

Out of these Chinese teachers' self-reflection, it was clear they were aware they played a critical role in the process of language-learning, and were constantly trying to figure out how to better their teaching methods. The need for the teachers to feel empowered and a sense of agency was also apparent. The teachers should take the initiative to make their voices heard, ensure that their roles are valued, their work respected, and that their rights acknowledged. As a student in Section 3 mentioned, the Chinese teacher was the one who made him excel in learning Chinese at the CHS. The

Chinese teachers should also have faith to believe that they are bridging the communication gap between their Chinese HL students and Chinese-language speech communities. They should believe they are the ones who transform this learning process.

(3) Recommendations for Chinese educational practitioners and administrators

In order to prepare a better Chinese heritage language program, the need for rethinking and reshaping the mechanism of Chinese teachers' teaching legitimacy has to be addressed more. A teacher's professional growth and development relies on a sound teacher training program, and a system that empowers the Chinese teacher and their teaching methods. Chinese educational practitioners and administrators should require, or at least make available, on-the-job teacher-training programs. In addition, the Chinese and Taiwanese governments and their universities fund and provide overseas teacher-training summer camps every year. They also provide a variety of online training applications and resources that are easy for Chinese educators to access. Chinese educational practitioners and administrators should promote this information and encourage teachers to participate.

Chinese educational practitioners and administrators should also collaborate and do outreach with communities and mainstream schools, such as high schools, colleges, and universities. This collaboration could open dialogue about getting support, resource sharing, and improving the quality of Chinese education. The truth of the matter is that a Chinese teacher's hourly payment is token in Southeast Texas. In order to ensure a high quality of teaching, Chinese educational practitioners and administrators should try to locate every funding opportunity to provide Chinese teachers with a more reasonable

wage. One way of doing so would be recruiting non-heritage language learners for the Chinese language programs. The CHSs should not only market to these potential language learners, but should also prepare the Chinese teachers to be ready to meet these non-heritage language learners' needs.

5.4 Conclusion

This dissertation intends to let the parents, students, and teachers' voices be heard. This objective corresponding to Rudduck (1993), who believes that capturing succinct and vivid direct feedback from the stakeholders is a powerful tool. She emphasizes how "some statements carry a remarkably rich density of meaning in a few words" (p. 19). In highlighting the many aspects of Chinese HL education at the CHSs in Southeast Texas, and in giving voice to the perspectives of the parents, students, and teachers, it was revealed that (1) the Chinese language can be a communication tool for HL learners to maximize their mobility within Chinese linguistic speech communities; (2) knowledge of the Chinese language could be a competitive advantage in the job market; (3) being bilingual and multilingual has been considered as mandatory for HL language learners; (4) the historical role and identity of the CHS has been to ensure that second-generation immigrants maintain their cultural continuity and HL; and, (5) parental involvement, and Chinese teachers quality are equally important to preserving the second-generation HL learner's HL and ethnic identity.

REFERENCES

- Appel, R., & Muysken, P. (1987). *Language contact and bilingualism*. London: Edward Arnold.
- Ayers, W. (1993). *To teach: The journey of a teacher*. New York: Teachers College Press.
- Bacon, J. (1999). Constructing collective ethnic identities: The case of second generation Asian Indians. *Qualitative Sociology*, 22(2), 141-160.
- Bernal, D. (2002). Critical race theory, Latino critical theory, and critical raced-gendered epistemologies: Recognizing students of color as holders and creators of knowledge. *Qualitative Inquiry*, 8(1), 105-126.
- Bertelson, P., Chen, H., & Gelder, B. (1997). Explicit speech analysis and orthographic experience in Chinese readers. In: H. Chen (Ed.), *Cognitive processing of Chinese and related Asian languages* (pp. 27-46). Hong Kong: The Chinese University Press.
- Bodrova, E., & Leong, D. J. (1996). *Tools of the mind: The Vygotskian approach to early childhood education*. Columbus, OH: Merrill/Prentice Hall.
- Bradunas, E. & Topping, B. (1988). *Ethnic heritage and language schools in America*. Washington, DC: Library of Congress.
- Bransford, J., Brown, A., & Cocking, R. (Eds.). (1999). *How people learn: Brain, mind, experience, and school*. Washington, DC: National Academy Press.
- Brecht, R. D., & Ingold, C. W. (2002). *Tapping a national resource: Heritage languages in the United States*. Washington, DC: National Foreign Language Center.

- Bridglall, B. (2005). After-school programs, youth development, and other forms of supplementary education. In Gordon, E.; Bridglall, B. & Meroe, A. (Eds.), *Supplementary education: The hidden curriculum of high academic achievement* (pp. 35-62). Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Inc.
- Brownstone, D. M. (1988). *The Chinese-American heritage*. New York: Facts on File.
- Carroll, J. (1962). The prediction of success in intensive foreign language training. In R. Glazer (Ed.), *Training research and education* (pp. 87-136). Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press.
- Chang, L. (1998). Maintaining ethnic language, culture, and identity: Issues explored through a study of Chinese language schools. In: R. Endo, C. C. Park, & J. N. Tsuchida (Eds.), *Current issues in Asian and Pacific American education* (pp. 157-170). El Monte, CA: Pacific Asia Press.
- Chao, T. (1996) Overview. In X. Wang (Ed.), *A view from within: A case study of Chinese heritage community language schools in the United States* (pp. 7-13). Washington, DC: The National Foreign Language Center. Retrieved from <http://conventions.coe.int/treaty/en/treaties/html/199.htm>
- Chaput, P. R. (2000). Shifting culture instruction from custom to context. In O. Kagan & B. Rifkin (Eds.), *The learning and teaching of Slavic languages and cultures* (pp. 91-107). Bloomington, IN: Slavica Publishers.
- Chen, R. (1996). Obtaining credit from local school districts. In: X. Wang (Ed.), *A view from within: A case study of Chinese heritage community language schools in the United States* (pp. 51-54). Washington, DC: The National Foreign Language

Center.

Chinese School Association in the United States. (2009). Retrieved from http://www.csaus.org/csaus15/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=94:introduction-of-chinese-school-association-in-the-united-states&catid=43:introduction-&Itemid=129

Cho, G., & Krashen, S. (2000). The role of voluntary factors in heritage language development: How speakers can develop the heritage language on their own. *ITL: Review of Applied Linguistics*, 127-140.

Chris. (2006, April 7). Review for Cumberland Chinese school. Retrieved from <http://www.yelp.com/biz/cumberland-chinese-school-san-francisco>

Chua, A. (2011). *Battle hymn of the tiger mother*. New York: The Penguin Press.

Clinton, H. R. (1996). *It takes a village and other lessons children teach us*. New York: Simon & Schuster Inc.

Colman, R. M. (1981, April). *English as a second language and the salad bowl concept*. Paper presented at a centennial colloquium at the School of Education, The University of Connecticut, Storrs, CT. (ERIC Document Reproduction Service No. ED215955)

Corson, D. (1999). Community-based education for indigenous cultures. In S. May (Ed.), *Indigenous community-based education* (pp. 8-19). Clevedon, UK: Multilingual Matters.

Council of Europe, (2005). Faro framework convention on the value of cultural heritage for society. Retrieved from <http://conventions.coe.int/treaty/en/treaties/html>

/199.htm

- Crain, W. (2000). *Theories of intelligence: Concepts and applications*. Upper Saddle River, NJ: Prentice Hall.
- Csizér, K. & Dörnyei, Z. (2005). The internal structure of language learning motivation and its relationship with language choice and learning effort. *The Modern Language Journal*, 89, 19-36.
- Curdt-Christiansen, X. L. (2008). Reading the world through words: Cultural themes in heritage Chinese language textbooks. *Language and Education*, 22(2), 95-113.
- Danico, M. & Ng, F. (2004). *Asian American issues*. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press.
- Daniels, H. (2008). *Vygotsky and research*. New York: Routledge.
- Daniels, H., Cole, M., & Wertsch, J. (Eds.). (2007). *The Cambridge companion to Vygotsky*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Darling-Hammond, L (2010). Constructing 21st – century teacher education. In. V. Hill-Jackson & C. Lwewis (Eds.), *Transforming teacher education* (pp. 223-247). Sterling, VA: Stylus Publishing.
- De Houwer, A. (1999). Two or more languages in early childhood: Some general points and practical recommendations. *ERIC Digest*. Washington, DC: ERIC Clearinghouse on Language and Linguistics. (ERIC Document Reproduction Service No. ED433697)
- Denzin, N. K. & Lincoln, Y. S. (1998). (Eds.). *Strategies of qualitative inquiry*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.
- Denzin, N. K. & Lincoln, Y. S. (2005). (Eds.). *The handbook of qualitative research*

