

Perceptions of Ethnolinguistic Identity in Non-Heritage Mandarin Chinese Classes

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A dissertation
submitted in partial fulfillment of the
requirements for the degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

University of Washington

2012

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Program Authorized to Offer Degree:
College of Education

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Abstract

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This study starts with a personal story and addresses questions about the perceptions of ethnolinguistic identity of postsecondary Chinese Language Learners (CLLs), investigating how the effects of First-Year Non-Heritage (NH) program have shaped the way Broadly-Defined Heritage Language Learners (BDHLLs) view themselves in class. Eighteen voluntary Chinese Languages Learners (CLLs), including ten students who self-identified as ethnically Chinese (nine Chinese dialect speakers, one mixed-heritage student who is of Chinese ancestry) and eight Non-Heritage Chinese students, were interviewed. First-Year Non-Heritage and Heritage Chinese instructors and two graduate Non-Heritage Chinese teaching assistants were also interviewed for the purpose of triangulation.

The transcripts generated from the conversations provided a narrative record for qualitative study to demonstrate how perceptions of ethnolinguistic identity of these Chinese Languages Learners (CLLs) emerged contextually. Contents of the textbooks and other relevant documents, such as course catalogue and syllabi, also were analyzed. This study was grounded in Riley's (2007) ethnolinguistic identity and Norton's (2000)

notion of investment in language learning, and it used narrative inquiry and content analysis to examine the ethnolinguistic effects of Non-Heritage language program on First-Year Chinese students at this site.

The study's findings followed five major themes. These are the significance of Chinese names on student learning, finding trans-nationality, advantages of learning Mandarin Chinese, learning Mandarin Chinese as a new versus foreign language, and learners' perceptions of a racialized Non-Heritage Chinese course. This study makes several contributions to the field of second language education. The major contribution is that it urges second language educators and researchers to rethink the definition of Non-Heritage in the context of ethnolinguistic identity and investment and it also addressed heterogeneity that the American Council of Teaching Foreign Languages (ACTFL) guidelines failed to discuss.

DEDICATION

To my mother, 朱金鳳 Chu Chin-Fung (1957-1998),

who believed education is my best dowry, for her love.

To my father, 張金龍 Chang Chin-Lung, and my older sister, 張嘉惠 Chang Chia-Huei,

who sacrificed their lives in Taiwan, for their sustenance.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Every book starts with page one; each dissertation starts with acknowledgements. This dissertation would not have been possible without Chinese Language Learners here and there, teaching me a great deal of what it is like to be overseas Chinese, 1.5 or second generation Americans in the United States, and of mixed-heritage ancestry in the 21st century. I also thank the Department of Asian Languages and Literature (AL&L) for funding me through a great portion of my graduate studies at the University of Washington, enhancing my professional teaching skills.

I deeply appreciate Dr. Zev Handel in the Department of Asian Languages and Literature (AL&L), for never restraining my educational imagination in Chinese languages: for allowing me to nurture and pursue my personal and academic interests in Chinese linguistics; and for directing me to resources available for my father's Chinese dialect project.

I thank Dr. Shirley Hune in the Department of Educational Policy and Leadership Studies (EDLPS) for sharing her intellectual passion with me; kindly reminding me of the privilege of being an identity researcher; and helping me realize what it means to be a Taiwanese female international graduate student (and first generation college student) studying in Seattle through the narratives of immigrant college students.

I am grateful for Dr. Manka Varghese, in the Language, Literacy and Culture (LLC) program of the Department of Curriculum and Instruction (C&I), for introducing the field of educational linguistics; in particular, Dr. Bonny Norton's work, for mentoring me through my academic journey, and teaching me how to balance my professional and personal lives.

Last but not least, Dr. Geneva Gay, a tremendous multicultural education scholar, and a role model, who empowers her students by exemplifying her prevailing culturally responsive teaching theory; whom I owed much gratitude to for always listening to my thoughts in person and over the phone late at night when I was away from the University of Washington-Seattle campus, teaching Chinese at Western Washington University during the dissertation write-up stage. She relentlessly supported me during my studies in the College of Education; saw beyond my Pidgin English structures; and helped me verbalize and crystalize my Chinese thinking. She inspired me to be a professional multicultural education researcher and instructor with my passion for Chinese as a Second Language Education (CSL). Her heartfelt encouragement is genuinely reassuring. I will never forget the night you gave me a ride to Sea-Tac airport and the many good conversations we have had in Miller Hall.

This dissertation would never have been completed without the encouragement, devotion, and mentorship of my family, friends, former teachers, and Taiwanese/international/American colleagues and professors at the University of Washington. Many thanks to all of them, individually and collectively.

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Preface

Kilbourn (2006) reminded qualitative researchers that they needed to be “self-conscious” and “show an awareness of the bearing of [moves] on the overall integrity of the work and should be able to give good reasons for making them” (p. 530). Therefore, it is essential for qualitative researchers to declare their positionalities since they are oftentimes the research instruments themselves. As the details of the study of ethnolinguistic identity unfolded, I looked at myself introspectively as to who I am, how I am who I am, and when I am who I am (i.e. who is Taiwanese? When am I Taiwanese and how am I Taiwanese?). These introspective reflections focus on me both as person and researcher. I shall first start with my background and then describe my role as researcher.

In the United States, this is how I identify myself. My name is Sharon Chang; I am an international graduate student from Taiwan. For many review committees and editorial boards that read my job applications or manuscripts who never see me in person, they probably will assume I am a female based on the first name. The follow-up question is usually, “Were you born Sharon?” I normally would say, “No. My given name at birth is *Chang Chia-ling*.” Most people seemed to be satisfied with this answer, so I never bother to explain further unless they ask why. Here, I intentionally write it in the Wade-Giles Romanization format but with comma removed as the use of comma to separate the surname from the following given name is according to the western practice when the order of first name and last name is reversed.

In response to the movement of rectifying names and internationalization, the Taiwanese government started to offer her citizens the option to add one nickname. So,

on my passport, I am 張嘉齡 *Chang Chia-ling* also known as Sharon Chang. I chose to change my name not to avoid the foreignness, nor to become Americanized, but to dissimilate, to resist operationalizing my Chinese name in an Anglicized manner. That is to say, the first name plus last name style. I put my given name Chia-ling, with hyphenation, as a middle name according to the European practice. Kim (2003), also known as *Kimsooja*, an artist from South Korea in an article titled, “*A One-Word Name Is An Anarchist’s Name*,” published in the *New York Times* (July 14, 2003), commented that, “A one word name refuses gender identity, marital status, socio-political or cultural and geographical identity by not separating the family name and the first name” (n.p). She has verbalized my point very well.

Hyphenation is an important part of my identity. I have noticed that almost always every international student who has a two-character “first” name from Taiwan carries the hyphenation in the United States. This transliteration pattern is also observable in many early U.S. trained Chinese linguists, such as Drs Li Fang-kuei, and Ting Pang-Hsin. Anecdotally, Professor Ting chose to capitalize the second character of his first name, as opposed to lower-case based on the Wide-Giles standard, so that when his name appeared in citations, the H would be retained (email communication with Professor Handel, former student of Professor Ting, 2012). If I were an international student from China, the PRC government would write my name as Jialing Zhang as opposed to Chia-Ling Chang. As for students from Macau and Hong Kong, because their pīnyīn systems are based on Portuguese and Cantonese standards, respectively, they usually do not have such hyphenation. The characters would be written separately, each with a capital letter.

I am a first generation college student in my family. I was born and raised in Taipei City prior to coming to the United States to pursue an advanced degree in graduate school. Whenever people ask, “Are you Chinese?” I try to address the notion that I am ethnically, culturally, and linguistically Chinese but I am from Taiwan. I speak Mandarin Chinese and Taiwanese (but probably with a heavy Mandarin accent that either cracks the locals up or irritates them). I adore Cantonese because my older sister somehow picked up this language on her own and it sounds really beautiful to me although my native Cantonese-speaking students may disagree.

In Taiwan, this is what I would say about who I am. Wǒ jiào Zhāng Jiālín 我叫張嘉齡 “My name is *Chang Chia-ling*”. My father, born in 1949, is from the tiny island of Matsu, Lien-Chiang County, while my mother was born in Taipei County. My maternal grandparents were from Shān Dōng 山東 province and came with the KMT troops a couple of years before 1949 and stayed in Taiwan due to a change of political situations. My father speaks an Eastern mǐn dialect which is close to the Foochow dialect ‘Fúzhōuhuà’福州話. He has been regarded as Wàishěngrén 外省人, or a person from another province (i.e. Mainlander) by the locals, even to this day, despite the fact that Mǎzǔ 馬祖列島 (Matsu Islands) is part of Taiwan, R.O.C. This is an indicator that his identity and mine’s as well are inherently related to our linguistic affinity. In the eyes of the local communities, I am a second generation (or 2.5) Wàishěngrén.

I refuse to address myself this way for several reasons. When I was in elementary school, former Taiwanese President *Lee Deng-hui* 李登輝 eliminated the Province title in the R.O.C.’s constitutional system. To me, there was no such thing as Taiwan Province anymore. Perhaps because when I was growing up, the message was clear that Taiwan is

not a province of China but an independent nation state because we have our own president, our own territory, and our own citizens. Calling a person Wàishěngrén is acknowledging the provincial system in the context of China. Second, Matsu is really part of Taiwan, same as Penghu 澎湖 and the Kimmen 金門 Islands are. I do not see why I am not Taiwanese but a daughter of second generation Wàishěngrén. I am not opposed to the term Wàishěngrén as it is part of Taiwan's history. It has a special context and passes on the culture of many Mainlanders who arrived in Taiwan after 1949.

My father has received a lot of discrimination because the dialect he speaks is not a mainstream one in Taiwan. After my older sister and I were born, he thought we should speak the standard language at school. He never thought highly of Matsu dialect partially because he was under the impression it is just a “dialect,” and partially because he had so many unpleasant experiences that were attributed to his Wàishěngrén accent. Furthermore, he believed only by speaking standard Mandarin can a person receive a good education. Great minds think alike, many U.S. immigrant students' parents also strongly stressed the importance of English to their children. Both Mandarin Chinese and English are considered the dominant language in this regard.

I never met my paternal grandparents; they were both deceased before I was born. My father told me that his father barely spoke Mandarin. He couldn't remember much about his mother as she passed away when my father was three-year olds. They lived off of fishery. My mother spoke Mandarin without any accent, and people were shockingly surprised when they found out that she could speak Southern Mǐn and the Shān Dōng 山東 dialects fluently. At the time my mother received her primary education it was still under a Mandarin-only policy, and other languages and dialects were prohibited at

school. My maternal grandmother told me she learned Southern Mǐn from daily encounters with the local Taiwanese community through grocery shopping and working as a maid for many Southern Mǐn speaking families. It became so natural to her that she got used to speaking Southern Mǐn over her Shān Dōng dialect. After my maternal grandfather passed away before I went to kindergarten, she rarely used the Shān Dōng dialect anymore.

As far as I can remember, my mother mainly spoke Southern Mǐn to her mother and Shān Dōng dialect to her father. Of course, I did not make much of these linguistic shifts while I was back in Taiwan. I learned Southern Mǐn because everyone else around me was speaking it, even though I spoke it with my Mandarin accent. When I was in elementary school, my teacher wanted me to participate in a Southern Mǐn story telling contest. She helped me annotate the lines with Mandarin phonetic symbols (i.e. 1 ㄅ Bo ㄆ Po ㄇ Mo ㄉ Fo) and at home, I asked my mother to go through each line in Southern Mǐn smoothly with me. I still remember vividly my mother saying, “Why would your teacher pick you to go for the Southern Mǐn group? Your mother tongue is not even Southern Mǐn. Yours is Matsu dialect.” She was only half correct to say that my mother tongue is not Southern Mǐn, because Matsu dialect was actually my “father tongue”, which I failed to speak growing up.

In short, by presenting the personal accounts, I have carefully examined my own perceptions of ethnolinguistic identity across time and space, looking introspectively at my researcher’s position in relation to the participants in this study in particular, and the bigger social world in general, as a first-generation college student and an international female Taiwanese student studying in the United States.

Chapter I: Introduction

This research is a qualitative study of the perceptions of ethnolinguistic identities among postsecondary Chinese Language Learners (CLLs) enrolled in Non-Heritage Mandarin classes. The study emerged from a noticeable lack of detail in the literature concerning ethnically, culturally, and linguistically heterogeneous Non-Heritage Mandarin Chinese classes. Such detail is needed if multicultural educators are to understand the unheard voices of students in diverse Non-Heritage Mandarin Chinese classes, and deepen their understanding of the experiences of those who live at the borders of cultures, languages, ethnicities and identities as immigrants in locations other than their ancestral countries.

Organization of this Dissertation

This dissertation is divided into five chapters. Chapter I summarizes relevant background information about Heritage and Non-Heritage Language Education and its historical development in the United States. A description of the Chinese program of this study, its curriculum design, and textbooks are provided, followed by the problem statement and research purpose. Chapter II includes a review of second language research and scholarship that grounds this study in theories of identity development, investment, and narrative inquiry as they relate to language learning. Relevant empirical studies and other qualitative research also are summarized.