- (3rd ed.). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.
- De Vos, G. (2006). Ethnic pluralism: Conflict and accommodation. In L. Romanucci-Ross, G. De Vos, & T. Tsuda (Eds.), *Ethnic identity* (pp. 1-36). Lanham, MD: AltaMira Press.
- Dodd, C. H. (1982). *Dynamics of intercultural communication*. Dubuque, IA: William C. Brown Company.
- Donne, J. (1988). *No man is an island*. London: Souvenir Press.
- Dörnyei, Z. (2001). *Motivational strategies in the language classroom*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.
- Erlandson, D. A., Harris, E. L., Skipper, B. L., & Allen, S. D. (1993). *Doing naturalistic inquiry: A guide to methods*. Newbury Park, CA: Sage Publications.
- Erard, M. (2006a). Saying "Global" in Chinese, *Foreign Policy*, 154, 45.
- Erard, M. (2006b). The Mandarin offensive, *Wired*. Retrieved from <http://www.wired.com/wired/archive/14.04/mandarin.html>
- Feuerverger, G. (1997). "On the edges of the map": A study of heritage language teachers in Toronto. *Teaching and Teacher Education*, 13(1), 39-53.
- Fishman, J. (1989). Non-English language ethnic community schools in the USA: Instruments of more than literacy and less than literacy. In E. Z. Sonino (Ed.), *Literacy in school and society: Multidisciplinary perspectives* (pp. 25-33). New York: Plenum Press.
- Fishman, J. (1999). 300-plus years of heritage language education in the United States. In J. K. Peyton, D. A. Ranard, & S. McGinnis (Eds.), *Heritage languages in*

- America: Preserving a national resource* (pp. 81-98). McHenry, IL: Delta System Co.
- Furman, N., Goldberg, D., & Lusin N. (2007). *Enrollments in languages other than English in United States institutions of higher education*. New York: Modern Language Association of America.
- Gardner, H. (1983). *Frames of mind: The theory of multiple intelligences*. New York: Basic Books.
- Gardner, R. & Lambert, W. (1972). *Attitudes and motivation in second-language learning*. Rowley, MA: Newbury House, Inc.
- Gay, G. (2000). *Culturally responsive teaching: Theory, research, & practice*. New York: Teachers College Press.
- Goldenberg, C., & Gallimore, R. (1995). Immigrant Latino parents' values and beliefs about their children's education: Continuities and discontinuities across cultures and generations. In M. Maehr & P. Pintrich (Eds.), *Advances in motivation and achievement*. (pp.183-228). Greenwich, CT: JAI Press.
- Gordon, E. W. (1999). *Education and justice: A view from the back of the bus*. New York: Teachers College Press.
- Gordon, E. W. (2005). The idea of supplementary education. In: E. Gordon, B. Bridglall, & A. Meroe (Eds.), *Supplementary education: The hidden curriculum of high academic achievement* (pp. 320-334). Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Inc.
- Grant, C. A., & Ladson-Billings, G. (Eds.). (1997). *Dictionary of multicultural*

- education*. Phoenix, AZ: The Oryx Press.
- Guba, E. G. (1981). Criteria for assessing the trustworthiness of naturalistic inquiries. *Educational Communication and Technology: A Journal of Theory, Research, and Development*, 29(2), 75-91.
- Hakuta, K., & Diaz, R. M. (1985). The relationship between degree of bilingualism and cognitive ability: A critical discussion and some new longitudinal data. In K. E. Nelson (Ed.), *Children's language* (Vol. 5, pp. 319-344). Hillsdale, NJ: Erlbaum.
- Hall, S. (1990). Cultural identity and diaspora. In K. Woodward (Ed.), *Identity and difference* (pp. 51-59). London: Sage Publications.
- He, A. W. (2008a). Chinese as a heritage language: An introduction. In A. W. He, & Y. Xiao (Eds.), *Chinese as a heritage language: Fostering rooted world citizenry* (pp. 1-12). Honolulu: University of Hawai'i, National Foreign Language Resource Center.
- He, A. W. (2008b). An identity-based model for the development of Chinese as a heritage language. In A. W. He, & Y. Xiao (Eds.), *Chinese as a heritage language: Fostering rooted world citizenry* (pp. 109-121). Honolulu: University of Hawai'i, National Foreign Language Resource Center.
- He, A. W. (2010). The heart of heritage: Sociocultural dimensions of heritage language learning. *Annual Review of Applied Linguistics*, 30, 66-82.
- Hertz, R. (Ed.). (1997). *Reflexivity and voice*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.
- Hill-Jackson, V. (2007). Introducing Jean Lave. In J.L. Kincheloe and R.A. Horn, (Eds.). *The Praeger handbook of education and psychology Vol. 1* (148-153).

Westport, CT: Praeger Publishers.

Hinkel, E. (Ed.). (1999). *Culture in second language teaching and learning*. New York:

Cambridge University Press.

Houwer, A. D. (1999). Two or more languages in early childhood: Some general points

and practical recommendations. *ERIC Digest*. Washington, DC: ERIC

Clearinghouse on Language and Linguistics.

Jackson, A. Y. & Mazzei, L. A. (Eds.). (2009). *Voice in qualitative inquiry: Challenging*

conventional, interpretive, and critical conceptions in qualitative research. New

York: Routledge.

Johnson, J. S., & Newport, E. L. (1991). Critical period effects on universal properties of

language: The status of subadjacency in the acquisition of a second language.

Cognition, 39, 215-158.

Joyce, B. R., Weil, M., & Calhoun, E. (2004). *Models of teaching*. Boston, MA: Allyn &

Bacon.

Kampwirth, T. J., & Bates, M. (1980). Modality preference and teaching method: A

review of the research. *Academic Therapy*, 15(5), 597-605.

Kenny, M. E., Blustein, D. L., Chaves, A., Grossman, J. M., & Gallagher, L. A. (2003).

The role of perceived barriers and relational support in the educational and

vocational lives of urban high school students. *Journal of Counseling*

Psychology, 50, 142-155.

Kondo, K. (1998). Social-psychological factors affecting language maintenance:

Interviews with Shin Nisei University students in Hawaii. *Linguistics and*

Education, 9(4), 369-408.

- Krippendorff, K. (1969). Models of messages: Three prototypes. In G. Gerbner, O. R. Holsti, K. Krippendorff, W. J. Paisley, and P. J. Stone (Eds.), *The analysis of communication content: Developments in scientific theories and computer techniques*. New York: Wiley.
- Kublin, K. S., Wetherby, A. M., Crais, E. R., & Prizant, B. M. (1998). Prelinguistic dynamic assessment: A transactional perspective. In A. M. Wetherby, S. F. Warren, & J. Reichle (Eds.), *Transitions in prelinguistic communication* (pp. 285-312). Baltimore, MD: Paul H. Brookes.
- Kuhn, T. (1996). *The structure of scientific revolutions*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Lai, H. M. (2000). Retention of the Chinese Heritage: Chinese schools in America before World War II. *Chinese America: History & Perspectives*, 10-31.
- Lai, H. M. (2001). Retention of the Chinese Heritage, Part II. *Chinese America: History & Perspectives*, 1-25.
- Lantolf, J. P. & Beckett, T. G. (2009). Sociocultural theory and second language acquisition. *Language Teaching*, 42(4), 459-475.
- Lantolf, J. P., & Poehner, M. E.. (Eds.). (2008). *Sociocultural theory and the teaching of second languages*. London: Equinox Publishing.
- Lao, C. (2004). Parents' attitudes toward Chinese-English bilingual education and Chinese-language use. *Bilingual Research Journal*, 28(1), 99-121.
- Lawrence-Lightfoot, S. (2003). *The essential conversation: What parents and teachers*

can learn from each other. New York: Random House.

- Lawton, B. L. & Logio, K. A. (2009). Teaching the Chinese language to heritage versus non-heritage learners: Parents' perceptions of a community weekend school in the United States. *Language, Culture and Curriculum*, 22(2), 137-155.
- Laychuk, J. L. (1983, November). *The use of etymology and phonetic symbols (Zhuyin Fuhao) in teaching first year Chinese.* Paper presented at annual meeting of the American Council on the Teaching of Foreign Languages, San Francisco, CA.
- Lee, M. (1996). Non-Chinese heritage learners: Practices and implications. In X. Wang (Ed.), *A view from within: A case study of Chinese heritage community language schools in the United States* (pp. 27-31). DC: The National Foreign Language Center.
- Lee, S. K. (1999). The linguistic minority parents' perceptions of bilingual education. *Bilingual Research Journal*, 23(2&3), 113-124.
- Leung, E. K. (1997, November). *Acculturation gap and relationship between first and second generation Chinese-Americans.* Paper presented at the annual meeting of the Mid-South Educational Research Association, Memphis, TN.
- Li, G. (2009). Behind the "model minority" mask: A cultural ecological perspective on a high achieving Vietnamese youth's identity and socio-emotional struggles. In C. Park, R. Endo, & X. Rong (Eds.), *New perspectives on Asian American parents, students, and teacher recruitment* (pp. 165-192). Charlotte, NC: Information Age Publishing, Inc.
- Li, M. (2005). The role of parents in Chinese heritage-language schools. *Bilingual*

- Research Journal*, 29(1), 197-207.
- Li, X. (1999). How can language minority parents help their children become bilingual in familial context? A case study of a language minority mother and her daughter. *Bilingual Research Journal*, 23(2&3), 113-125.
- Liao, L. J. (2004). *A study of parents' purposes of having their children learn Chinese*. Unpublished manuscript. Oklahoma City, OK: Oklahoma City University.
- Liao, L. J. & Larke, P.J. (2008). The voices of thirteen Chinese and Taiwanese parents sharing views about their children attending Chinese heritage schools in Texas. *Journal of US-China Education Review*, 12, 1-8. (ERIC Document Reproduction Service No. ED503882)
- Lincoln, Y. S. (2001, April). *Reconsidering rapport: Interviewing as postmodern inquiry practice*. Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Educational Research Association, Seattle, WA. (ERIC Document Reproduction Service No. ED458228)
- Lincoln, Y. S. & Guba, E. G. (1985). *Naturalistic Inquiry*. Beverly Hills, CA: Sage Publications.
- Lightfoot, S. L. (1978). *Worlds apart: Relationships between families and schools*. New York: Basic Books, Inc.
- Liu, P. (2006). Community-based Chinese schools in southern California: A survey of Teachers. *Language, Culture, and Curriculum*, 19(2), 237-247.
- Long, M. H. (1996). The role of linguistic environment in second language acquisition. In Ritchie, W. C., & Bahtia, T. K. (eds.), *Handbook of second language*

- acquisition* (pp. 413-468). New York: Academic Press.
- Luo, S. & Wiseman, R. L. (2000). Ethnic language maintenance among Chinese immigrant children in the United States. *International Journal of Intercultural Relations, 24*, 307-324.
- Magnan, S. S. (2008). The unfulfilled promise of teaching for communicative competence: insights from sociocultural theory. *Sociocultural theory and the teaching of second languages*, James P. Lantolf & Matthew E. Poehner (Eds.). London: Equinox Publishing Ltd.
- Marshall, P. L. (2001). *Cultural diversity in our schools*. Wadsworth Publishing.
- Martinello, M. L., & Field, W. T. (1979). *Who are the Chinese Texans?* San Antonio, TX : University of Texas, Institute of Texan Cultures at San Antonio.
- Matsumoto, D. (2009). Teaching about culture. In R. A. R. Gurung & L. R. Prieto (Eds.), *Getting culture: Incorporating diversity across the curriculum*, (pp. 3-10). Sterling, VA: Stylus Publishing.
- McGroarty, M. (1986). Educators' responses to sociocultural diversity: Implications for practice. *Beyond Language: Social and Cultural Factors in Schooling Language Minority Students*. CA: Evaluation, Dissemination & Assessment Center.
- McIntosh, P. (1997). White privilege: unpacking the invisible knapsack. In B. Schneider (Ed.), *Anthology: Race in the first person*, (pp.119-126). New York: Crown Trade Paperbacks.
- Merriam, S. B. (2009). *Qualitative research: A guide to design and implementation*. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.

Min, P. G. (2002). *The second generation: Ethnic identity among Asian Americans*.

Lanham, MD: AltaMira Press.

Modern Language Association. (2006). Retrieved from http://www.mla.org/2006_flenrollmentsurvey

Moll, L. C. (1990). (Ed.). *Vygotsky and education: Instructional implications and applications of sociohistorical psychology*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

Moll, L. C. (1992). Bilingual classroom studies and community analysis: Some recent trends. *Educational Researcher*, 21(3), 20-24.

Morris, T. (2006). *Social work research methods: Four alternative paradigms*.

Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.

National Council of Associations of Chinese Language Schools. (2009). Retrieved from

http://www.ncacls.org/ncacls_frm_intro.htm

Nieto, S. (2002). *Language, culture, and teaching: Critical perspectives for a new century*. Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, Inc.

Nieto, S. (2003). *What keeps teachers going?* New York: Teachers College.

Ning, Q. (2002). *Chinese students encounter America*. Seattle, WA: The University of Washington Press.

Noy, C. (2008). Sampling knowledge: The hermeneutics of snowball sampling in qualitative research. *International Journal of Social Research Methodology*, 11(4), 327-344.

Ochs, E. (1988). *Culture and language development: Language acquisition and*

- language socialization in a Samoan village*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.
- Ochs, E. & Schieffelin, B. (1984). Language acquisition and socialization: three development stories and their implications. In R. A. Shweder & R. A. Levine (Eds.), *Culture theory: Essays on mind, self, and emotion* (pp. 276-320). New York: Cambridge University Press.
- O'Hara, K. E. (2007). Introducing Lev Vygotsky. In J.L. Kincheloe and R.A. Horn, (Eds.). *The Praeger handbook of education and psychology Vol. 1* (240-245). Westport, CT: Praeger Publishers.
- Park, S. M., & Sarkar, M. (2007). Parents' attitudes toward heritage language maintenance for their children and their efforts to help their children maintain the heritage language: A case study of Korean-Canadian immigrants. *Language, Culture and Curriculum*, 20(3), 223-235.
- Patton, M. (2002). *Qualitative research and evaluation methods*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.
- Peal, E., & Lambert, W. E. (1962). The relation of bilingualism to intelligence. *Psychological Monographs*, 76, 1-23.
- Perkins, D. (1993). Teaching and learning for understanding. *NJEA Review*, 67(2), 10-18.
- Portes, A. (2000). The two meanings of social capital. *Sociological Forum*, 15(1), 1-12.
- Portes, A., & Hao, L. (1998). E Pluribus Unum: Bilingual and loss of language in the second generation. *Sociology of Education*, 71, 269-294.

- Portes, A., & Schauffler, R. (1994). Language and the second generation: Bilingualism yesterday and today. *International Migration Review*, 28, 640-661.
- Pressley, M., Dolezal, S. E., Raphael, L. M., Mohan, L., Roehrig, A. D., & Bogner, K. (2003). *Motivation primary-grade students*. New York: The Guilford Press.
- Raymond, E. B. (2000). *Learners with mild disabilities: A characteristics approach*. Boston: Allyn and Bacon.
- Richardson, L. (2007). Writing: A method of inquiry. In N. K. Denzin & Y. S. Lincoln (Eds.), *Collecting and interpreting qualitative materials* (pp. 473-500). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.
- Roberge, M. (2009). A teacher's perspective on generation 1.5. In M. Roberge, M. Siegal, & L. Harklau (Eds.), *Generation 1.5 in college composition: Teaching academic writing to U.S.-educated learners of ESL* (pp. 3-24). New York: Routledge.
- Rodríguez, A. D. (2007). Prospective bilingual teachers' perceptions of importance of their heritage language. *Heritage Language Journal*, 5(1), 172-187.
- Ross, G. De Vos, & T. Tsuda (Eds.), *Ethnic identity* (pp. 1-36). Lanham, MD: AltaMira Press.
- Rotheram, M. J., & Phinney, J. S. (1987). Ethnic behavior patterns as an aspect of identity. In J. S. Phinney & M. J. Rotheram-Boorus (Eds.), *Children's ethnic socialization: Pluralism and development* (pp. 156-179). Newbury Park, CA: Sage Publications.

- Royce, A. P. (1982). *Ethnic identity*. Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press.
- Rudduck, J. (1993). The theatre of daylight: Qualitative research and school profile studies. In M. Schratz (Ed.), *Qualitative voices in educational research* (pp. 8-22). London: The Falmer Press.
- Rumbaut, R. (1995). The new Californians: Comparative research findings on the educational progress of immigrant children. In R. Rumbaut and W. Cornelius (Eds.), *California's immigrant children* (pp. 17-69). San Diego, CA: Center for U.S.-Mexican Studies.
- Sacks, M. (1985). Without tradition you are blank: Ethnic heritage education in America today. In A. L. LaRuffa & J. S. Savishinsky (Eds.), *Ethnic groups* (pp. 249-273). New York: Gordon and Breach Science Publishers Inc.
- Sassen, S. (1984). The new labor demand in global cities. In M. P. Smith (Ed.), *Cities in transformation* (139-171). Beverly Hills, CA: Sage Publications.
- Saville-Troike, M. (1976). *Foundations for teaching English as a second language: Theory and method for multicultural education*. Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall.
- Schneider, P., & Watkins, R. V. (1996). Applying Vygotskian developmental theory to language intervention. *Language, Speech, and Hearing Services in Schools*, 27, 157-170.
- Schatz, M. (1993). *Qualitative voices in educational research*. London: The Falmer Press.
- Scribner, S. (1990). Reflections on a model. *The Quarterly Newsletter of the Laboratory*

of Comparative Human Cognition, 12(2), 90-94.