In Chapter III, the research methodology is described, including the rationale for undertaking this research; reasons for using qualitative methods; the setting and participants; and data collection and analysis procedures. Locating this study in a post-secondary setting was appropriate because identity researchers have shown that many

students become more conscious and reflective of their ethnic, cultural, and linguistic identities during the college experience (Shaw, 1999; Lin, 2008; He, 2006; Geislerik, 2004; Lo-Philip, 2010). Lin (2008) urged researchers to examine identity development early in the beginning level of second language education; hence a First-Year Non-Heritage Mandarin Chinese program for this study was selected.

Findings from this study are presented in Chapter IV by themes. There are five major themes generated from this study. The findings are further discussed in Chapter V where recommendations, suggestions and limitations of this study also are stated.

Heritage and Non-Heritage Language Education in Post-secondary Institutions

Non-Heritage Language Education is in opposition to Heritage Language Education. Many of the Heritage Languages fall into the category of Less Commonly Taught Languages (LCTLs) as defined by the U.S. Department of Education Title VI Area Studies programs (Cho, Krashen & Shin, 2004). While the definition of Heritage Languages as LCTLs is the case for some Title VI regulations, there also have been changes in the categories of LCTLs used for different associations, such as Modern Language Association (MLA). In a survey conducted in Fall 2009, they grouped together the first 15 LCTLs that are more frequently offered in higher learning institutions into one tier and moved it from the other 244 LCTLs offered in the United States. The first 15 LCTLs in the order of total enrollments from large to small are Spanish, French, German, Italian, Japanese, Chinese, American Sign Language (ASL), Latin, Russian, Arabic, Greek, Portuguese, Modern Hebrew, Biblical Hebrew, and Korean (Furman, Goldberg, & Lusin, 2010).

Due to the emergence of China's economic power, Modern Standard Mandarin is widely believed to be the most likely candidate among the world's languages to "attain the status of a language second only to English" (Seng & Lai, 2011, p. 14). Mandarin is an official language of Mainland China and Taiwan, and the lingua franca of many overseas Chinese diaspora. Owing to internationalizing higher education in the United States, the Chinese language course enrollments in Two-Year Colleges increased by 173.3% from 1990 to 2009; it also grew by 51 % in Four-Year Universities from 2002 to 2006, and by 18.2 % from 2006 to 2009 (Furman, Goldberg, & Lusin, 2010). When all institutions of high learning are considered together, Furman et al. (2010) reported that the ratio between lower and upper levels of (Mandarin/Classical) Chinese language indicates proportionately more enrollments in advanced courses in 2009 than in 2006, showing one advanced enrollment for every three at the introductory level in Chinese language courses.

As trends in language enrollments appear to mirror significant national and global developments, including the rise of China's economy. In light of Norton's idea of investment theory in language learning, more and more American college students, regardless of Heritage or Non-Heritage, consider Chinese as the language of business figuratively and studying Chinese as increasing their own societal and cultural capital. Not only college students but also parents now view learning Chinese language as an investment for being more marketable when the job competition goes global (*New York Times*, January 20, 2010).

Because of new immigrant students from Mexico, East Asia, and Arabic-speaking countries, some institutions that have sufficient funding or enough faculty members have developed Heritage versus Non-Heritage tracks for Spanish, Japanese, Chinese, Arabic, and Korean. If the prefix “Non-” means everything that is not, then it is legitimate to think of Non-Heritage Languages (NHLs) as Non-Less Commonly Taught Languages. This is not the case; in actuality, Non-Heritage Language Learners (NHLLs) are still studying the Less Commonly Taught Languages (LCTLs) but usually by using a curriculum independent of Heritage Language instruction. Presumably, NHLLs do not have any cultural and family backgrounds or formal training in the target language being studied. Chinese Language Learners (CLLs) in the Non-Heritage classes do not live in idealized, homogeneous communities, but in complex, heterogeneous ones. Such heterogeneity has been framed uncritically. Second language researchers tend to treat Heritage as one entity and Non-Heritage as the other monolithic unit, either for the purpose of having one control group and one experimental group or for the sake of comparison (Husseinali, 2006, Liu, 2007; 2009, Kondo-Brown, 2006). Hence, Non-Heritage usually equates to the White students in the Anglophone context.

Historically, Heritage Language Education (HLE) has been conceived an affirmation of immigrant students’ right to retain their cultures, languages, and heritages (Scott, Straker & Katz, 2009). The practice started as a political community movement and was soon recognized by local schools. The curriculum of Heritage Language was formally adopted first in the K-12 educational system across the U.S. in the early 2000s,

and then expanded to colleges and universities (Cumming, 2005; Wiley, 2006; Brinton, Kagan & Bauckus, 2008).

The first national conference to discuss Heritage Languages as national, cultural, economic, and political resources was held in 2001 (Peyton, Ranard, & McGinnis, 2001). Much of the attention was given to Latino English Language Learners (ELLs) in K-12 education systems and their cultural heritage maintenance at that time. Nevertheless, Heritage Language Education has played an important role in U.S. higher education due to lack of heritage language maintenance among immigrant students, new waves of immigration and economic power shifts, and recent scholarship on the potential for Heritage Language Education (HLE) in the context of globalism (Hornberger, 2006; Elder, 2009; Garcia, 2006; Suzuki, 2010; Tavares, 2000).

Scholars believe that immigrant students whose parents are from East Asian countries improve their transnational career opportunities by reclaiming Chinese, Korean, and Japanese languages. They also explain that the increasing enrollments of Chinese Heritage Language Learners and their counterparts (i.e. Chinese Non-Heritage Language Learners) are due largely to China's job market (Suárez-Orozco & Sattin-Bajaj, 2010). The increase in the number of students taking Chinese also is supported by the former Chairperson of the Asian Languages and Literature (AL&L) Department at the University of Washington (UW). In his reflections on Changes in Climate for the study of Asian Languages, as reported in the AL&L Departmental electronic newsletter, *Asia Notes*, Professor Michael Shapiro (2010) stated:

The desire for instruction with regard to all aspects of the languages, literatures and cultures of Asia (and particularly East Asia) has increased spectacularly since the Department was established. This increase is a national, and not just a local UW phenomenon. Between 1960 and 2006, language enrollments for Japanese have increased nationally from 1,746 to over 66,000; those for Chinese have increased from 1,844 to over 51,000. Korean enrollments have gone from virtually zero to over 7,000. In the same period, enrollment for French has decreased from 228,000 to 206,000, for German from 146,000 to 94,000, and for Russian from 30,000 to just [fewer than] 25,000. By way of comparison, it's interesting to note that Spanish enrollments have surged from approximately 177,000 to almost an astounding 833,000. On the figures for the Asian languages, it's noteworthy that a really sharp increase in Japanese enrollments took place between 1980 and 1990, a period coinciding with the boom years in the Japanese economy, years in which there was widespread apprehension in the US that the Japanese economy was engulfing the American economy. Based upon the experience of what happened with Japanese enrollments, it is not unreasonable to project that Chinese enrollments will witness a similar sharp increase in the coming decades. This is supported by the fact that of the twelve languages most widely taught at US post-secondary institutions, the two showing the largest percentage increases between 2002 and 2006 are Arabic (126.5 percent) and

Chinese (51 percent). (*Asia Notes*, Spring 2010, Mind over Past-Chair Reflects section, para.5)

Enrollments in East Asian Languages programs at post-secondary institutions across the U.S. reflect historical waves of immigration. For institutions to have a Heritage and Non-Heritage program distinction in their East Asian languages departments, they usually have to have a high percentage of Chinese American, Korean American, and Japanese American students, and sufficient funding to support the growth of the programs. Most universities in North America that have Heritage and Non-Heritage language tracks generally are located on the West and East coasts. Among those are the University of British Columbia (UBC), University of Washington (UW), University of California, Berkeley (UC Berkeley), University of California, Los Angeles (UCLA), and Columbia University where the Asian American student populations are exceptionally high. All of these universities use similar distinctions between Heritage and Non-Heritage Chinese Language Learners. They identify Heritage Language Learners (HLLs) as those who are of Chinese origins and who grew up speaking any kind of Chinese languages, including Cantonese and other major dialects. Non-Heritage classes are geared towards students who have no cultural or family backgrounds in Mandarin Chinese. This binary tradition has been adopted into the Chinese language curriculum and instruction in the U.S. colleges for the past decade.

A survey conducted at the University of Pennsylvania and Drexel University by Reynolds, Howard, and Deák (2009) reported three types of Heritage Language Learners in First-Year Foreign Language courses based on prior exposure to the target language.

These are Narrowly-Defined Heritage Language Learners (HLLs), Broadly-Defined HLLs, and Non-HLLs. Narrowly-Defined Heritage Language Learners (NDHLLs) were from backgrounds where the target language was spoken regularly in the home, and considered the study of the language as a way to understand their heritage and/or to connect with the family. Broadly-Defined Heritage Language Learners (BDHLLs) did not have the target language spoken regularly in the home, and considered the study of the language as a way to understand their heritage and/or to connect with the family. For Non-Heritage Language Learners (NHLLs), the target language was not spoken regularly in the home, and the study of the language was neither a way to understand their heritage, nor connect with the family. Reynolds and associates took learning motivations and self-expectations into consideration when addressing cultural and family heritage. They supported the idea of Heritage versus Non-Heritage distinctions in language learning. However, they did not discuss further what happens when Broadly-Defined Heritage Language Learners (BDHLLs) and Non-Heritage Language Learners (NHLLs) are in the same classroom.

Chinese Language Program at the Site of this Study

The Chinese program where this study took place was housed in a public four-year research university located in the Pacific Northwest. Presently, Westwood University (pseudonym) has both Heritage and Non-Heritage Mandarin curricula in its Chinese language program. The pseudonym will be used throughout this research project for the sake of confidentiality; a more detailed description of the setting can be found in Chapter III. Westwood University is not exceptional in teaching Mandarin Chinese

language in its East Asian languages programs, since it has now been considered the Modern Standard Chinese. Most institutions in North America that have Chinese language programs also are limited to teaching Mandarin (He, 2004; 2006; Wen 2011).

At Westwood University, undergraduate students (except for those who are considered native speakers of a language other than English) graduating from majors in the College of Arts and Sciences, and the School of Social Work must fulfill a foreign language graduation requirement; a number of majors (e.g., the foreign language majors, International Studies, etc.) require foreign language beyond the university admission requirement (e.g. complete the third-year high school level of a foreign language). The courses used to satisfy the foreign language requirement can also count toward students' majors. Therefore, the demand for Chinese has increased dramatically over the past few years for reasons such as cultural heritage maintenance, global business, East Asian studies, international research related to China, and transnational employment opportunities.

In terms of language proficiency level and course content, Second-Year Heritage Mandarin Chinese is the equivalent of Third-Year Non-Heritage Mandarin Chinese. Depending on academic major status and individual circumstances, Heritage students who finish Second-Year Mandarin Chinese and wish to continue to pursue the next level are placed into Fourth-Year Mandarin Chinese, while Non-Heritage students who finish Second-Year Mandarin Chinese need to take Third-Year Non Heritage Mandarin Chinese before they can continue with Fourth-Year Mandarin Chinese. In Fourth year, there is no Heritage versus Non-Heritage distinction. That is to say, on average, Non-Heritage

students spend a year more learning Mandarin Chinese than Heritage students (see Table 1 below).

Table 1: Four-Year Mandarin Chinese classes at Westwood University

First Year Mandarin Chinese	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • CHIN101-102-103 Non-Heritage • CHIN111-112-113 Heritage • Summer Intensive: CHIN 134 Non-Heritage; CHIN 138 Heritage
Second Year Mandarin Chinese	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • CHIN 201-202-203 Non-Heritage • CHIN 211-212-213 Heritage • Summer Intensive CHIN 234 Non-Heritage
Third Year Mandarin Chinese CHIN 301-302-303 Non-Heritage	
Fourth Year Mandarin Chinese CHIN 411-412-413	

Textbooks.

The required textbook for the First-Year Non-Heritage Chinese program is *Integrated Chinese Level 1 Part 1 and Part 2* (3rd edition). As indicated from the publishing company, since its release, *Integrated Chinese* has been the leading introductory series in the U.S. colleges and high schools. The series is widely circulated across North America and very popular in Chinese program at universities. The intent of the authors was for students to learn Chinese while enjoying connected stories about a group of main characters in all of the dialogs and narratives. The relationships among the main characters of these stories are carefully scripted, students can get to know the characters and find out how things developed among them as they develop their language learning. Thus, they get involved and enjoy the process of learning Chinese (Cheng & Tsui, 2012).

The main characters of the Integrated Chinese Level 1, Part 1 texts are: Wáng Péng 王朋, Lǐ Yǒu 李友, Gāo Wénzhōng 高文中, Gāo Xiǎoyīn 高小音, Bái Yīng'ài 白英愛, and Cháng lǎoshī 常老師. Wáng Péng is intended to be a Chinese freshman student from Beijing, who studies in an American college according to the description of the cast of characters (*Integrated Chinese Level 1, Part 1*, p. xxxi). Lǐ Yǒu is a White American female figure. Gāo Wénzhōng is from England whose parents are working in the United States and his older sister is Gāo Xiǎoyīn; they both appear to be White as well. Bái Yīng'ài is a Korean female student. Their teacher is Cháng lǎoshī, a Chinese female. From the DVDs that accompany the text, the setting for their interactions is in Beijing, China, where Lǐ Yǒu, Gāo Wénzhōng, and Bái Yīng'ài are studying Chinese in a university affiliated language training center, and Wáng Péng is a local college student.

The main characters in *Integrated Chinese Level 1, Part 2* are generally the same except for six more supporting roles (five adults and one infant) that are added into the story lines. These are Mr. Fèi 費先生 (Owen Fields, White British male), Helen 海倫 Hǎilún (White female) and her one-year old son Tom 湯姆 Tāngmǔ, Wáng Péng's father and mother (王爸爸、王媽媽), and Wáng Hóng 王紅 (Wáng Péng's younger sister). Together there are eleven characters represented as White and Asian, and occasionally other people of color appeared in random illustrations.

Curriculum.

According to Westwood University's online course catalogue (2011), "Chinese for Non-Heritage Learners is a five-credit class considered an introduction to the standard

language. The first-year course is only open to students who do not have any previous training in Chinese.” Furthermore, it says in the course syllabus that, “Chinese 101 is the first course in the Non-Heritage First-Year Chinese series. The course is intended for students with very little or no Chinese language background and no previous training in modern Chinese. It is designed to help beginning Chinese learners to develop basic skills in listening, speaking, reading, and writing in an interactive learning environment” (n.p).

The Heritage and Non-Heritage Chinese programs at Westwood University started in Autumn 2002 (Time Schedule Archive, 2011). Faculty members made this distinction in the Chinese program. They believed doing so would better serve all students in the language program by tailoring instruction to learning needs (Email communication with the Chinese Program Coordinator, January 2012).

Statement of the Problem

The research concern of this study was prompted by how Heritage and Non-Heritage Language Learning is defined and who defines them. Heritage and Non-Heritage Language Education is traditionally considered as part of second and foreign language education, and also as world language education with the increase of world language certificate teachers in K-12 setting. Second language education encompasses several subfields, including English as a second language (ESL) and English as a foreign language (EFL), taught outside of Anglophone countries, foreign language instruction, bilingual education (for minority and/or majority students), and heritage language education for maintaining immigrant students’ languages and cultures. Therefore, when Non-Heritage Language Education appears as distinct in applied linguistics or language

pedagogy research, it usually serves as a comparison for Heritage Language Education practices (Liu, 2007, 2009, Kondo-Brown, 2006, Reynolds, Howard, & Deák 2009). Prior research presupposed that Non-Heritage Language classes serve a homogeneous student body. This study involves ethnically, culturally, and linguistically heterogeneous students in a Non-Heritage Chinese program. Rethinking the labeling of Non-Heritage and Heritage on different Chinese Language Learners (CLLs) would inform language teaching and learning researchers, and language education teachers about effects of curriculum on the views of ethnolinguistic identities of different students.

Non-Heritage Mandarin Chinese Language class is usually translated to wú bèijǐng bān 無背景班 (no background), which literally means classes that have no heritage, or are lacking of background. Heritage is widely translated into Chinese as bèijǐng 背景. The word bèijǐng 背景 itself is essentially a lay concept in Chinese. In the case of finding employment, when the competition gets high, one inevitably has to have a strong family background in order to seize the position. In this regard, to Chinese people a good background means a high familial socioeconomic status, and related historical and political prestige. For instance, someone might say, the final candidate was hired because “he comes from a very strong family background — Tā lái zì yí ge bèijǐng hěn qiáng de jiātíng 他來自一個背景很強的家庭.” Oftentimes, it is so strong that the powerful connection supersedes one’s academic and education background xué jīng lì bèijǐng 學經歷背景 which appears in resumés and job applications. Here, bèijǐng 背景 means the formal academic education and professional work experiences that one has accumulated.

In this study, Broadly-Defined Heritage Language Learners (BDHLLs) and Non-Heritage Language Learners (NHLLs) were treated as students who had no (i.e. insufficient or limited) academic foundations in learning Mandarin Chinese, rather than as having no backgrounds in Mandarin Chinese at all. The term, Chinese Language Learners (CLLs), was used to refer to students who are in the Non-Heritage program (instead of Non-Heritage Chinese students) to include mixed-heritage students and those who self-identified as ethnically, culturally, and linguistically Chinese. While this study made a contribution to understanding the perceptions of the ethnolinguistic identities among Non-Heritage Language Learners (NHLLs), it did not claim it is wrong to put Broadly-Defined Heritage Language Learners (BDHLLs) in Non-Heritage Mandarin Chinese classes due to actual resources available at different institutions and the different circumstances of individual learners. More importantly, it attempted to point out the heterogeneity of learners in language classrooms that is unacknowledged by the guidelines and policies of American Council of Teaching of Foreign Languages (ACTFL).

Research Purpose and Questions

Using traditional distinctions between Heritage and Non-Heritage Language Learning, research studies have examined the various motivations of students in the two categories, differences between Heritage and Non-Heritage Language students, differences between actual language acquisition, and other learning outcomes (Li, 2010; Kondo-Brown, 2006; Kondo-Brown & Brown, 2008; Brinton, Kagan & Bauckus, 2008). Many Non-Heritage classes include Broadly-Defined Heritage Language Learners

(BDHLLs) as defined by Reynolds et al. (2009). However, little is known about the voices and views of Broadly-Defined Heritage students in Non-Heritage Mandarin Chinese classes. For the purpose of this study, Non-Heritage Mandarin Chinese refers to classes that include Broadly-Defined Chinese Heritage Language Learners (BDCHLLs) and Non-Heritage Chinese Language Learners (NHCLLs).

The purpose of this study was to explore the learning experiences of Broadly-Defined Chinese Heritage Language Learners (BDCHLLs) and their perceptions of ethnolinguistic identity in heterogeneous First-Year Non-Heritage Mandarin Chinese classes. Specifically, the question of inquiry was how perceptions of ethnolinguistic identities of Broadly-Defined Chinese Heritage Language Learners (BDCHLLs) are shaped by First-Year Non-Heritage Chinese university-based curriculum and instruction as conveyed through instructors, peer Non-Heritage Language Learners (NHLLs), and documents such as textbooks, course syllabi, and catalogue descriptions. More specific related questions are listed in Chapter III.

Broadly-Defined Chinese Heritage Language Learners (BDCHLLs) enrolled in First-Year college Mandarin Chinese classes were the primary units of analysis in this study. Their perceptions of ethnolinguistic identity were examined through the perspectives of the instructors, peer Non-Heritage Chinese Language Learners (NHCLLs), the content of textbooks, course-related materials, and Broadly-Defined Heritage Chinese Language Learners (BDCHLLs) themselves.

Conceptual Framework

The conceptual framework for this study was based on three key assumptions. First, the perceptions of ethnolinguistic identity have some effects on Broadly-Defined Chinese Heritage Language Learners (BDCHLLs) in Non-Heritage Mandarin Chinese language classes. Second, the perceptions of ethnolinguistic identity of Broadly-Defined Chinese Heritage Language Learners (BDCHLLs) are developed and negotiated within Non-Heritage Mandarin Chinese language programs. Third, the history, nuances, and recognitions of ethnolinguistic identity are transmitted through relations with others, including instructors, peer Non-Heritage language learners, and course documents.

Figure 1 (on the top of next page) presents a visual depiction of the relationship among these three assumptions. In the lower center are Broadly-Defined Chinese Heritage Language Learners (BDCHLLs). Within this circle are five theorized areas of foundational influences that significantly affect the ethnolinguistic perceptions of Broadly-Defined Chinese Heritage Language Learners (BDCHLLs). These are self-perceptions, peer perceptions, learning activities, and experiences, challenges, and coping devices. They are further impacted by perceptions of Heritage and Non-Heritage Mandarin Chinese language learning of instructors, Non-Heritage Chinese Language Learners (NHCLLs), BDCHLLs themselves, and materials and resources used in teaching the courses. These influences are symbolized by the three squares at the top of Figure 1 and the arrows connecting them to the center circle. In short, as part of the society, the ethnolinguistic identity perceptions of Broadly-Defined Chinese Heritage Language Learners (BDCHLLs) are influenced by the content of the Chinese curriculum

they receive, as well as by how they are taught, how they view themselves, and their peer Non-Heritage students' attitudes and actions toward them, and how they are perceived by their instructors.

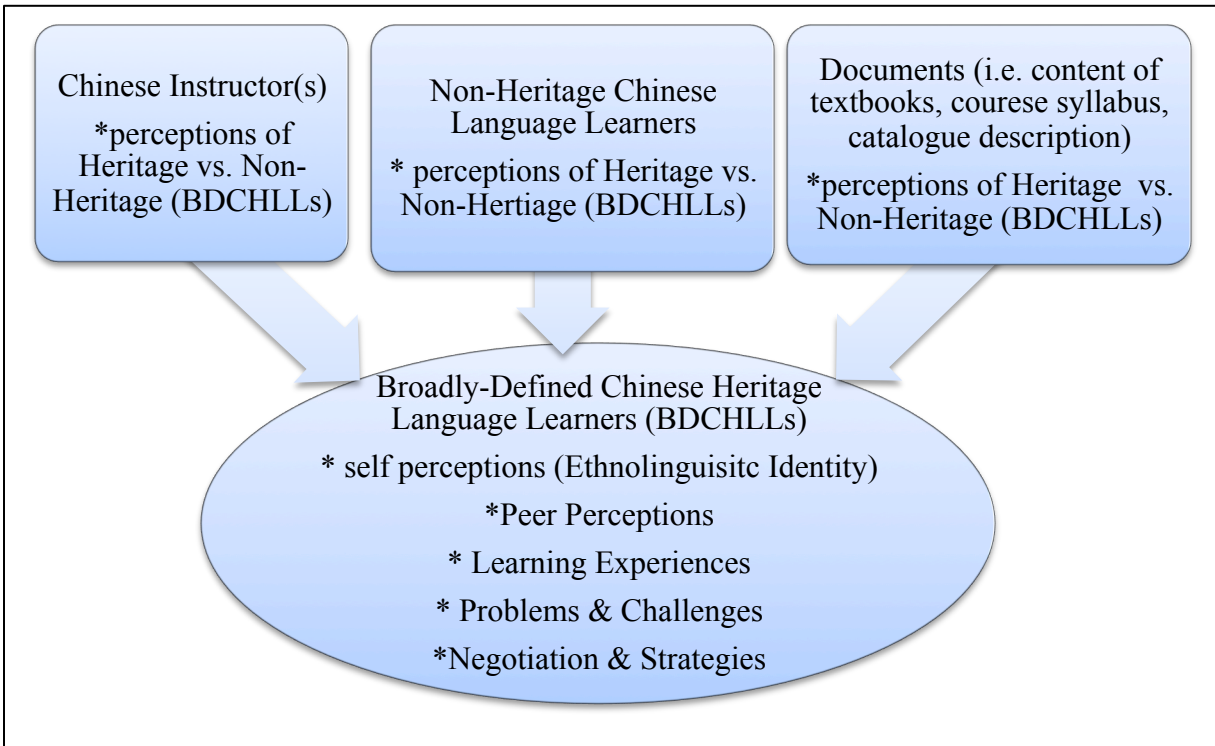


Figure 1: Conceptual Framework

The conceptualization and implication of this study were informed by ideas derived from identity theories and language studies. It examined the various layers of complexity in the ways that Broadly-Defined Chinese Heritage Language Learners (BDCHLLs) think about, perceive, and engage ethnolinguistic identity, as they adjust to and in some instances, reclaim, a culture and language learning within the Non-Heritage Mandarin Chinese language programs. It endorsed the idea that Heritage (and Non-Heritage) Language Education is associated with identity and investment. The same

notion applies to some of the Broadly-Defined Heritage Language Learners (BDHLLs), who consider the study of a language as a way to understand their heritage and/or to connect with the family within Non-Heritage language programs. To support these claims, more specific theoretical explanations were selected from ethnolinguistic identity theory (Riley, 2007; Giles & Byrne, 1982; Hildebrandt & Giles, 1983; Herman, 2007, Fishman, 1999), investment (Norton Peirce, 1995, Norton 2001; 2006; 2008; 2010), and personal~passionate~participatory (PPP) inquiry (He & Phillion, 2008) into social justice in education that builds on an array of research traditions related to multicultural education (Aoki, 1992, Au, 2010, May & Sleeter, 2010, May 2008).

Ethnolinguistic Identity Theory.

Different researchers framed identity in different terms. According to Riley (2007), ethnolinguistics is the study of language as an aspect or part of culture, especially the study of the influence of language on culture and of culture on language. The term is commonly used in ethnic studies, and in disciplines such as anthropology, linguistics, and cross-cultural communications. An ethnolinguistic identity means that personal affiliation (i.e. ethnolinguistic group) is made through one's ethnic, cultural, and linguistic choices.

The concept of ethnolinguistic group has been used in the literature to define a human social unit that shares the same language and culture and uses the same criteria to differentiate itself from other social groups. While in reality one cannot expect to find human societies perfectly matching this theoretical construct, in many cases — especially in small-scale indigenous and tribal societies and other traditional local communities — actual social units do approximate the theoretical ethnolinguistic unit. Linguistic

affiliation is commonly one major and salient component of ethnic identification (including self-identification) — although not the only one, and not invariably.