Shannon, S., & Milian, M. (2002). Parents choose dual language programs in Colorado:

A survey. *Bilingual Research Journal*, 25(3), 681-696.

Shaul, D. & Furbee, N. L. (1998). *Language and culture*. Long Grove, IL: Waveland

Press, Inc.

Shin, F. & Gribbons, B. (1996). Hispanic parent perceptions and attitudes of bilingual

education. *The Journal of Mexican American Educators*, 6, 16-22.

Shin, F & Kim, S. (1998). Korean parent perceptions and attitudes of bilingual

education. In R. Endo, C. Park, J. Tsuchida and A. Abbayani (Eds.), *Current*

issues in Asian and Pacific American education Covina. El Monte, CA: Pacific

Asia Press.

Shin, F. & Krashen, S. (1996). Teacher attitudes toward the principles of bilingual

education and toward students' participant in bilingual program: Same or

different? *Bilingual Research Journal*, 20(1), 45-53.

Shin, S. Y. (2010). The functions of code-switching in a Korean Sunday school.

Heritage Language Journal, 7(1), 91-116.

Sinclair, J. (2001). *Collins Cobuild English dictionary*. London: HarperCollins

Publishers.

Singh, K. (2007). *Quantitative social research methods*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage

Publications.

Smith, E. J. (1991). Ethnic identity development: Toward the development of a theory

within the context to majority/minority status. *Journal of Counseling &*

- Development*, 70, 181-188.
- Smith, G. S., Messenger, P. M., & Soderland, H. A. (2010). (Eds.). *Heritage values in contemporary society*, Walnut Creek, CA: Left Coast Press.
- Spradley, J. P. (1979). *The ethnographic interview*, Belmont, CA: Wadsworth Group.
- Stake, (1998). Case Studies. In Denzin, N. K. & Lincoln, Y. S. (Eds.). *Strategies of qualitative inquiry*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.
- Stemler, S. (2001). An introduction to content analysis. *ERIC Digest*. (ERIC Document Reproduction Service No ED458218).
- Sternberg, R. J. (2007). Who are the bright children? The cultural context of being and acting intelligent. *Educational Researcher*, 36(3), 148-155.
- Stewart, V., & Livaccari, C. (2010). *Meeting the challenge: Preparing Chinese language teachers for American schools*. Asia Society. Retrieved from http://pplstore.asiasociety.org/product_p/isbn%209781936123070.htm
- Stromquist, N. P. (2000). On truth, voice, and qualitative research. *Qualitative Studies in Education*, 13(2), 139-152.
- Sue, D., Mak, W.S., & Sue, D.W. (1998). Ethnic identity. In L. C. Lee and N.W.S. Zane (Eds.). *Handbook of Asian American psychology*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.
- Sun, W, & Starosta, W. (2006). Perceptions of minority invisibility among Asian American professionals, *The Howard Journal of Communications*, 17, 119-142.
- Sung, B. L. (1985). Bicultural conflicts in Chinese immigrant children. *Journal of Comparative Family Studies*, 16(2), 255-269.

- Sung, H. & Padilla, A. (1998). Student motivation, parental attitudes, and involvement in the learning of Asian languages in elementary and secondary schools. *The Modern Language Journal*, 82(2), 205-216.
- Tabors, P. & Snow, C. (2001). Young bilingual children and early literacy development. In S. B. Neuman & D. K. Dickinson (Ed.), *Handbook of early literacy research*. New York: The Guilford Press.
- Takaki, R. (1993). *A different mirror: A history of multicultural America*, Boston: Little, Brown & Company.
- Tan, L. H., Spinks, J. A., Eden, G. F., Perfetti, C. A., & Siok, W. T. (2005). Reading depends on writing, in Chinese. *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences*, 102(24), 8781-8785.
- Tannenbaum, M. & Howie, P. (2002). The association between language maintenance and family relations: Chinese immigrant children in Australia. *Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development*, 23(5), 408-424.
- Tse, L. (1998). Ethnic identity formation and its implications for heritage language development. In S. Krashen, L. Tse, & J. McQuillan (Eds.), *Heritage language development* (pp. 15-29). Culver City, CA: Language Education Associates.
- Tse, L. (1999). Finding a place to be: Ethnic identity exploration of Asian Americans. *Adolescence*, 34(133), 121-138.
- Tse, L. (2001). *Why don't they learn English?* New York: Teachers College Press.
- Valdés, G. (2000). The teaching of heritage languages: An introduction for Slavic-teaching professionals. In O. Kagan, & B. Rifkin (Eds.) *The learning and*

- teaching of Slavic languages and cultures* (375–403). Bloomington, IN: Slavica Publication.
- Valdés, G. (2001). Heritage language students: Profiles and possibilities. In J. K. Peyton, D. A. Ranard, & S. McGinnis (eds.), *Heritage languages in America. Preserving a national resource* (pp. 37–80). McHenry, IL: Center for Applied Linguistics.
- Viadero, D. (April 10, 1996). Culture clash, *Education Week*. Retrieved from <http://www.edweek.org/htbin/fastweb?getdoc+view4+ew1996+590+0+wAAA+%26%28native%american%>
- Voice (2009). In About.Com. Retrieved from <http://fictionwriting.about.com/od/glossary/g/voice.htm>
- Vygotsky, L. S. (1976). Play and its role in the mental development of the child. In Bruner, J., Jolly, A., & Sylva, K. (Eds.), *Play: It's role in development and evolution* (pp. 537-544). New York: Basic Books. (Original work published 1933)
- Vygotsky, L. S. (1986). *Thought and language*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.
- Vygotsky, L. S. (1997a). Consciousness as a problem for the psychology of behavior. In R. W. Rieber, & J. Wollock (Eds.), *The collected works of L. S. Vygotsky (Vol. 3.)* (pp. 63-79). New York: Plenum Press.
- Vygotsky, L. S. (1997b). Genesis of higher mental functions. In R. W. Rieber (Ed.), *The collected works of L.S. Vygotsky. Volume 4: The history of the development of higher mental functions* (pp. 97-120). New York: Plenum Press.
- Wang, F. K. (n.d.). Going back to Chinese School. Retrieved from http://www.indiversity.com/villages/asian/family_lifestyle_traditions/archives/wang_

chinese_school_1.asp

- Wei, L. (1994). *Three generations, two languages, one family: Language choice and language shift in a Chinese community in Britain*. Philadelphia: Multilingual Matters.
- Wei, L. (2005). "How can you tell?" Towards a common sense explanation of conversational code-switching. *Journal of Pragmatics*, 37, 375-389.
- Welch, Olga M. (2006). Seeing with cultural eyes: Leadership for change in multicultural schools. In Valerie Ooka Pang (Ed.), *Race, ethnicity, and education: Principles and practices of multicultural education* (pp. 127-141). Westport, CT: Praeger Publishers.
- Williams, M. (1994). Motivation in foreign and second language learning: An interactive perspective. *Educational and Child Psychology*, 11, 77-84.
- Wolf, R. (2005). Family environments in support of academic achievement. In Gordon, E.; Bridglall, B. & Meroe, A. (Eds.), *Supplementary education: The hidden curriculum of high academic achievement* (pp. 105-110). Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Inc.
- Wongy (2007, October 15). Did anyone actually *enjoy* Chinese school? *Dimsum Forum Index*. Retrieved from <http://www.dimsum.co.uk/forum/community/topic-1027-3.html>
- Worthy, J. & Rodríguez-Galindo, A. (2006). "Mi Hija Value Dos Personas": Latino immigrant parents' perspectives about their children's bilingualism. *Bilingual Research Journal*, 30 (2), 579-601.

- Wu, C. (2005). Attitude and behavior toward bilingualism for Chinese parents and children. *Proceedings of the International Symposium on Bilingualism*, Somerville, MA: Cascadilla Press, 2385-2394.
- Yin, R. K. (2003). *Case study research: Design and methods* (3rd ed.). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.
- Young, R. & Tran, M. (1999). Vietnamese parent attitudes toward bilingual education. *Bilingual Research Journal*, 23(2), 225-233.
- Zhang, D., & Slaughter-Defoe, D. (2009). Language attitudes and heritage language maintenance among Chinese immigrant families in the USA. *Language, Culture and Curriculum*, 22(2), 77-93.
- Zimmerman, L. W. (2010). *ESL, EFL, & bilingual education: Exploring historical, sociocultural, linguistic, and instructional foundations*. Charlotte, NC: Information Age Publishing.

APPENDIX A

EXTENDED THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

Humans are structured into groups based on kin and other factors, and each social grouping of community-size or larger has its own values, beliefs and technologies for survival — its culture, and its own language or languages.
— David Shaul & N. Louanna Furbee

The conceptual framework in this section is constructed by sociocultural theory, bilingualism, and ethnic identity. The study shows how we are socially, culturally, linguistically, and ethnically constructed in human society. From a socio-cultural perspective, language and culture cannot stand alone; they are inextricably linked. For immigrant children, abstract and subconscious cultural influences play a significant role in influencing their language development. However, this particular review does not seek to discuss language acquisition itself, rather it focuses primarily on sociocultural theory, bilingualism, and ethnic identity theory. It explores how and if parents and teachers serve as bridges between students' home and school lives, thereby improving their HL learning, bilingual ability and helping them solidify an ethnic identity.