Fishman (1999) pointed out that ethnolinguistic identity derives from a sociolinguistic perspective on language and ethnicity because it is “not a unit trait” (p. 153). He suggested that self-awareness and implementation of one’s ethnic identity are “not invariant but changes from one occasion to another” (Fishman, 1999, p.153). Therefore, the rise of particular specializations, such as ethnolinguistics, within the field of sociolinguistics has coincided with the emergence of more broadly based social and political issues.

Ethnolinguistics focuses on the interrelationships and interactions among ethnicity, culture, nationality, and language, examining the intertwined role of language and society. Scholars in this field are interested in applying the results of their studies to the broadly based social, educational, and political problems. The saliency of ethnolinguistic preferences also correspond to large-scale sociopolitical and socioeconomic development (Fishman, 1999). Ethnolinguists offer a unique opportunity to bring together theory, description, and application in the study of language identity, because they take the linguistic elements of sound, meaning, and form, as well as the changing of ethnic and cultural identity across time and space, into consideration (Riley, 2007).

Ethnolinguistic scholars (Giles & Byrne, 1982; Hildebrandt &Giles, 1983; Fishman, 1999; Herman, 2007) also argue that one’s ethnic, cultural, and linguistic

identity is a “situation of social reality” (Riley, 2007, p. 51). Roberts (1998) further elaborated this social reality notion in her explanation that,

Despite disciplinary differences, one of the most remarkable trends in current thinking about language and culture is a broad consensus on the constructed nature of social reality. Ideas about social relations, social identities, national and ethnic groups and institutions are understood as being formed out of interaction and out of the dominant and conflictual knowledge and assumptions that circulate within society (pp. 109–110).

Roberts’ explanation about the nature of ethnolinguistic identity is parallel to Riley’s ethnolinguistic identity theory. Ethnolinguistic identity researchers are not only concerned about “who you are” (i.e. personal identity), but also “when you are who you are (i.e. social identity), and “how you are who you are” (i.e. individual awareness) (Riley, 2007, p.51). Riley (2007) described ethnolinguistic identities as “largely constructed by others in their own image and likeness,” and noted that, “discourse backed by power can be used to impose identities” (p. 244). He also conceptualized ethnolinguistic identity as a post-modern construct by demonstrating the interactive relationship and social contextuality among language, culture, and ethnicity. He suggested that different ethnic groups have different languages and cultures that shape the identities of their members across time and space.

Ethnolinguistics scholars have not yet reached consensus about whether languages shape cultures or vice versa. Nevertheless, to employ Riley’s ethnolinguistic identity triangulation, it is necessary to agree that there is a relationship between ethnic

identity and linguistic identity. As Sachdev (1993) argued that, language use and identity are related reciprocally, because:

Language use influences the formation of group identity and group identity influences patterns of language attitudes and usage. It is not only actual language use and proficiency that is [sic] associated with identity; ancestral languages may also be valued aspects of group identity, despite not being spoken by most group members (p. 41).

The ancestral languages mentioned by Sachdev put many Asian Americans, especially those beyond the third generation, in a perpetual “foreigner” position where their White dominant peers (and even some heritage language instructors) perceive them as capable of speaking and/or writing Chinese, Korean, Japanese, or any Asian language (Rin, 1975). In fact, many of them completely lose the ability to speak their ancestral languages by the third generation (Cummings, 2005). The degree to which language and ethnic group are linked varies greatly by generation. Those in the second generation are the most confused population because they feel the loss of culture and tradition strongly (Rin, 1975). Fishman (1999) also noted that, “giving up a traditionally associated ethnic mother tongue is both a result of and a cause of ethnocultural dislocation” (p. 154). If the learning experiences of culturally and linguistically diverse students are valued, educators need to better understand their ethnolinguistic identity perceptions in order to accommodate their needs.

Herman (2007) suggested once researchers verify that, within an ethnolinguistic framework, language and ethnicity can be considered “co-variants” then they can move

“from a multi-level to a single-level explanatory model” (p. 219) to study ethnic, cultural, and language identity. Hence, this study explored the interwoven complexity of the identities of Chinese Languages Learners (CLLs) in terms of their race, ethnicity, culture, and language affiliations. Overall, an ethnolinguistic identity is personally, transnationally, socially, ethnically, culturally, and linguistically constructed and negotiated in transitional societies. As shown in Figure 2, it is dynamic, not fixed.

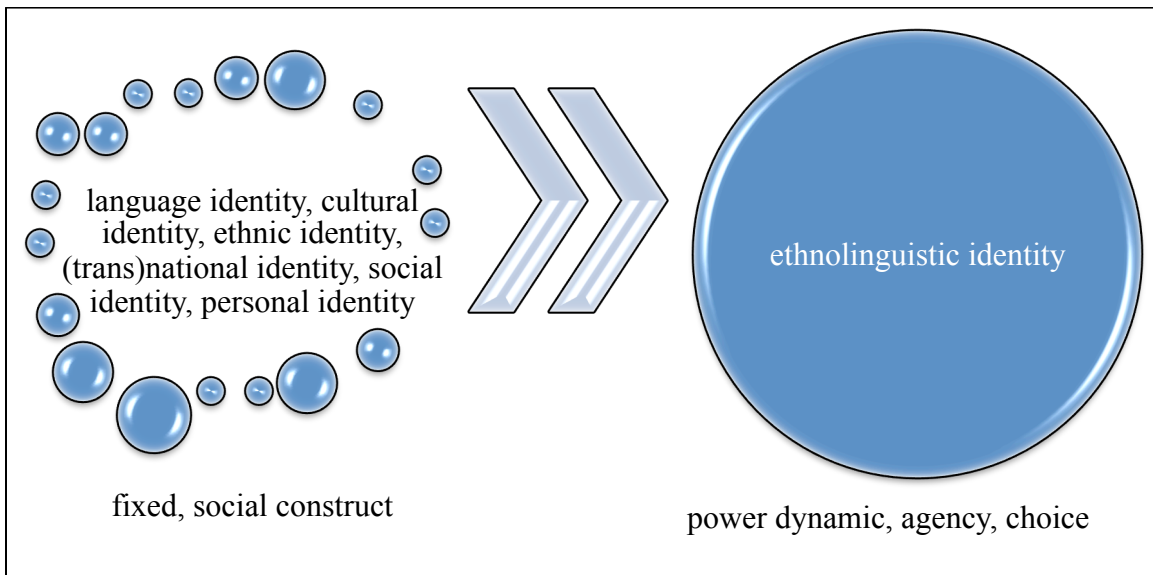


Figure 2: Ethnolinguistic Identity

In this study, ethnolinguistic identity does not have much to do with the studies of linguistics, but is about the value of identity. Here ethnolinguistic is offered as a metonym for scholarship that does not break the boundaries of all the social construct identities. Ethnicity is a complex concept, entailing self-identity, shared experiences in a specific community or community segment, at various levels, and many other factors. Thus language is only one factor in the ethnolinguistic description of a people, or an ethnic group. Language is a primary characteristic and an always-present characteristic of

ethnicity. Without language one would have an incomplete description of ethnicity. Language is a crucial component of ethnicity, which is tied up with one's psyche, as individuals and as a society. Language is a prime constituent of thought. Thus, language is integral to worldview. Differences in worldview involve differences in thought and language. Language is the major element of ethnicity. Yet, either ethnicity or language is still only one component among others.

This study was based on the belief that understanding the perceptions of ethnolinguistic identity of different learners is of great value for teachers, material designers, and program coordinators and especially so for teaching Chinese as second/foreign language because of the sociolinguistic complexity present in Chinese speaking communities. Numerous empirical studies have revealed that immigrant students feel regretful about losing their languages and traditions when attending universities (Shin, 2010; He, 2006; Geislerik, 2004; Lo-Philip, 2010). Therefore, a crucial factor for Heritage Language Learners (HLLs) deciding to acquire or reclaim their ancestral languages in a post-secondary setting is their own sense of cultural recognition.

Second language researchers, such as Deci (1971, 1975) and Deci and Ryan (1985), believe that students who self-identify with their cultural heritages are more likely to be highly motivated in learning their ancestral languages. Researchers also have reported that positive attitudes toward the target language speakers, communities, and cultures are highest among Heritage Language Learners (HLLs), while the desire to use the language for work, career, or study is highest among Non-Heritage Language Learners (NHLLs) (Reynolds et al., 2009). In this study, ethnolinguistic identity is seen

as socioculturally constructed, and educators should be informed by both institutional and community practices to understand the conditions under which language learners speak, read, and write the target language.

Identity researchers in education have provided numerous stories about how immigrant students strive to become Americanized by adopting Anglicized first names. One signal of these processes is naming, Rin (1975) identified a self-protective, ethnic identity maintenance mechanism among immigrant parents who try to educate their children in Chinese and American social patterns simultaneously. They often give their children a Chinese name and retain it legally as a middle name. It is also common for Non-Heritage Chinese Language Learners (NHCLLs) to use their Mandarin Chinese names in class. Generally speaking, names are a manifestation of ethnolinguistic identity. They maintain or reveal a significant part of one's identity, and reflect a certain degree of ethnic and cultural practice, as well as linguistic choice (Riley, 2007).

Notion of Investment.

Investment theory was another critical component of the conceptual and analytic frameworks used in this qualitative study. Norton's notion of investment was inspired by the work of Bourdieu (1991) and it signals the socially and historically constructed relationship of learners to the target language and their ambivalent desire to learn and practice it. As Hawkins and Norton (2009) pointed out, in language education, "there is a mismatch between educational systems and pedagogies and the learners they serve" (p.30). They asserted that past research in the fields of education and language learning tend to locate deficiencies in the learners instead of "re-conceptualizing the roles that

identities have played in language learning as shaped by and within social relationships that systematically advantage some people over others, producing and reproducing inequitable relationships of power in society” (p.30). Thus, they urged language teachers to teach students critically to deconstruct language, texts, and discourse, in order to discern whose interests they serve and what messages are both explicitly and implicitly conveyed.

While Norton’s research primarily deals with English Language Learners (ELLs), her conceptual views of investment are still applicable to studying participants in Non-Heritage Chinese programs. The notion of investment “conceives of the language learner, not as ahistorical and uni-dimensional, but as having a complex social history and multiple desires” (Norton, 2000, p. 444). Therefore, students who take Non-Heritage Chinese may do so for many different reasons, all of which can have variant influences of their ethnolinguistic identity perceptions.

Norton and McKinney (2011) provided a concrete and accessible introduction to identity perspectives on Second Language Acquisition (SLA) (SLA). Using insights from post-structuralism and critical theory, they viewed SLA as a contingent process of identity construction rather than a mechanical act. In characterizing identity, they pointed to, “first, its multiple, heterogeneous character — all human beings enact various, often conflicting identities at the same time; second, its implications for power and opportunity in language learning; and third, how identities change over time” (p. 97). In relation to these points, Norton and McKinney regard investment as what the learners themselves envision putting into and gaining from learning and using a second language in particular

situations, and imagined communities; and the various conceivable groups and communities they envision joining while acquiring new linguistic skills. Learners are agents who may contest or transform, as well as accommodate practices and other attempts to induct into their identities.

Weedon (2004) also noted that people negotiate a sense of self through language within and across a range of situations and circumstances at different points in time, and gain access or are denied access to powerful social networks that give them the opportunities to speak. In conducting research with language learners in Canada, Norton-Peirce (1995) observed that existing theories of motivation in the field of Second Language Acquisition (SLA) (SLA) were not consistent with her findings. Most theories at the time assumed that motivation is a character trait of the individual language learner, and that learners who fail to learn the target language are not sufficiently committed to the learning process. Such theories, which were framed primarily in psychological terms, did not do justice to the identities and experiences of the language learners in Norton's research. For this reason, she made the case that the investment, which can be understood as primarily a sociological construct, might help to broaden conception of motivation in the field of Second Language Acquisition (SLA) (SLA) (Kanno & Norton, 2003).

Norton (2000) also argued that, "if learners invest in the target language, they do so with the understanding that they will acquire a wider range of symbolic and material resources, which will in turn increase the value of their cultural capital" (p.444). Unlike notions of instrumental motivation, which considers the language learner as having a unitary, fixed, and ahistorical personality, the idea of investment views them as "having a

complex identity, changing across time and space, and reproduced in social interaction.” Furthermore, an investment in the target language is in fact an investment in the learner’s own identity. Typical motivation theories do not capture complex relationships among power, identity, and learning implied in theories of investment (Norton, 2000; 2006; 2008).

The relationship of ethnolinguistic identity to Heritage Language Education (HLE) pursued in this study is embedded in the legitimacy of minority students’ language rights. This point is developed further by May (2008). In advocating for minority students’ right in Australia and New Zealand, he advocated for a greater “ethnocultural and ethnolinguistic democracy” (May, 2008, p.233, italicized in original). Weger-Guntharp (2008) showed that having a unique Heritage Language Education (HLE) program benefits Heritage Language Learners (HLLs) and helps them maintain a positive identity. She also was concerned that educating these students separately can be perceived as institutional ethnic segregation. Nonetheless, Kagan (2005) also supported the rationale of having a distinct Heritage Language curriculum under the working definition of proficiency-based design for Russian heritage speakers at the University of California, Los Angeles.

Personal~Passionate~Participatory Inquiry.

He and Phillion (2008) coined the term, personal~passionate~participatory (PPP) inquiry, in a response to recognition of the complexity of human experience in increasingly diversified societies and the need to incorporate multiple methodologies in understanding this complexity such action as research, self-study, life history,

participatory inquiry, narrative inquiry, and cross-cultural and multicultural narrative inquiry. According to them, researchers engaged in this form of inquiry are “distant observers but active participants” (p.16). The goal of these research traditions is to understand and explain the meanings participants make of their own personal experiences and stories (Merriam, 1998; 2011).

He and Phillion (2008) also suggested that using personal~passionate~participatory (PPP) inquiry allows educational researchers and teachers to examine mainstream curriculum which negates the experiences of students from diverse backgrounds, develop multicultural education curriculum that recognizes and validates forms of diversity, and foster an empathetic understanding of diverse students that promotes culturally relevant and responsive teaching. Personal~passionate~participatory (PPP) inquiry is meaningful for this study because data are presented in “a life-like way,” researchers uncover hidden and untold stories of their participants to counter “the official story,” and the researchers demonstrate “strong commitment to the plight of their participants and the injustice embedded in the larger society” (He & Phillion, 2008, pp. 271-272).

Personal~passionate~participatory (PPP) inquiry has another attribute that was helpful in framing this study of ethnolinguistic identity perceptions among Non-Heritage Chinese Language Learners (NHCLLs). It allows qualitative researchers with backgrounds in language teaching to use “self-conscious methods” in second language education research (Kilbourn, 2006, p. 530). The “insider sensitivity” viewed as inherently compatible with some form of multiculturalism derives from this connection

may help researchers to recognize a caveat noted by Kubota (2010). She said, “a common approach to diversity in second language education often reflects the liberal form of multiculturalism, which promotes a superficial form of pluralism, reinforces color or difference-blindness, and eroticizes and essentializes the culture of the Other, while obscuring issues of power and privilege” (p. 99). These phenomena are common in teaching Modern Standard Chinese, where Mandarin and Han Chinese are the only language and people in China who are represented in the curriculum (Huang, 1997).

In the last two decades, some scholars and practitioners in second language education have critiqued the dominant ideology and advocated critical pedagogies for social transformation (Norton & Toohey, 2004). While such critiques have mostly focused on unequal linguistic and cultural relations of power, increasingly, recent scholarship has paid attention to racialization and racism in relation to language teaching and learning (Curtis & Romney, 2006; Kubota & Lin, 2009). For instance, in the United States foreign language textbooks appear to favor White characters when representing Americans (Suárez-Orozco & Sattin-Bajaj, 2010). A less frequently discussed topic is the intersection between Heritage and Non-Heritage languages and experiences of ethnically, racially, and culturally diverse language learners. This study was a step in the process of interrupting traditional language learning research. In this sense, it is consistent with explanations of May and Sleeter (2010) that a “critical multicultural understanding of identity provides the opportunity to analyze the normative nature of [W]hiteness and the processes of radicalization” (p.11). They explain further that, “Critical engagement in issues of racialization, racism, and class in second language education” (p.100) is part of

the larger mission of equity and social justice, and they urge critical multicultural educators to challenge the existing inequality of power in second language education.

A personal~passionate~participatory (PPP) inquiry approach allows researchers to use “sociolinguistic and symbolic interactionist” (Erickson, 1986, p. 156) research approaches that have special relevance for teaching and learning Chinese. This hybrid analytical framework facilitates accounting for the differential patterns of development, adaptations, and negotiations which Broadly-Defined Chinese Heritage Language Learners (BDCHLLs) experience. Hence, merging ethnolinguistic perspectives with language, culture, and ethnicity provides a platform from which to analyze the various forms and meanings that identity take as Broadly-Defined Chinese Heritage Language Learners (BDCHLLs) integrated language knowledge and cultural practices from their different social worlds.

Summary

This chapter introduced the historical origins of Heritage Language education and the development of Non-Heritage language program at post-secondary institutions in the United States. The Chinese language program at the site of this study is described, particularly the textbooks it uses. The conceptual framework of this study is based on three theoretical lenses, which are ethnolinguistic identity theory, notion of investment, and narrative inquiry. The purpose of this study is not to be prescriptive, but to find out about the perceptions of ethnolinguistic identity of Broadly-Defined Heritage Language Learners (BDHLLs) associated with Non-Heritage Mandarin Chinese language

education, and to promote critical awareness how power relations are constructed and function within the contexts of language, culture, and identity.

Chapter II: Review of Related Research and Scholarship

This study employed critical contemporary approaches to understating identity in general and specific characteristics of ethnolinguistic identity from the perspective of investment theory and narrative research in second language education. Norton and McKinney (2011) suggested that Second Language Acquisition (SLA) educators need a comprehensive theory of identity that integrates the individual language learner and the larger social world, and they should address how relations of power in the social world affect learners' access to the target language community. Hence, using an identity approach to Second Language Acquisition (SLA) helps re-define binary terms like intrinsic motivation or extrinsic motivation, and Heritage or Non-Heritage while considering that such affective factors are frequently socially constructed in inequitable relations of power, change across time and space, and possibly coexist in contradictory ways within a single individual.

Identity of Heritage and Non-Heritage Language Learners

Many researchers and theorists have provided different definitions of identity in Heritage Language. According to Joseph (2006), identity is a category to which a person belongs. Individuals belong to many social categories based on gender, ethnicity, nationality, cultural heritage, age, occupation, and social status. That is to say, one has multiple identities based on multiple group memberships. May and Sleeter (2010) explained that, “identity choices are inevitably shaped and constrained by one’s position(ing) in the wider society, a product in [terms] of power relations...identities, ethnic or otherwise, are not— indeed, cannot— be freely chosen...” (p. 6). Examining

the ethnic, cultural, and language identity formation of post-secondary Chinese Language Learners (CLLs) through the lens of ethnolinguistic theory may disclose their personal perspectives on these phenomena. These bottom-up narratives can inform language instructors and staff administrators in future curricular and instructional decision-making processes. When analyzing insights of ethnolinguistic identity in heritage language learning, it is imperative to consider influences of investment, culture, and inequality of power therein.

From an ethnolinguistic viewpoint, Riley (2007) argued that identity is negotiated in discourse and is influenced by language, which is the medium for its negotiation. By language, he specified the features of sound, meaning, and form. Understanding these features in language is particularly important when considering identities of Broadly-Defined Chinese Heritage Language Learners (BDCHLLs) in this study, as it is necessary to account for a “set of ambiguities and complications” (He, 2006, n.p.) that arise when individuals speak and interact with two or more languages. An ethnolinguistic approach allows identity researchers to examine how many group memberships one has and how much participation one puts into each category, in order to better understand the perceptions of ethnolinguistic identity of Broadly-Defined Heritage Language Learners (BDHLLs).

He (2006) also pointed out that most Chinese Heritage Language Learners (CHLLs) are interested in maintaining and learning their heritage language because of their cultural identity, and they want to stay connected to their heritage culture. Many second language studies that are based on such cultural identity assumption regard

heritage as a desire and relationship that connects Broadly-Defined Heritage Language Learners (BDHLLs) to their Chinese ancestry. The idea of an ancestral language is also defined by Bakhtin (1982) as “the uninterrupted process of historically becoming” (p. 288), since living languages combine a multiplicity of ideologies and social belief systems. Becoming is the process of using the language that continues throughout the whole life of a person. In this view, every time Non-Heritage and Broadly-Defined Heritage Language Learners speak, they are negotiating and renegotiating a sense of self in relation to the larger social world, and reorganizing that relationship in multiple dimensions of their lives.

Ethnolinguistic Identity, Agency, and Legitimacy.

The kind of cultural identity that He (2006) specified is a variable within a broader social identity, which does not necessarily require proficiency in a heritage language. Hall (1994) further focused on such cultural identity as in process, and stressed the importance of representation derived from the discursive construction of language identity. Together, they pointed out that language and cultural identities are inseparable from personal choices (i.e. agency) in developing multilingual skills. Maguire and Curdt-Christiansen (2007) suggested that developing a bilingual identity in a society that devalues heritage languages is a difficult task. The maintenance of ethnic identity assumes great importance since it “overcomes feelings of alienation” (Rin, 1975, p. 150). For the first generation, life in a new culture engenders tension and strain, feelings of isolation, loneliness, and sometimes hostility. But maintaining relationship with their relatives, friends, and

ethnic groups can be a safety device and a means of relaxation. Therefore, heritage languages play an important role in the immigration community. However, for the second and third generations onwards, maintaining the heritage language may not be regarded as a priority growing up in the United States. Resuming one's ethnic identity is a significant way of responding to a situation demanding some cultural and language recognition. Oftentimes, it is not until these Narrowly-Defined Heritage Language Learners or Broadly-Defined Heritage Language Learners attend colleges that they begin to feel the need to take courses that are relevant to their ancestry in some aspects of ethnicity, language, or culture, to reclaim their identity.

Therefore, language choices of heritage speakers reflect different levels of agency that they are able to develop and express (Lee, 2006). As defined by Stritikus and Nguyen (2010), linguistic agency is regarded as choosing to position oneself within a heritage culture, sustain the knowledge of a heritage language, and use the heritage language while being bilingual and fluent in English. This agency contrasts with what members of the dominant language and culture expect from other members. In other words, cultural positioning and identity politics in heritage language contexts reveal personal identity choices; illustrate how heritage language speakers relate to their cultural heritage; and demonstrate how they cope with linguistic and social prejudice.

As Norton Peirce (1995) stated, "language is not conceived of as a neutral medium of communication but is understood with reference to its social meaning"

(p.13). From her qualitative study, she found that some people identify with a heritage community even when they are English monolinguals. In discussing acculturation and language loss in her case study of four female immigrant language learners from Vietnam, Poland, Czechoslovakia, and Peru in 1991 in Canada, Norton (2000) analyzed diary entries of their reflection on the language learning experiences in the home, workplaces, and communities. She found that “additive bilingualism” could “ensure that language learners have an investment both in the target language and the mother tongue,” while “subtractive bilingualism” makes a second language learned “at the cause of losing the mother tongue” (Norton, 2000, p.443).

Speaking of bilingualism, in her research on Latino students, Valdés (2001) explained that maintenance of the Spanish heritage language, and ties with the heritage language and culture are left to the individual and the family. It is almost impossible to reproduce the whole scope of sociocultural and interpersonal realities involved in acquiring and transmitting a heritage language in the way the English language is learned in the United States. Thus, balanced bilingualism is a concept that is not always realized. Bilingual proficiency falls on a continuum and depends on how much contact with and what attitude a person has toward the two languages.

For instance, Shin (2005) analyzed the processes of dual language development among Korean American children, and found that the bilingualism of linguistic minority students is a resource to be cultivated and treasured, not a

problem to overcome. She argued that since the heritage language is a means of communication within the family, the loss of it can mean loss of communication among family members, and can have a negative impact on children's development and behavior. Moreover, negative childhood experiences associated with the heritage language, such as misunderstandings, embarrassments, or humiliation connected with the language or culture either in the dominant society environment or among speakers of the language, can lead to decreased identification with the heritage language and culture. This may explain why some of the Broadly-Defined Heritage Language Learners (BDHLLs) are reluctant to speak or learn their parental or ancestral languages as they grew up.

Bicultural and bilingual identity negotiation involves shifting from one language to the other, and navigating among different aspects and layers of identity. In addition to studying these processes among Korean immigrants, Shin (2010) examined language learning and identity of mixed-heritage adults of Chinese ancestry. She reported the every day struggles in language, culture, and education of the participants, and how their identity development was co-constructed both by Non-Heritage and Heritage language speakers. Her study influenced the rationale for this study to include Non-Heritage Language speakers to see how perceptions of ethnolinguistic identity were co-constructed. Furthermore, Lee (2006) surveyed 530 U.S. college-level Less Commonly Taught Languages (LCTLs) learners, and found that the identities of Heritage and Non-Heritage Language Learners were constructed in relationship to others, and were perceived

to be “multifaceted and fluid” (p. 554). The data from this study validated the complexity of the identification process of Heritage and Non-Heritage Language Learners, and indicated that these two categories may not be mutually exclusive.

Liu (2007, 2009) conducted a mixed method study to compare the beliefs and motivations of 278 Chinese Heritage and Non-Heritage Learners in 18 British universities. She examined how these two programs affected their learning strategies. She discovered that the achievement of both groups of students was affected by preconditioned beliefs that Chinese heritage college students were more motivated than Non-Heritage students because they believed in the importance of reclaiming and reconnecting to their ethnolinguistic identity. Her studies supported statements by Ginsberg and Wlodkowski (2009) that motivation theories are inseparable from culture in learning languages. Thus, the degree of language maintenance and development achieved is connected to how much contact a person has with the heritage language and its cultural community.