Sociocultural Theory

There is a famous quote that states: "No man is an island" (Donne, 1987). This quote means that human beings are socialized creatures, and that we are influenced tremendously by our surroundings (external), and by our sense of the world (internal). According to Vygotsky, we cannot understand human beings without examining the socio-cultural context in which they live (Daniels, Cole & Wertsch, 2007). Sociocultural

theory was initiated by a Soviet psychologist, Vygotsky, and it has been widely adopted and applied to various fields in psychology, second language acquisition (SLA), teaching pedagogy, and special education (Lantolf & Beckett, 2009; Moll, 1990). Daniels (2008) proposes that Vygotsky inspired his followers by his rich and vivid theoretical and methodological ideas on how the human mind is formed. Scribner (1990) highlights the significance of Vygotskian theory, "The world in which we live is humanized, full of material and symbolic objects that are culturally constructed, historical in origin, and social in content" (p. 92). In short, "Vygotsky described learning as being embedded within social events and occurring as a child interacts with people, objects, and events in the environment" (Kublin, Wetherby, Crais, & Prizant, 1998, p. 287).

Human beings transmit vast amounts of knowledge across generations. They transmit this knowledge not biologically, but culturally (Vygotsky, 1997a). Similar to Goldenberg and Gallimore (1995) indicates that "both continuity and discontinuity across generations are part of the process of cultural evolution, a complex dynamic that contributes to change and variability within cultures" (p.188). This social and cultural process for immigrant children has additional meaning. They are simultaneously immersed in the dominant American culture and in the mother tongue, culture, and customs of their parents' homeland. Vygotsky contends that a child's language acquisition is affected by his/her socio-cultural context. He asserts that the human being is highly influenced by his/her culture when s/he is a child.

Every function in the cultural development of the child appears on the stage twice, in two planes, the social, then the psychological, first between people as an inter-mental category, then within the child as an intra-mental category. This pertains equally to voluntary attention, to logical memory,

to the formation of concepts, and to the development of will. (Vygotsky, 1997b, p.106)

Socially and culturally, immigrant children in the U.S. then become hybrid products of both American culture and their parents' heritage. Yet living in both of these worlds is crucial when it comes to language acquisition of both English and Chinese (Ochs & Schieffelin, 1984).

Fishman (1989) divided language resources into two sources: individual resources and institutional resources. The individual resources include the mother tongue and the use of language. The institutional resources he enumerates are “publications, radio-television broadcasts, ethnic community schools, and local religious units utilizing community languages in some part of their total effort” (p.28). Based on Fishman's two resources of language acquisition, the objective will be to determine the extent to which immigrant parents and heritage schools play the role in HL learning, and what cultural facilitators and transmitters they expose their children to.

The importance of family support at home

Asian countries such as China, Japan, Korea, and Taiwan are strongly influenced by Chinese culture, particularly with regards to Confucius' philosophy on harmony and worldview. For immigrants who inherit Chinese cultural “brought a very strong sense of family and community, which has been a deep part of the Chinese heritage for thousands of years, and continues today” (Brownstone, 1988). In short, the philosophy of family in most Asian countries is the stability of a society. This view of the role of the family extends into education as well.

The home environment can be seen as a child's first social and cultural practice area. Ochs (1988) stresses that "one of the distinctive characteristics of the human species is that it transmits both social skills and cultural knowledge to its young" (p.5). If we look at the home environment from a micro perspective, it can be seen as a microcosm of society.

Appel and Muysken (1987) emphasizes that the home is the most important domain of language use. Tabors and Snow (2001) points out further that "all normally developing children learn a first language in the context of social interaction within their family structure" (p.106). There is no doubt that parents play the most pivotal role in a child's acquisition of a language; the parents are, in a sense the facilitators of the learning of that first language (L1). In addition, it is argued that parents should use certain strategies to pique their child's interest in speaking their HL. Tabors and Snow (2001) suggest that parents should maintain their L1 at home and use it in everyday conversation throughout the early childhood development period. Studies also show that immigrant parents' attitudes have a direct impact on the HL development of their children (Sung & Padilla, 1998; Tse, 2001). This unique family dynamic in which the family plays a significant role in the child's early education translates into a majority of second-generation immigrant children growing up bilingual.

Bilingualism

Houwer (1999) points out that more and more people nowadays would prefer that their children be able to master multiple languages. This is slightly different in the case of immigrant parents, as in these families, learning the HL is seen not as a

preference but as a necessity. Many immigrant parents in the U.S. are consequently facing the challenge of ensuring that their children speak English fluently while maintaining their HL skills at the same time (Lee, 2002; Luo & Wiseman, 2000; Worthy & Rodríguez-Galindo, 2006). The first generation wants the next generation to be more integrated into the mainstream and to be more accepted by the dominant culture. They believe strong proficiency in English is the ticket to upward mobility in the U.S. (Liao & Larke, 2008). Therefore, one of the fastest ways for an immigrant to assimilate into the new country is to speak its dominant language. At the same time, in order to preserve their cultural identities and also preserve their L1, the immigrant groups encourage the subsequent generation to master their parents' mother tongue as well. Luo and Wiseman (2000) conclude that, "as a result, a comfortable degree of bilinguality is necessary for the immigrant children to satisfy their parents' dual expectations" (p. 308).

In one case study, Li (1999) highlights the difficulties and complications language minority (LM) parents encounter in the new land, as well as the ensuing complexities relating to identity and language their children encounter. She states,

For many newly arrived LM parents and children in the United States, the English language and its accompanying culture may be overwhelming and baffling. The children are faced with a whole range of new knowledge both at school and outside school. They may feel a sense of separation from, and loss of their past. They may experience wonder, doubt, disappointment, rejection, and other negative feelings. They may find it very difficult to begin a new language and later find it very hard to maintain the primary language. They may find themselves at the intersection of two cultures while belonging to neither of them. (Li, 1999, p.123)

Not long after arrival in the U.S., first-generation immigrant children may lose their motivation to speak their primary language. For second-generation immigrant children who were born in the U.S., it is tougher for them to keep their parents' native language alive. Tabors and Snow (2001) propose four different family and community language environments for bilingual children from zero to three years old (see Table A.1). Model IV, "bilingual home in English-language community," shows that "children (who are at-risk bilingually) often choose to maintain receptive abilities in the non-English language but to develop productive use of only one language; namely, 'English.' Once children discover that most significant others in their life also understand or speak the societal language, they often shift rapidly, even at this young age, to operating in a single language" (Tabors & Snow, 2001, pp.162-163).

Based on this theory, Model IV represents the situation that immigrant parents from China, Japan, Korea, Taiwan, and Hong Kong wrestle with. It shows that a child is being raised bilingually in an English-speaking community. In this case, the child may be considered an at-risk bilingual. The dominant linguistic community in which children live determines the language choices of immigrant children. In other words, losing their HL and having low motivation to speak HL is inevitable.

Table A.1 Family and community language environment for bilingual children 0-3 years old

Bilingual exposure	I: Home language in English-language society	II: Home language in English-language community	III: Bilingual home in bilingual community	IV: Bilingual home in English-language community
Family members/ caretakers language use	L1	L1	L1 and English	L1 and English
Community language use	L1 (English)	English	L1 and English	English
What happens?	Child acquires L1; (may acquire some English)	Child acquires L1; may acquire some English	Child acquires L1 and English	Child acquires L1 and English; may begin to lose L1
Language outcomes in L1	Strong development of L1	Strong development of L1	Range of development in L1	Range of development in L1
Bilingual status	Monolingual in L1; (incipient bilingual)	Incipient bilingual	Emergent bilingual	At-risk bilingual

Note. L1, any first language other than English.

From “Young Bilingual Children and Early Literacy Development” by P. Tabors & C. Snow, 2001, In S. B. Neuman & D. K. Dickinson (Ed.), *Handbook of Early Literacy Research* (p. 161). Copyright 2001 by the Guilford Publications, Inc.

There are generational differences or a generation gap between first-generation immigrants and their offspring. Danico & Ng (2004) states that first-generation immigrants immigrate to the U.S. with their language and the cultural values of their homeland. The second generation, however, grows up in the US, and speaks English fluently, rather than their parents’ native language. According to Bacon’s (1999) description, second-generation East Indians, more than any other second-generation Asian immigrant group, must live in two worlds simultaneously. They may change their language, speech, mannerisms, and mindset depending on whom they talk with, which culture they are in, and what situation they are dealing with. Second-generation

immigrant youth often employ code-switching to shift back and forth between two linguistic worlds. Grant and Ladson-Billings (1997) define code-switching as “the systematic shifting or alternation between languages in discourse among bilinguals sharing a common language code” (p. 44).