Another study related to understanding Chinese heritage students was conducted by Wen (2011). She investigated attitudes and motivation by using a socio-educational model of Gardner to examine what factors influenced Heritage and Non-Heritage students’ learning of Chinese as a second language, and the similarities and differences among three subgroups (i.e. bilingual, heritage-motivated, and non-heritage learners). In her study, there were a total of 317 participants enrolled in Chinese courses at three state universities in the United States. Her findings demonstrated that positive learning attitudes and experiences

were the main factors of a motivational scale that consisted of the intended learning efforts and intended continuation of study in the future. Her study also revealed that instrumentality rated very highly across the three subgroups, and it appeared to be the second significant predictor for intended continuation of study in the future with both groups of heritage learners (i.e. Chinese bilingual, and heritage-motivated). Although the Chinese bilinguals and heritage-motivated learners did not differ significantly in most motivational factors, significant differences were observed between the Heritage (Chinese bilinguals and heritage-motivated) and Non-Heritage learners on most other factors. Heritage learners, especially Chinese bilinguals were more likely to attribute their success in the course to uncontrollable and/or external factors, and failure to internal factors.

From Wen's (2011) previous study, she suggested that, in addition to reclaiming cultural identity, heritage learners (Chinese bilingual or heritage-motivated) may desire to learn their heritage language instead of other foreign languages due to socio-cultural influences. Her study of Chinese Heritage Language Learners (CHLLs) demonstrated that these types of learners may study Chinese to search for their ethnic identities and recover the roots of neglected cultural heritage. This is why she grouped them as Chinese bilinguals and heritage-motivated.

Research (Fishman, 1999; Valdés, 2001; Li, 2008; Wiley, 2008) also has shown that Heritage and Non-Heritage Language Learners may differ in linguistic and cultural backgrounds as well as in socio-psychological and affective

dimensions of learning the language. For instance, in her article, *Identity Language Learning, and Critical Pedagogy*, in the *Encyclopedia of Language and Education*, Norton (2008) indicated that marginality is a form of non-participation that prevents full engagement of second language learners. She brought the legitimacy challenge to attention in framing critical language pedagogy.

Along a similar line of legitimacy challenge in Second Language Acquisition (SLA), Norton and Gao (2008) observed that the learning orientations of non-native speakers are particularly pertinent when they are in classrooms where speakers of the target language constitute the more experienced members of the community. Therefore, they concluded that non-native learners of the target language are perceived as the legitimate learners and newcomers, while native or near-native learners of the target language are perceived as the illegitimate learners who are old-timers.

Considerable work has been done comparing the linguistic similarities and differences of Heritage and Non-Heritage learners of the same language in terms of their Second Language Acquisition (SLA) processes, but much less has examined learners' inner affective factors in their second language learning. Husseinalli (2006) investigated the initial motivation of 120 Heritage and Non-Heritage Arabic learners, and grouped the results into three major orientations, namely "instrumental orientations, identification orientations, and travel and culture orientations" (p. 401). He found statistical differences between instrumental orientations for Non-Heritage learners and their identification of Non-Heritage. The

Non-Heritage learners were more likely to be motivated because of instrumental orientation; they were viewed as “honorary members” in the Arabic language classes. The heritage speakers were more motivated as they continued to reclaim their Arabic identity.

While Wen (2011), Liu (2007, 2009), and Hussenali (2006) treated Heritage as a single motivational, racial or ethnic group (e.g. a Chinese person and an Arab), and Non-Heritage as White, Shin (2010) and Lee (2006) have reconsidered the two categories and acknowledged they may have some effects on shaping the identity of second language learners. Therefore, in view of Shin’s (2010) and Lee’s (2006) conceptualizing, this research explored the heterogeneity in Non-Heritage Language classes at the site of this study and how it affected the perceptions of ethnolinguistic identity of Broadly-Defined Chinese Heritage Language Learners (BDCHLLs).

Borderlands Identity.

Language identity researchers assume that how both Narrowly-Defined and Broadly-Defined Heritage Language Learners understand, interpret, and communicate their thoughts and feelings are connected to their language, culture, and ethnicity (Lin, 2008; Stritikus & Nguyen, 2010). Researchers in the areas of Second Language Acquisition (SLA), language studies, mixed-heritage scholarships, and heritage language education contend that language and identity are interconnected, and that identity is dynamic and socially constructed (Hornberger, 2006, Hornberger & Wang, 2008).

It is hard to imagine heritage language speakers identifying with only one culture, since heritage language identity involves negotiating between at least two languages and cultures. Wallace (2001) adopted Anzaldúa's (1999) borderlands theory and explained that mixed heritage speakers belong to the dominant discourse community and the heritage language community at the same time, and sometimes even find themselves in-between the two. Therefore, identity negotiation is based on a multicultural view of the self in order to make sense of the disparities between language communities.

While Wallace's (2001) theory portrays the changing identity models of mixed-heritage persons, her principal conceptions also apply to people living in trans-national worlds or within imagined communities. She described several ways that individuals position themselves based on self-identification with heritage and mainstream cultures. In the home base/visitor base model, heritage language speakers consider one culture (mainstream or heritage) as the place baseline in which they are most comfortable operating. Other cultures are frequently visited environments, but attachments to their practices (including language) are not as strong as in the home base cultural environment. Many Broadly-Defined Heritage Language Learners (BDHLLs) belong to this first category.

In the feet in both worlds model, heritage language speakers locate their identities in both cultures in almost equal amounts. They feel at ease speaking the dominant and the heritage languages. Many Narrowly-Defined Heritage Language Learners (NDHLLs) belong to the second category. In the life on the border model,

heritage language speakers function on the periphery of two cultures, sometimes creating a border culture. This is challenging, since the process of identity negotiation is always on the edge and requires a balancing act. Many mixed-heritage Chinese language learners belong to this third category. The shifting identity gears model is the most comfortable for heritage language identity, since one is able to swiftly change identity according to the linguistic and cultural context. Many Chinese bilinguals belong to this fourth category.

Wallace's (2001) borderlands theory and her four models is helpful in understanding the perceptions of ethnolinguistic identity of Broadly-Defined Chinese Heritage Language Learners (BDCHLLs) in a transnational society, and the ways in which mixed-heritage Chinese Language Learners view themselves in Non-Heritage classes. As Norton and McKinney (2011) stated, Heritage Language Learners (HLLs) want to retain an identity that is distinct from a particular (e.g., mainstream language) community. For practical reasons, they may be unwilling to straddle two or more sets of community expectations and learning or performance demands, simultaneously. They may feel conflicted about becoming full members in certain new second language mediated social worlds. From a second language socialization perspective, social interaction with more proficient members of a particular community mediates the development of both communicative competence and knowledge of the values, practices, identities, ideologies, and stances of that community. However, these more proficient speakers are also socialized by novices or newcomers into their expert or old-timers' roles and

identities. They learn from novices or newcomers their specific and unique communicative needs, perspectives, and prior experiences. Thus, “socialization is bidirectional or multidirectional and can lead to the internalization of language because socialization involves myriad complexities...of power, access, identity, and sociopolitical and sociohistorical constraints”(Norton & McKinney, 2011, p.98).

Investment in Language Learning.

Second Language Acquisition (SLA) research has a long tradition of using Intrinsic Motivation Theory. The motivational orientation has led to quite a few studies in terms of their conceptual frameworks (Wen, 2011; He, 2006; Hussenali, 2006; Liu, 2007; 2009). The results usually have shown a statistical relationship between intrinsic or integrative motivation and high levels of performance among Chinese Heritage Language Learners (Liu, 2007; Lawton & Logio, 2009, Reynolds et al., 2009). This relationship was illustrated by the statement of an undergraduate student at Westwood University (the site of this study) majoring in computer engineering and minoring in Chinese, who participated in faculty-led study abroad programs. He said, “The experience built my confidence in my spoken Mandarin. It helped me step out of my shell and interact more. It helped me understand more about my culture” (Departmental e-newsletter, 2009).

However, Norton (2006) argued that definitions alone are not sufficient to explain why and how people can be both intrinsically and instrumentally motivated in learning English language in imagined communities. Based on her research with two female adult immigrant English language learners in Canada, Norton suggested that learners invest in

a second language to acquire a wider range of symbolic and material resources to increase the value of their cultural capital (Norton Peirce, 1995; Norton 2001, 2006, 2008, 2010). There are several underlying key concepts of learners' investment in the target language and their identification, which are imagined communities, cultural capital, and linguist market. Using an investment framework allows second language researchers to increase their ethnolinguistic identity understanding of the process of Second Language Acquisition (SLA).

Imagined Communities.

An ethnolinguistic approach to examining issues of identity and power can broaden understanding of Second Language Acquisition (SLA) with learners' investment and their "imagined communities." According to Anderson (1991), imagined communities are groups of people who are not immediately residentially and accessible but are connected through the power of imagination. This conception explains that the relationship between language, nation state, cultural identity, and ethnicity is fluid and may vary across time and space, ethnic and linguistic boundaries. In their daily lives, people interact with many communities whose existence can be felt concretely. These include their neighborhood communities, their workplaces, their educational institutions, and their religious groups. However, these are not the only communities with which people are affiliated. Norton (2001) extended Anderson's conception by proposing that imagined communities with respect to second language learning can explain non-participation and resistance in the language classroom, and how affiliation with

such communities affects learning trajectories (Norton, 2006). It entails negotiating different ways of being by people in those contexts.

In their study, Pavlenko and Norton (2007) argued that imagination is a way to appropriate meanings and create new identities. It allows language learners to transcend the immediate environment. This is especially important because learning another language, perhaps more than any other educational activity, reflects the desire of learners to expand their range of identities and to reach out to wider worlds. Pavlenko and Norton (2007) described five identity clusters that are relevant to English Language Learners (ELLs). They are postcolonial, global, ethnic, multilingual, and gendered identities. These authors also illustrated how languages and identities are linked to each other, and value in the linguistic marketplace is lost or acquired through imagination. Values within individuals are influenced by the social and cultural networks to which they belong, and are shaped by specific biographies, historical periods of personal and unique experiences, and self-constructed identities within social interactions.

Norton's idea of investment can be used to examine why the Chinese language instruction in the United States is increasing. From her perspective, language is not simply a means of expression or communications; rather, it is a practice that constructs, and is constructed by, the ways language learners understand themselves, their social surroundings, their histories, and their possibilities for the future. Along the lines of future possibility, part of the explanation is the World Language Requirements for College/University

Admission and AP Language Credit Policy that are influenced by globalization and internationalization of higher education (AP Chinese 2010; Li, 2010; Lee & Shin, 2008; Norton & Gao, 2008).

The concept of motivation has informed attempts of researchers and theorists to quantify learners' commitment to learning a target language. Explanations tend to evoke two key kinds of motivation. Instrumental motivation refers to the desire to learn a second language for utilitarian purposes, such as employment, while integrative motivation is the desire to learn a language to successfully integrate into the target language community. Norton's conception of investment extends the idea of instrumental motivation in language learning because she views learners as having complex identities and multiple desires. That is to say, understanding culture and language can be perceived as investment to self, regardless of whether the person is a Heritage or Non-Heritage language speaker in second language classrooms.

Broadly-Defined Heritage Language speakers might be at very different levels of language proficiency, and have different social and ethnic identities within their various communities (Shin, 2010; Xiao, 2006). Wong and Xiao (2010) examined the identity issues of Chinese dialect speakers and confirmed Norton's idea of language investment. They interviewed 64 Chinese Heritage Language Learners who attended the University of Hawaii and University of California-Riverside. These Broadly-Defined Heritage Language Learners (BDHLLs) regarded Mandarin as a heritage language even though it was spoken

neither at home nor in their immediate communities. Three important concepts emerged from this study — imagined community, linguistic hegemony, and language investment. Of these, language investment is closely related to Bourdieu’s philosophies of cultural capital and linguistic market.

Chinese Language Learners (CLLs) may negotiate their identities in connection with social ideologies within an English-speaking community, and within their own heritage language communities, whether they are local or global. Mandarin Chinese is a Non-Heritage language for many Chinese dialect speakers in North America. This illustrates how complex identity negotiation can be, since personal identities are connected to expectations of different language communities regarding language choices.

Several scholars have noted that heritage language identity is influenced strongly by language ideologies, including personal and family language attitudes and uses present in a society (Schieffelin, Woolard, & Kroskrity, 1998; Gee, 2007; Potowski, 2007;). Speakers of more than one language who live in homes and communities where a language other than English is spoken have to learn to navigate and negotiate within and among different language systems. Data produced from a study conducted by Peyton, Ranard, and McGinnis (2001) suggest that a Broadly-Defined Heritage Language Learner’s (BDHLL’s) motivation is mediated by investments that may conflict with the desire to speak, or may make it possible for the language learner to claim the right to speak. While Norton’s research focused on opportunities to speak, McKay and Wong (1996)

investigated Chinese Language Learners' (CLLs) investments in the four skills of listening, speaking, reading, and writing. They argued that investment in each of these skills can be highly selective, and the different skills can have different values in relation to the identities of learners.

McKinney and Norton (2008) addressed the ubiquitous question, What foregrounding identity in language and literacy education means for educational practice and educational change, in an article published in *The Handbook of Educational Linguistics*. They encouraged educators to view language as a social practice through which relationships are defined, negotiated, and resisted.

McKinney and Norton (2008) explained that in second language education, “Difference and power relations must always be considered together in pedagogy that responds meaningfully to diversity, whether such diversity is structured on the grounds of gender, race, class, or other forms of differences” (pp. 192-193). Therefore, becoming a “good” language learner is a much more complicated process than earlier research has suggested (Norton & Toohey, 2004).