Leung (1997) explained that the typical generation gap occurs through misunderstandings between first-generation immigrant parents and second-generation children. The parents retain a cultural attachment to their native land and are thus slow in acculturation, whereas their second-generation children are more malleable and are quick to assimilate into the culture of the new land. As Li (1999) mentions in her and her daughter’s story, the generation gap produces not only a communication gap, but a psychological distance as well. Li’s daughter, Amy, would tell her mother in their mother tongue (Chinese) what happened in school. Li would ask questions of Amy’s viewpoints and try to understand her perspective. However, Li (1999) realized during their conversations that sometimes she paid too much attention to her own thoughts and reactions and failed to listen to her daughter. Amy would end up feeling neglected and ultimately just keep to herself. This situation highlights the process of negotiating between first-generation immigrant parents and their second-generation children. A similar story might occur in some immigrant families in their daily life, for instance, parent-child and grandparent-grandchild interactions that have to do with their HL communication and different cultural mindsets. Given the frequent divide between two generations, Li (1999) concludes that frank conversation in the HL can help minimize

the cultural gap and encourage familial intimacy through the sharing beliefs and perspectives.

Ethnic Identity

The U.S. represents one of the more pluralistic societies in human history. People from different ethnic backgrounds and countries come to the US to pursue the American Dream. During the immigration process, immigrants attempt to assimilate themselves into the dominant American culture. However, the immigrant's ethnic identity cannot easily be shed, as arrival in the new land tends to trigger feelings of alienation and loneliness, and thus the individual sees the need for some sense of ethnic belonging (De Vos, 2006). Defined by Royce (1982), "'ethnic identity' is the sum total of feelings on the part of group members about those values, symbols, and common histories that identify them as a distinct group" (p. 18). Sue, Mak, & Sue (1998) further describe the relationship between individuals and ethnic identity as follows:

Ethnic identity focuses mainly on the relationships between individuals and their own ethnic group within the dominant society...[and it] generally reflects the degree of identification individuals have toward their ethnic group (p. 291).

For first-generation immigrant parents, who have brought their ethnic identity along with culture and language to the U.S., they yearn for their descendants to be able to inherit the traditions, culture, and language of the Old World, and to carry them on.

Similarly, ethnic identity along with the value of heritage illustrates what first-generation immigrants pass on to their next generation. Smith, Messenger, and Soderland (2010) argue that heritage as "tangible and intangible expressions contribute to our sense of belonging, of order and continuity, and of our collective meaning in the

world” (p. 15) are formed and defined correspondingly with local, regional, and national identities by legacies from the past. The Council of Europe (2005) defines cultural heritage:

is a group of resources inherited from the past which people identify, independently of ownership, as a reflection and expression of their constantly evolving values, beliefs, knowledge and traditions. It includes all aspects of the environment resulting from the interaction between people and places through time (Section I, Article 2, a).

In addition, it also clear addresses the role of people who are in that particular heritage community “value specific aspects of cultural heritage which they wish, within the framework of public action, to sustain and transmit to future generations” (Section I, Article 2, b). For first-generation immigrants who inherit the same heritage, carry the same value, hold the same identity, and speak the same language, this sense of unity makes them stand for who they are in the new land.

For second-generation immigrants who do not have that strong root as their parents do, may go through the process of ethnic identity formation. We need to be clear here that the concept of ethnic identity stage does not mean all immigrant youths have the same pace and will act exactly the same. It is a way to elicit how second-generation youths acculturate themselves in two worlds. Tse (1999) constructs four stages that typify the development of the ethnic identity of young adult Asian Americans. Stage one is *ethnic unawareness*, which occurs when immigrants are still unaware their minority status. Stage two, *ethnic ambivalence*, occurs during immigrants’ childhood and adolescence, when they typically have an ambiguous image of themselves in regards to others. In this stage they tend to adopt and follow the trends of the ethnic mainstream.

Stage three, *ethnic emergence*, occurs when immigrants recognize themselves as part of their ethnic group. Lastly, when they reach stage four, *ethnic identity incorporation*, the immigrant experiences fewer ethnic identity conflicts and embraces their corresponding American ethnic minority group.

According to Bernal (2002), students of color often feel that their histories, experiences, cultures, and languages are misinterpreted, devalued, or omitted from formal educational settings. They feel that their voices are muted and that they are invisible in the Eurocentric mainstream. In the case of second-generation Asian American students, they have to contend with stereotypes unique to their ethnic group, namely those of the “model minority.” The dominant culture tends to pay attention only to the academic achievement of Asians rather than considering their socio-emotional needs, and their psychosocial well-being (Li, 2009).

Indeed, Asian immigrants’ socio-emotional needs and psychosocial well-being can be compromised given the complexity of their identities. On the one hand, Second-generation Asian immigrant children born in the U.S. are Americanized as Americans. They assimilate into the dominant American culture, speak English as native speakers do, and are educated according to the tenets of Western philosophy. On the other hand, they are influenced by Chinese culture, communicate with family members in their mother tongue, and adopt their parents’ Eastern disciplines.

Second-generation immigrant children thus have to wrestle with complicated identity issues and figure out how to negotiate living in two different cultural worlds. In Takaki’s (1993) philosophy of multiculturalism, he says, “By looking at these groups from

a multicultural perspective, we can comparatively analyze their experiences in order to develop an understanding of their differences and similarities. . . . Whatever happens, we can be certain that much of our society's future will be influenced by which mirror we choose to see ourselves in" (p. 10). The identity issues that second -generation immigrants have faced have to do not only with how others see them, but also with how they define themselves.

In order to diminish identity conflict and minimize the cultural gap between first-generation immigrants and their second-generation children, it is critical for the first-generation immigrant parents to help their children go through the process of ethnic development. The faster and more adept second-generation immigrants can be at switching between worlds, the less identity conflict they will have to wrestle with.

APPENDIX B

ADDITIONAL METHODOLOGY

Language does not “reflect” social reality, but produces meaning, creates social reality. Different languages and different discourses within a given language divide up the world and give it meaning in ways that are not reducible to one another.
— Laurel Richardson

Language is more than a means of communication about reality: it is a tool for constructing reality. Different languages create and express different realities. They categorize experience in different ways.
— James Spradley

Three Voices from Chinese Heritage Schools

Qualitative researchers pay more attention to voices that share a broader view of the social reality in educational research (Schatz, 1993). The meanings attached to the voices of creative writers in an online definition described them as “(a) voice is the author's style, the quality that makes his or her writing unique, and which conveys the author's attitude, personality, and character; (b) voice is the characteristic speech and thought patterns of a first-person narrator; a persona” (Voice, 2009). Hertz (1997) remarks that the multiple dimensions of voice are: “First, there is the voice of the author. Second, there is the presentation of the voices of one’s respondents within the text. The third dimension appears when the self is the subject of the inquiry” (p. xii). Clearly, voices not only come from respondents in real-life experiences, but also equal importantly come from the author’s voices within the text.

Several books have integrated different voices. Lawrence-Lightfoot (2003) captures and weaves the voices from both parents and teachers to represent the issues of

race, class, gender, culture, and language. Jackson & Mazzei (2009) highlight that one mission of qualitative researchers is to “make voices heard and understood, bringing meaning and self to consciousness and creating transcendental, universal truths, gestures toward the primacy of voice in conventional qualitative research” (p. 1).

The purpose of the dissertation in a three journal format by three case studies is to explore the phenomenon specified what kind of conflicts and dynamics that first-generation Chinese immigrant parents faced, their U.S. born children had, and the Chinese teachers who taught in the Chinese heritage schools (CHSs) undertook. The overview picture of Chinese heritage school (CHS) can be made from the elements of parent’s perspectives, student’s learning experiences, and teacher’s teaching accomplishment and challenge. Voices from each component: parents, students, and teachers will complete (see Figure 1-2) a picture of the CHS in the U.S. In addition, the interactions among three groups also provided a dynamic of generation, conflict, language, and cultural issues in the narrative case study context.

Naturalistic Paradigm

In scientific enterprise, because the researcher “knows what he or she doesn’t know (Lincoln & Guba, 1985, p. 209)”; doing research is like solving a puzzle to find out the answers (Kuhn, 1996). While using the qualitative method, the researcher “does not know what he or she doesn’t know (Lincoln & Guba, 1985, p. 209)”; accordingly, s/he is as a bricoleur and quilt maker to put piece of reality into montages and quilts (Denzin & Lincoln, 1998, 2005). This philosophy of doing research by qualitative method corresponds with the characteristic of case studies “are the preferred strategy

when ‘how’ or ‘why’ questions are being posed, when the investigator has little control over events, and when the focus is on a contemporary phenomenon within some real-life context” (Yin, 2003, p. 1).

A brief definition of naturalistic paradigm states that “there are multiple interpretations of reality and that the goal of researchers working within this perspective is to understand how individuals construct their own reality within their social context” (Singh, 2007, p.405). In the study, three groups: parents, students, and teachers had their expectations and perceptions of CHSs in the U.S., and there were conflicts between each group. Implementing by qualitative method, the researcher captured different voices from parents, students, and teachers in order to construct the reality of CHS within their social and cultural fabric. In addition, the qualitative researcher is seeking rich descriptions from individual’s point of view in a natural setting (Denzin & Lincoln, 1998, 2005).

Research Design

The study contained one published journal and two in process journals following by the qualitative research methods. Each of them represented the expressions from the parents who have enrolled their children to the CHSs, the students who have attended the CHSs, and the teachers who have taught in the CHSs.

Instrument

Different from quantitative research method, the instrument in qualitative research is the investigator him/herself; it is what Lincoln and Guba (1985) call attention to “the personal value of the inquirer” (p.174). By this point, thinking what in the

context is different from living in the context and the context talks about itself by the investigator's interpretation. The significance of a researcher as human instrument is that s/he even captures non-verbal communication and transforms a situation into a context.

Sample selection

Purposive/purposeful sampling is generally used in qualitative data gathering rather than random sampling in conventional inquiry (Erlandson et al., 1993; Lincoln & Guba, 1985; Merriam, 2009) because purposive sampling in naturalistic inquiry is seemed as “interactional, theoretical, and emergent rather than preordinate design” (Lincoln & Guba, 1985, p. 102). Patton (2002) explains that purposive sampling is to select rich information for the in-depth study.

The target population for this study focuses on groups of the parents who have sent their children to the CHSs, the students who have studied in the CHSs, and the teachers who have taught in the CHSs. Conducting by purposive sampling, the study was conditioned by diversity of informants and feasibility of research sites.

The recruitment of student participants in the second study will be use purposive sampling and snowball sampling. Morris (2006) defines snowball sampling as “a way of understanding and utilizing the networks between key people in relation to the study focus” (p. 93). In the second study, some students were the sons or daughters as the referral respondents from the parents of previous study.

Interview Questions

The interview questions for the three journal studies were followed by the interview protocols. The interview protocols were the working documents that could be

amended alternatively depended upon the flexibly interaction with interviewees in the emergent design manner. Emergent design plays a crucial role and runs through in naturalistic inquiry. It corresponds to Socrates' philosophy, "The only thing I know is that I know nothing" because the research depends upon the interactions with the participants and its context which is constructed by the inquirer. Lincoln and Guba (1985) conclude further, "the interaction is also not fully predictable; and because the nature of mutual shapings cannot be known until they are witnessed" (p. 208).

Data Collection

Interviews

Spradley (1979) sees an interview is a speech event; moreover, he triangulates the value among language, culture, and interview by stating:

Every ethnographer makes use of what people say in seeking to describe their culture. Both tacit and explicit culture are revealed through speech, both in casual comments and in lengthy interviews. Because language is the primary means for transmitting culture from one generation to the next, much of any culture is encoded in linguistic form. (p. 9)

Lincoln (2001), on the other hand, considers interviewing as a rapport that bridges a researcher and his/her interviewees. Through the process of interviewing, the researcher shows his/her interests, sympathy, and empathy that the interviewees willing to share critical, confidential, and intimate data. The more open the interviewees would like to share; the richer information the researcher will get.

Observations

Observation is a way of living in the context for a researcher; not just being an outsider. Spradley (1979) indicates that "people everywhere learn their culture by

observing other people” (p. 8). Obviously, observation is not just watching; in Dr. Yvonna Lincoln’s lecture (personal communication, January 27, 2009), she mentioned, “observation itself is a high cognition, psychological, and social activity.” Furthermore, in order for the researcher to obtain more salient factors and to reach one of credibility requirements in trustworthiness, “observation must be sufficiently long” (Lincoln & Guab, 1985, p.192).

Data Analysis

Some software programs designed for managing qualitative data, such as Dragon Speech, Computer Assisted Qualitative Data Analysis, and so on. However, the researcher, the human instrument, is the one who analyzes and interprets the collected data. After finishing the interviews and observations, the researcher transformed fieldnotes and reflexive journals into transcriptions. By content analysis, the researcher categorized patterns and themes from the unitized data on the index cards.

Before applying content analysis, the researcher transferred certain confidential values and basic information into special codes for s/he easily to trace back and organize the raw data. This coding activity can be seen as a pre-analysis process.

Table B.1 The codes of the index cards

The codes showed on index cards	
#	Card number
I	Interview
S	Student
T	Teacher
M	Male
F	Female
#	Participant number
MMDDYY	Date of the interview

Table B.2 The color coding of the index cards

The color coding of the index card indicates the participants from three groups	
Blue	Parent
Orange	Student
White	Teacher

Content Analysis

Content analysis is a systematic and meaning-making method that emerges frequency of words from content units (Lincoln & Guba, 1985; Stemler, 2001) followed by unitizing and categorizing the data. The process of data unitizing is to break sentences “into the smallest pieces of information that may stand alone as independent thoughts” (Erlandson et al., 1993, p. 117).

After each unit was printed out on the index card, the researcher started to sort the pile of cards by analyzing them one by one. Lincoln and Guba (1985) describe “this first card represents the first entry in the first yet-to-be-named category” (p. 347). Later

on, there would be similar cards to be put together with the first card or created a new category. Continue the process till “exhaustion of resource, saturation of categories, emergence of regularities, and overextension” (Lincoln & Guba, 1985, p. 350). In the end, each category was established that the relevant information was emerged into meaningful themes and ready for the research to write a case study.

Trustworthiness

Any research will be tested for its legitimacy. In quantitative research, the criteria are internal validity, external validity, reliability, and objectivity. Equivalently, in qualitative research, they are credibility, transferability, dependability, and confirmability. These four criteria are introduced by Guba and Lincoln and known as trustworthiness. Trustworthiness is the key criterion in qualitative research which provides readers the true value, applicability, consistency, and neutrality of the study (Guba, 1981; Lincoln & Guba, 1985).

Credibility

A research with credibility means it has confidence in the truth of the finding. In order to ensure credibility in naturalistic inquiry, it can be achieved by five techniques: prolonged engagement, persistent observation, triangulation, member check, and peer debriefing (Lincoln & Guba, 1985).

As mentioned previously, prolonged interaction with the interviewees and observation with sufficient time for researcher not only obtained the manifest information, but also ensured credible findings.

The researcher use “multiple sources, methods, investigators, and theories” (Lincoln & Guba, 1985, p. 305) to meet the triangulation requirement. The studies contained multiple participants; took place at several Chinese heritage schools; conducted by observations, interviews, audiotapes, photographs, fieldnotes, and documents; and under sociocultural theory, bilingualism, and multiculturalism approaches.

Member checking technique provides both researcher and interviewees the opportunity to make sure the researcher’s interpretation and the interviewees’ responses are accurately transmitted in the study.

Peer debriefing relies on a professional peer out of the study to help the researcher clarify his/her research designs, analyze materials, and test working hypotheses and emerging designs (Erlandson et al., 1993).

Transferability

If the finding of an inquiry has applicability in other contexts or with other respondents, according to Lincoln & Guba (1985), the inquiry has transferability. Thick description, reflexive journal, and purposive sampling pave the way for providing richer descriptions and details in context that offer future researcher the possible transferability for his/her study.

Dependability & Confirmability

Dependability is determined by the findings of an inquiry could be consistently repeated if the inquiry were replicated with the similar respondents in the same context, while confirmability assures the findings of an inquiry that is directly from the

characteristics of the context and participants rather than the researcher's biases or prejudices (Lincoln & Guba, 1985). Both audit trail and reflexive journal are employed by dependability and confirmability. A peer debriefer from outside of the study allows a neutral perspective to audit the process and result of the study. The Researcher's reflexive journals including diary, schedule logs, insights, and feelings made records available to track for both the researcher and an external auditor.

APPENDIX C

RESEARCH QUESTIONS

Case Study of Students

This qualitative study was guided by two research questions:

1. What are the reasons why you attended Chinese programs?
2. What were the benefits and experiences for you to attend Chinese classes? Describe the benefits and values of the experiences.