Most identity scholars agree that identity is always in process, a site of struggle between competing discourses in which the individual plays active roles. In the exercise of such agency, learners may be invested in a variety of positions that are best understood in the context of shifting relations of power. Toohey and Norton (2003) examined two cases of successful qualitative language learning studies in Canada in the 1990s. Toohey used participant observation, interviews and videotaping with a child, while Norton used journals and interviews with an

adult. Both were interested in social interactions rather than individual characteristics of the learners. Two major points derived from their findings. One was that understanding language learning requires attention to social practices in the contexts in which learners learn a second language. The other was the importance of examining the ways in which learners exercise agency in forming and reforming their identities in those contexts. They considered this dual focus as necessary to understanding good language learning.

As the value of their cultural capital increases, learners reassess their senses of self and their future aspirations. Hence, the integral relationship between investment and identity is actualized. This notion of investment has been examined by other scholars who demonstrated its usefulness in understanding the complex conditions under which language learning takes place. (McKay & Wong, 1996; Skilton-Sylvester, 2002; Potowski, 2007). Most educational identity theorists agree that language is a major component of ethnic identity and that members of different ethnolinguistic groups adjust their speech styles, such as vocabulary usage, word choice, and grammatical structure, to increase intimacy among in-group members, and construct positive identities and self-images (Norton Peirce, 1995).

Cultural Capital and Linguistic Market.

Second language education researchers who adopt Norton's conception of investment in language learning also discuss two other important concepts embedded therein. One is language as cultural capital, and the other is linguistic

market (Bourdieu, 1991). Both came from the French sociologist Pierre Bourdieu's work. Language capital is part of one's cultural capital, where identity is developed, described, and contested. It can create personal struggle for language learners in the United States who belong simultaneously to the majority and one or more minority language communities. Bourdieu's (1991) idea of a "linguistic market" (p. 39) describes the social values of languages. Speakers of two or more languages become aware of different societal linguistic attitudes that assign value to different languages and empower speakers of prestigious majority languages that have valued language capital. Thus, "language forms a kind of wealth" (Bourdieu, 1991, p. 43), and legitimizes the use of the majority language while devaluing the use of minority or heritage languages.

As Bourdieu (1991) explained, the value ascribed to speech cannot be understood apart from the person who speaks, and the person who speaks cannot be understood apart from larger networks of social relationships. While speaking people are negotiating and renegotiating their sense of self in relation to the larger social world, and reorganizing that relationship across time and space. Gender, race, class, ethnicity, sexual orientations, and other characteristics are implicated in this negotiation of identity. In his book *Language and Symbolic Power*, Bourdieu (1991) further pointed out the critical understanding of how such questions are linked to issues of power.

According to Heilbron (2011), Bourdieu's cultural capital refers to the unequal chances of access to higher education, because "each family transmits to

its children, more in an indirect than in a direct manner, a certain cultural capital and a certain ethos, a system of implicit and profoundly interiorized values, which contributes to define, among other things, the attitudes toward cultural capital and toward the school system” (p. 388). Therefore, cultural capital has a double significance. First, it is an attempt to enlarge, differentiate, and correct standard economic analyses by suggesting that educational inequalities result from differences in cultural resources rather than income. This cultural capital is actualized on the basis of a certain socialization of the actors. It represents a way of including economic conceptions in realms of culture, language, and education.

Second, prestige and honor can be conceived as symbolic capital. They are components of the critical theory of culture developed by Bourdieu and raise issues of equity and power relations. These two concepts also help researchers to understand why White students were regarded as honorable heritage language members by some Broadly-Defined Heritage Language Learners (BDHLLs) in the Non-Heritage language classroom observed by Hussenali (2006). To redress inequities between legitimate and illegitimate language speakers, Bourdieu (1991) argued definitions of competence should include the right to speech or the power to impose reception. Thus, power relations in language use have important implications for how learners are positioned by others, for the opportunities they get to speak, and for the varieties of language that are taught and learned.

In the United States, English has valued cultural capital, and other languages do not have as much cultural or market value. The consequence is loss

of languages other than English within the first and second generations, since those languages have lower status and value (Bourdieu, 1991). This illustrates how the language attitudes and choices of Broadly-Defined Heritage Language Learners (BDHLLs) are influenced by social attitudes toward their languages. Norton and Toohey (2004) also pointed out that although, “most teachers in the field of language learning are sensitive to cultural and linguistic diversity among their students, many have not adequately recognized the extent to which power operates to reinforce inequalities in both classrooms and communities” (p.3).

These social attitudes exist in mainstream U.S. society and also among speakers of heritage languages, and reflect language norms and attitudes toward more and less prestigious dialects. A more prestigious variety of a heritage language, and higher levels of literacy in the language, also are valued over certain dialects and specific grammatical, vocabulary, and pragmatic choices (Wiley, 2006; 2008; Huang, 1997; He, 2004; Valdés, 2001). This is another site of struggle and identity negotiation for Broadly-Defined Heritage Language speakers, depending on the kind of cultural capital and linguistic market they have for learning Chinese language.

Cultural capital and linguistic market are inherent characteristics of Broadly-Defined Heritage Language Learners (BDHLLs), but they prompt questions about Non-Heritage legitimacy. Bourdieu’s (1991) argument may explain the legitimacy of Heritage and Non-Heritage Chinese dichotomous tracks. He believed that socioeconomically elite students have more and the right kind of

cultural capital for school success because of their familial socialization. The same argument goes to the rights of receiving a foreign language education; Non-Heritage students from middle class families generally have more cultural contact with Chinese or East Asian countries from an early age. For instance, the *New York Times* (2010) reported that White-collar middle class parents are now sending their children to Chinese bilingual kindergarten in Texas due to the China fever. The middle class value is also evidenced by the study abroad components in language departments across the United States. Many of the U.S. higher learning Chinese programs encourage students to go on summer language study abroad programs in China and Taiwan, or exchange programs through established Chinese institutions. The disadvantaged position of ethnic and linguistic minorities is problematized in modern societies as language education is built on meritocracy and not on equal opportunity (Delpit, 2006).

The kind of cultural capital and linguistic market that Broadly-Defined Chinese Heritage Language Learners (BDCHLLs) possess put them in an unusual position in Non-Heritage programs. It begs the questions of who can and cannot be in Non-Heritage Chinese classes. In most Non-Heritage classes, it is common for White students to ask on the first day, “Isn’t this a Non-Heritage class? Why are there so many Asians? What are they doing here?” They seem to equate Non-Heritage Language classes with being for non-Chinese students, or non-Asian at large. Lin (2008) noted the term, identity, has acquired rising currency and capital

in the research literature and scholarly discourse among heritage language educators that requires further investigation.

Summary

This chapter summarized research and theory that are pertinent to an identity approach to understanding Heritage Language Education and its counterpart — Non-Heritage Language Education in postsecondary institutions. Ethnic, cultural, and language borderlands, and other major identity research were discussed. Norton's investment in language learning, Anderson's imagined communities, and Bourdieu's cultural capital and linguistic market were discussed in detail. Methodological procedures used in conducting this study are described in Chapter III.

Chapter III: Methodology

In Chapter III, reasons for using qualitative methods are first discussed as this study engaged in personal~passionate~participatory (PPP) inquiry (He & Phillion, 2008) to examine the inequality of power therein. The authors argued that this particular type of inquiry allows researchers to use “approaches that focus on experience [and] humanize research” (He & Phillion, 2008, p.15). Next, setting and participants of this study are introduced. Research questions and purpose are followed by data collection and analysis.

Rationale for Qualitative Methods

Since the process of language acquisition and identity construction are multiple and changing, a quantitative research paradigm relying on static and measureable variables would not have been appropriate for this study. Instead, qualitative methodologies were more fitting to explore the complexities for Chinese enrolled in college Non-Heritage language classes. Creswell (1998) defined qualitative research as “an inquiry process of understanding based on distinct methodological traditions...that explore a social or human problem” (p. 15). Qualitative researchers build a complex, holistic picture, analyze words, report detailed views of informants, and conduct the study in a natural setting. Thus, using a qualitative methodology allows researchers to study identity in its naturalistic setting. Morrow, Rakhsha, and Castañeda (2001) provided an array of reasons for using qualitative research to study multicultural issues, such as language acquisition and identity development in counseling. They pointed out that qualitative research:

- includes context as an essential component of the research.

- addresses the researcher's process of self-awareness and self-reflection.
- captures the meanings made by participants of their experiences.
- addresses questions that cannot be answered using traditional quantitative methods.
- provides opportunities for voices that were previously silenced to be heard, and lives that were marginalized to be brought to the center.

According to Merriam (2009), the purposes of qualitative research are to “achieve an understanding of how people make sense out of their lives, delineate the process of meaning-making, and describe how people interpret what they experience” (p.14).

Because of this, qualitative methods allow researchers to explore the objects of study in depth.

Qualitative studies are often conducted to explore a new area and to build, refine, or confirm a theory about it. Therefore, qualitative researchers usually want to know clearly what is going on and how things are proceeding. In particular, “the researcher is looking for patterns of generalization within the case at hand, rather than for generalization from one case or setting to another. Generalization within the case occurs at different levels, which differ in the scope of applicability of the generalization” (Erickson, 1986, p.148). The participants in this study were not assumed to be representative of all Broadly-Defined Chinese Heritage Language Learners and Non-Heritage Chinese Language Learners. Hence, in analyzing the data, the intent was to demonstrate plausibility rather than causality (Erickson, 1986).

Most qualitative research rejects the claim that any research can be objective or unbiased. Instead, researchers have to understand their own experience and knowledge as well as those of the participants in their studies. This does not suggest that qualitative research is lacking in rigor. On the contrary, all research studies are understood to be situated, and the researchers integral to the progress of their projects. Identity researchers aim to investigate the complex relationship between resorting to deterministic or reductionist analyses. They also seek to better understand how power operates within society, constraining, or enabling human action.

Setting and Participants

Students selected to participate in this study were enrolled in First-Year Non-Heritage Chinese classes at Westwood University. According to the Carnegie Foundation classification, Westwood is a large four-year research public coeducational university in the Pacific Northwestern region of the United States. Westwood is primarily non-residential and with very high research activity. On the main campus of Westwood University in 2011, there are about 35,000 students, of which the majority are undergraduates. Among the undergraduate students, 51.9% are female and 48.1% are male. Besides gender, White and Asian make up 51.2% and 28.4% of the undergraduate population, respectively. Hispanic and Latino are 6.3%, Black and African Americans are 3.5%, American Indian and Alaska natives are 1.5%, Native Hawaiian and Pacific Islanders are 0.7%, and 8.4% are other race/ethnicity, including multiethnic, multiracial or unknown. International students consist of 6.9 %, and come from 105 countries, of which East Asian countries, such as China, Taiwan, Japan, and South Korea have the

most headcounts that supersede the other regions. Table 2 provides demographic details of Westwood undergraduates by percentage and by race.

Table 2: Undergraduates at Westwood University (2011) by Percentage and by Race

Race	Percentage	Note
White (Caucasian)	51.2%	Non-Hispanic White
Asian	28.4%	
Hispanic/Latino	6.3%	
Black and African	3.5%	
American Indian and Alaska natives	1.5%	
Native Hawaiian and Pacific Islanders	0.7%	
Other race/ethnicity	8.4%	Including multiethnic, multiracial, or unknown
International	6.9%	From 105 countries. Top four are from East Asian countries, China, Taiwan, Japan, and South Korea (in order)

Within the Chinese program, there were about 263 students enrolled for language courses at the time of study. Of which, 120 students were in the First-Year Non-Heritage Chinese classes. 60 students were in Second-Year Non-Heritage and 37 students in Third-Year Non-Heritage. As for Heritage, there were 22 in First-Year and 21 in Second-Year. There were 3 students in fourth-year Chinese, which did not distinguish Non-Heritage from Heritage. Although the actual name of the University has been replaced with a pseudonym in order to remove any identifiers and protect the confidentiality of the participants, the actual city names in this study as well as the locations that participants mentioned remain as original. The decisions follow the advice offered by Li (2008) and

Norton (2010) that as far as students' learning is concerned, qualitative researchers ought to honor the autobiographical narratives as the validation of past history and experience, with the permission of the participants.

The Chinese Language Learners (CLLs) in Non-Heritage Mandarin Chinese classes were selected based on four attributes: (1) those who grew up with their parents speaking a major Chinese dialect other than Mandarin, and immigrated to the United States from mainland China, Hong Kong, Macau, Taiwan, Japan, Korea, Indonesia, Burma, Vietnam, Thailand, Malaysia, and Singapore; (2) those of mixed, biracial, or multiracial heritage, including some part Chinese; (3) those who were of American nationality with no Chinese ethnic ancestry such as Korean American, Japanese American, and international students from Korea and Japan who are not ethnically Chinese; and (4) Native, Latino, European, and African Americans and others. Individuals in the third and fourth categories had no Chinese ancestry. Categories three and four were set to be two distinctive entities in this study since they are culturally and linguistically different from each other. Taking the writing systems as an example, Chinese characters have historically influenced Korean and Japanese languages (Goddard, 2005; Shin, 2005; Lee, 2002).

For this research, the sampling strategies described by Patton (2002) were used. He called them "maximum variation sampling" and "theory-based sampling" to meet the needs of "purposefully picking a wide range of cases to get variation on dimensions of interest and to operationalize the construct" of study. The sample was selected based on race, ethnicity, and nationality. Gender and age were not of primary concern in this study.