More specifically, the study addressed the following questions:

1. Describe your background. (What is the age of you? What is your major?)
2. What was the age when you attended the Chinese heritage school?
3. What is the language(s) you spoken at home? (*situation*: can't speak all Chinese in a sentence... what do you do?)
4. How long did you attend the Chinese heritage school?
5. What Chinese schools or regular programs did you attend?
6. What were the reasons you are enrolled in Chinese heritage schools or Chinese programs?
7. What were your experiences in Chinese heritage school?
8. Having the experience of attending to Chinese heritage school, what is the perspective of Chinese heritage school for you?
9. If there were no Chinese schools, what difference would it make in your life?
10. What is the most difficult part of Chinese school? [*struggle & endeavor / how did you go through the process? Anyone help/support you?*]
11. If you had difficulty of Chinese learning, who did you go for help and how the person help you?
12. What are **(1) good / (2) bad** things about Chinese schools?
13. How do you think your knowledge and ability in Chinese can help you? [*how it's gonna benefit/effect your future life?*]
14. How do you value your bilingual ability? [*how IMP? In what aspect?*]
15. The suggestions to Chinese heritage school and students who will attend to school.
16. Share anything else that you think is important that I did not mentioned.
17. Please use a sentence to describe the Chinese heritage school. What would you say? For instance, Chinese school is.....

Case Study of Teachers

This qualitative study is guided by this general research question:

What is **teacher**'s perspective of teaching in the Chinese Heritage School (CHS)?

More specifically, the study addressed the following questions:

1. Describe your background. (*Education level / Which country is the teacher from?/How long does the teacher teach in the CHS?*)
2. Explain how you got interested in teaching in CHS?
3. What is your role as a teacher in CHS?
4. How do you motivate your students to learn Mandarin?
5. Where do you select textbooks and materials?
6. How do you design the curriculum?
7. What is the most challenging teaching experience for you to teach in the CHSs?
8. What kind of conflict do you face from parents and students?
9. Share one unforgettable teaching experience.
10. What do you identify/see your voices in the CHS/Chinese language education?
(*What is your opinion of Chinese heritage language education?*)
11. What is the most enjoyment for you to teach Mandarin?
12. What are your views about students' bilingual ability?
13. What is the teacher's goal and personal commitment in terms of teaching in CHS.
14. How do you assess your teaching to match students' learning?
15. What do you do for students to continue their Chinese learning outside of class?
16. Do you follow up after their graduation?
17. What is your vision of CHSs?
18. Any suggestions for CHSs and Chinese language education?

APPENDIX D
CONSENT FORMS

Parent's Perspectives toward Their Children's Chinese Learning

You have been asked to participate in a research study focusing on the parents' perspectives toward their children's Chinese learning. You were selected to be a possible participant because you have a child(ren) studying in a Chinese program. A total of 13 people have been asked to participate in this study. The purpose of this study is to investigate the parents in America who send their children to learn Chinese in the Chinese-heritage schools or Chinese programs.

If you agree to be in this study, you will be asked through an interview. The interview will take approximately fifty minutes to complete. There are no positive or negative benefits from responding to participating in this study. There is no money compensation.

This study is anonymous. The records of this study will be kept private. No identifiers linking you to the study will be included in any sort of report that might be published. Research records will be stored securely and only Li-Yuan Liao will have access to the records. Your decision whether or not to participate will not affect your current or future relations with Texas A&M University. If you decide to participate, you are free to refuse to answer any of the questions that may make you uncomfortable. You can withdraw at any time without your relations with the University, job, benefits, etc., being affected. You can contact Li-Yuan Liao (providence@tamu.edu) with any questions about this study.

This research study has been reviewed by the Institutional Review Board - Human Subjects in Research, Texas A&M University. For research-related problems or questions regarding subjects' rights, you can contact the Institutional Review Board through Ms. Melissa McIlhaney, IRB Program Coordinator, Office of Research Compliance, (979)458-4067, mcilhaney@tamu.edu.

Please be sure you have read the above information, asked questions and received answers to your satisfaction. You will be given a copy of the consent form for your records. By signing this document, you consent to participate in the study.

Signature of Participant: _____ **Date:** _____

Signature of Person Obtaining Consent: _____ **Date:** _____

College Students' Experiences of US Chinese Heritage Schools: A Case Study

Introduction

The purpose of this form is to provide you information that may affect your decision as to whether or not to participate in this research study. If you decide to participate in this study, this form will also be used to record your consent.

You have been asked to participate in a research project studying Asian American students' experience of US Chinese heritage schools. The purpose of this study is to obtain information about your experiences as an Asian decent attending Chinese Heritage Schools during your pre-k to high school years. You were selected to be a possible participant because you have attended Chinese heritage school before.

What will I be asked to do?

If you agree to participate in this study, you will be asked to participate in a face-to-face interview or a phone interview. This study will take 15 to 30 minutes. Your participation will be audio recorded.

What are the risks involved in this study?

The risks associated with this study are minimal, and are not greater than risks ordinarily encountered in daily life.

Do I have to participate?

No. Your participation is voluntary. You may decide not to participate or to withdraw at any time without your current or future relations with Texas A&M University being affected.

Who will know about my participation in this research study?

This study is confidential and the records of this study will be kept private. No identifiers linking you to this study will be included in any sort of report that might be published. Research records will be stored securely and only Li-Yuan Liao will have access to the records.

If you choose to participate in this study, you will be audio recorded. Any audio recordings will be stored securely and only Li-Yuan Liao will have access to the recordings. Any recordings will be kept for one year and then erased.

Whom do I contact with questions about the research?

If you have questions regarding this study, you may contact Li-Yuan Liao, 979-739-2327, providence@tamu.edu.

Whom do I contact about my rights as a research participant?

This research study has been reviewed by the Human Subjects' Protection Program and/or the Institutional Review Board at Texas A&M University. For research-related problems or questions regarding your rights as a research participant, you can contact these offices at (979)458-4067 or irb@tamu.edu.

Signature

Please be sure you have read the above information, asked questions and received answers to your satisfaction. You will be given a copy of the consent form for your records. By signing this document, you consent to participate in this study.

_____ I agree to be audio recorded.

_____ I do not want to be audio recorded.

Signature of Participant: _____ **Date:** _____

Printed Name: _____

Signature of Person Obtaining Consent: _____ **Date:** _____

Printed Name: _____

Teacher's perspectives and teaching experiences in the US Chinese heritage schools: A case study

Introduction

The purpose of this form is to provide you information that may affect your decision as to whether or not to participate in this research study. If you decide to participate in this study, this form will also be used to record your consent. You have been asked to participate in a research project that will study on teachers who have taught Mandarin-Chinese. The purpose of this study is to obtain information about your experiences of teaching heritage language. You were selected to be a possible participant because you have taught in a community-based Chinese Heritage School.

What will I be asked to do? If you agree to participate in this study, you will be asked to participate in a face-to-face interview or a phone interview. This study will take 30 to 50 minutes. Your participation will be audio recorded.

What are the risks involved in this study? The risks associated with this study are minimal, and are not greater than risks ordinarily encountered in daily life.

Do I have to participate? No. Your participation is voluntary. You may decide not to participate or to withdraw at any time without your current or future relations with Texas A&M University being affected.

Who will know about my participation in this research study?

This study is confidential and the records of this study will be kept private. No identifiers linking you to this study will be included in any sort of report that might be published. Research records will be stored securely and only the researchers (Li-Yuan Liao and Dr. Patricia Larke) will have access to the records. If you choose to participate in this study, you will be audio recorded. Any audio recordings will be stored securely and the researchers will have access to the recordings. Any recordings will be kept for one year and then erased.

Whom do I contact with questions about the research? If you have questions regarding this study, you may contact Li-Yuan Liao, 713-480-4097, providence@tamu.edu or Dr. Patricia Larke, 979-845-2171, plarke@tamu.edu.

Whom do I contact about my rights as a research participant? This research study has been reviewed by the Human Subjects' Protection Program and/or the Institutional Review Board at Texas A&M University. For research-related problems or questions regarding your rights as a research participant, you can contact these offices at (979)458-4067 or irb@tamu.edu.

Signature

Please be sure you have read the above information, asked questions and received answers to your satisfaction. You will be given a copy of the consent form for your records. By signing this document, you consent to participate in this study.

_____ I agree to be audio recorded.

_____ I do not want to be audio recorded.

Signature of Participant: _____ **Date:** _____

Printed Name: _____

Signature of Person Obtaining Consent: _____ **Date:** _____

Printed Name: _____

VITA

Li-Yuan Liao was granted her doctoral degree in Curriculum and Instruction at Texas A&M University in 2011. She received an M.A. in Teaching English to Speakers of Other Languages (TESOL), and an American Montessori Society certificate from Oklahoma City University in 2005. Prior to coming to the United States, she received her B.A. in Youth and Child Welfare at Providence University in Taiwan in 2000.

Liao's research interests include Asian American heritage language development, teaching Chinese as foreign language, multicultural education, qualitative research methodologies, early childhood education, and Montessori educational approach. Her publication record includes two articles in the peer-reviewed journals *The US-China Education Review* and *The Journal of Praxis in Multicultural Education*. Within the past five years, Liao has presented her research at eight conferences internationally, nationally, and regionally.

Li-Yuan Liao may be reached at Department of Teaching, Learning & Culture, Harrington Tower, Texas A&M University, College Station, Texas 77843-4232. Her email is liyuan.liao@yahoo.com.