Within the Non-Heritage class at Westwood University, two types of Chinese Language Learners were selected. These were students who self-identified as ethnically or racially Chinese (Type A); and, students who did not self-identify as ethnically or racially Chinese (Type B).

Two types of Chinese Language Learners (CLLs) were screened. First, students who self-identified as ethnically or racially Chinese corresponded to “Broadly-Defined Heritage Language Learners (BDHLLs)” as described by Reynolds, Howard, and Deák (2009). Second, students who did not self-identify as ethnically or racially Chinese corresponded to Non-Heritage Language Learners (NHLLs). Additional features of these study participants are presented in Table 3. Eighteen students were recruited for this study. They were ten Type A (seven Cantonese speakers; one Taisanese speaker; one Teochew speaker; half Chinese and half Jewish) and eight under Type B (two 1.5 Korean Americans; one Japanese international; one 3rd generation Russian Korean; one 1.5 Russian American; one 3rd generation German American; two European Americans) in order to capture the most diverse examples from their narratives.

Table 3: Summary of Type A and Type B Study Participants

First Year Non-Heritage Chinese	Type A (N=10)		Type B (N=8)	
	Major Chinese dialect speaker other than Mandarin (N=9)	Self-identified mixed-heritage, biracial, multiracial (of some Chinese decent) student (N=1)	Non-Chinese Asian International/ Non-Chinese Asian American student (N=4)	Caucasian/ American student (N=4)

The number of students was based on both theoretical and practical considerations. Theoretically, the 18 students were selected based on a contrasting experience (Patton, 2002). The Type A participants had some prior exposure to Chinese languages and cultures before enrolling in the Non-Heritage Class, whereas the Type B participants were new to the Chinese languages and cultures. The final decision about which students to select came from a combination of information provided by students themselves and their willingness to participate. In Appendices E and F, Type A and Type B students are listed chronologically according to the dates that their interviews were conducted. All of the student participants were labeled with numbers to keep their names anonymous in this study due to confidentiality issues. Except for specific locations, all the names of participants when mentioned in the study, including Chinese names in Romanization and Western legal names have been replaced with pseudonyms that they themselves chose to protect their identities.

Profile of the Type A Participants.

Below is some of the demographic information along with family or linguistic background (major and prior language learning) collected from the Broadly-Defined Heritage Chinese Language Learners (Type A) in this study.

Participant A1.

A1 emigrated from the Canton Province in China to Canada at the age of four with her parents and older brother. She grew up in a Cantonese-speaking household in Vancouver, British Columbia and moved to Seattle with her family after high school. She regards herself as “a Cantonese Canadian from Hong Kong who possesses an American

passport.” She has visited relatives in Hong Kong many times both as a child and as a grown-up. She holds triple citizenships and is still fluent in Cantonese. Besides studying French in primary school, which was required in Canada, she also took Spanish in secondary school.

A1’s English first name is rendered from her Chinese name in Cantonese Romanization. A1’s legal middle name on the birth certificate and in her Canadian/ U.S. passport is her English nickname given to her by her pastor in Hong Kong when she was baptized. Her parents did not make her to go to Chinese school when she was young, because they had to work over the weekends. She expressed regrets that she wished “[she] could go to Chinese school at a younger age but that was not [her] parents’ priority since they were too busy.”

At the time of this study, A1 was a graduate student in the Department of Sociology at Westwood University. Before pursuing a Master’s degree, she took some time off working in San Francisco, California for a non-profit organization that primarily served Chinese immigrants who spoke several dialects, including Mandarin and Cantonese. While she could use her Cantonese language skills at work, she wanted to learn Mandarin at that point.

Participant A2.

A2 self-identified as half Chinese and half Jewish. Her parents were divorced when she was young; her mother remarried a Chinese man and her father remarried a Jewish woman. She jokingly said that, “they both went back to their roots.” She classified herself as a third generation Asian American, partially because her Jewish father thinks of

her “as being Asian.” He told her specifically to check the Asian box when filling in school applications and partially because she is close to her maternal grandmother, who is originally immigrated from Shanghai in the early 1930s when China was in war with Japan.

She spent her early childhood with her grandmother in New York City before living in Northern Virginia. From what she could remember, she was raised in a Jewish community with her Jewish father, step-mother, half-siblings, and her half-Jewish-half-Chinese older brother, who “looks less Asian and more Jewish” than her. She shared an incidence which her grandmother lost her brother and her in the crowds at a New York City subway station. Her grandmother filed a report to the police with the description, “one White boy and one Asian girl.” Even though she went to synagogue and ate kosher food while growing up, no one in her family regards her as being really Jewish.

According to A2, her biological mother is a second generation Chinese American who experienced a lot of discrimination growing up in a predominately White neighborhood in New York and never would want to go by her Chinese name because she was embarrassed. She also was reluctant to speak Chinese, though she understood Shanghainese. Her mother gave Student A2 her maiden name as a middle name, whereas her biracial older brother does not have any Chinese name retained in his legal name.

Before taking Chinese at Westwood, A2 has studied Chinese in her senior year as an undergraduate at a college on the East Coast for one year but forgot all of it due to lack of practice. She understands some forms of Shanghainese that her maternal grandmother speaks, but can speak very little Shanghainese herself. She has traveled to

China for family reunions several times and is the only one in her generation who understands a little Chinese. Her biracial older brother and half siblings, including the full Chinese ones on her biological mother's side, do not know any. Therefore, she felt obligated to study Chinese to carry on the family legend even if her architecture core courses did not have a language requirement. She is especially afraid of the Chinese language loss in her family.

Participant A3.

A3 was born and raised in Seattle but her parents are Cantonese speakers from Hong Kong who received English education through high school under the British colonized governance before coming to the United States. She sees herself as a first-generation college student and a second generation Chinese American. Her parents sent both her younger sister and her to a Chinese school in Chinatown (international district) for a brief time during elementary school, but they barely learned anything since they did not like it. The only thing she remembered was how to write her Chinese name in traditional characters and count from one to ten.

Her parents deliberately chose an English first name that corresponds to the meaning of her second Chinese character and put her third Chinese character as her English middle name in the form of Cantonese pronunciation. Thus, her two-character Chinese first name is rendered in her American first and middle names. Her parents did the same thing to her younger sister "to remind [them they] are Chinese Americans," so they both have the same English middle name because they share the same second Chinese character in their names.

At the time of this study, A3 was a first-year college student with undeclared major and potentially interested in minoring in Chinese. She has been to China only once so far. It was a family trip that was a high school graduation gift from her parents. That trip also was very significant and changed her language attitudes. She recalled that before her younger sister was born, she would mix Cantonese and English at home when talking to her parents.

Once A3 began elementary school, she spoke only English with her parents and with her younger sister at home. Although she understands Cantonese better than her younger sister does. Her parents would speak Cantonese to her more often but would switch to English when talking to her younger sister. As a matter of fact, her parents always call her by *ze2 ze2* 姊姊 (big sister) but they call her younger sister by her English name. A3 admitted she did not want to speak Chinese growing up because she did not want to “be different than everyone else at schools.” It was not until going to college that she felt more comfortable being different, and feeling okay about using and speaking the Chinese language at school.

Participant A4.

A4 self-identified as a second generation Chinese American, born and raised south of Seattle, who speaks Teochew and understands a little Vietnamese but not enough to get by, mainly food terms. She was an American Ethnic Studies major and potentially interested in minoring in Chinese, if things worked out. She found American Ethnic Studies fascinating because her father is a second generation Chinese Vietnamese and she is also a second generation one in the United States. She decided to pursue American

Ethnic Studies, because “no one really talks about how it is to be like a second generation growing up. It is either you immigrated here or you are from somewhere else, but I got to read so many stories and discuss questions that are similar to my own family.”

Her household is fairly multilingual. Her father speaks Teochew at home and Vietnamese at school and work; her mother is a native from Guǎngzhōu 廣州, China, who also speaks Teochew at home, learned Cantonese at school, and even acquired some Taiwanese and Mandarin at work. She revealed that her parents’ marriage was arranged and her mother was a mail-order bride but somehow picked up Vietnamese after marrying his father. Her father changed his Chinese last name from the Vietnamese version of it (Vuong) to the English version (Wang) after immigrating to the United States. But not all of his siblings changed the spelling of the last name. Her father spoke Vietnamese as his to-go language among his siblings but would speak Teochew to her mother and grandfather. Her grandfather understands Vietnamese but did not want to speak it back in Vietnam.

A4 has one older sister and one younger sister. All of them have the same second character in their Chinese names, which was given to them by their fraternal grandfather. Their English middle names are her mother’s Chinese maiden name in Standard Hànyǔ pīnyīn 漢語拼音 (Modern Standard Chinese Romanization) because her mother knew the system fairly well. A4 said she will give her future children real Chinese names (i.e. two-character first name as opposed to her maiden name) as their middle names on the birth certificates because “they are going to be third generation Chinese Americans, so [she wants] to remind them that they are Chinese.”

Her older sister knows Teochew and Cantonese but does not know any Mandarin, and cannot read and write in Chinese. Her parents sent A4 and her younger sister to Chinese school when she was in eighth grade. She did not continue after one year because she felt that she was too old to be with the children around her younger sister's age in the class and at the time she started to do honors classes in high school. She also did not like the Chinese school because the teacher there was too strict. Her younger sister continued for a couple of years before finally stopping and she does not speak any Chinese at home now.

Participant A5 and A6.

A5 (older) and A6 (younger) are brothers and they self-identified as second generation Chinese Americans since they were born and raised in the United States. At the time of this study, they were both college sophomores. A5 was accepted into civil engineering and his younger brother, A6, was accepted into aerospace engineering. They both thought about getting a minor in Chinese but the engineering adviser told them that the language classes would have time schedule conflicts with their core courses. Hence, they would not want to jeopardize their major with this minor.

Their last name is of a rather uncommon spelling and a lot of people do not know they are Chinese based on its Romanization form since it looks like an American name. Their parents did not give them Chinese middle names; rather, both of their middle names could be common English first names that their parents randomly picked from the Bible because their parents told them, "their lives would be a lot easier in American society with all English names."

A5 and A6 grew up hearing a lot more Cantonese than speaking. They took three years of Japanese in high school because it was closer to Asian culture than Spanish since Chinese was not offered. However, they said they were lucky that they did not have to go to Chinese school on the weekend. Their mom taught them some Cantonese at home when they were young, such as their names and some traditional characters. Their father taught them how to play Chinese chess (xiàng qí 象棋) and mah-jongg (májiàng 麻將) so they could recognize horse (mǎ 馬), vehicle (chē 車), soldier (bīng 兵)...etc., and direction words such as east, south, west, north, middle (dōng, nán, xī, běi, zhōng 東南西北中).

Their father, whose parents are from Táishān 台山, was educated in Hong Kong through high school and came to the United States for college. Their mother immigrated to the U.S. during high school and finished her undergraduate at Westwood University. They have an older brother, also born and raised in the U.S., who speaks and understands Cantonese better, and he also knows a little Taisanese because their fraternal grandparents speak Taisanese. After their older brother started elementary school, all three children switched to an English only mode of communication at home where they would speak English among themselves and respond to their parents in English. Their Taisanese-speaking paternal grandparents do not speak English but understand Cantonese since they lived in Hong Kong prior to moving to the U.S. to reunite with their son. Sometimes A5 and A6 had to use their Cantonese to communicate with their grandparents at home. But whenever that happened, the conversation would be awkward

and reduced to the bare basics, so their relationship with their grandparents was not very close.

Participant A7

A7 self-identified as a second generation Chinese American, who was born and raised in the U.S. At the time of the study, she was a sophomore in Communications at Westwood University, although her parents have always wanted her to major in business and help out with the family local business in Chinatown after graduation. Her parents are both immigrants who came to the United States as refugees. Her father grew up speaking Cantonese in Burma and Thailand, and her mother grew up speaking Cantonese in the Philippines.

A7 speaks Cantonese fluently because her parents speak only Cantonese at home and it is her first language. She has a younger brother and a younger sister; none of them have middle names. She did not think that her parents knew what the concept of a middle name in the Western world was when they gave names for their children's birth certificates. They just gave them common American first names in the hope that these would help their children assimilate into American society. It was not until college that she developed a liking for Chinese and decided that she may want to major in the language.

A7 thanked her parents for stressing the importance of the Chinese language when she was growing up. Her mother hired nannies who spoke Mandarin dialects and tutored her in English when she was little. So she was exposed to different dialects of Mandarin, such as Shāngdōnghuà 山東話. But she and her younger siblings would speak English to

the nannies because they knew the nannies also understood English. Gradually, they all converted to English-only mode at home and in school.

However, A7 received a lot of discrimination growing up speaking Cantonese because her English language was not as proficient as her first language. Her elementary teachers thought she was stupid and put her in special education because she did not understand the instructions in English and she always got the low scores on English reading comprehension tests. Therefore, she said to herself at a young age, “every time I hear myself pronouncing a word wrong in English, I will have to redo it,” which was why her English (compared to her cousins) is more like American native speakers. She even told her younger siblings and her cousins that, “we were born and raised here, and the least we can do is to speak proper English.” Her language acquisition finally clicked when she was in fourth grade. She took three years of French in high school and was sent to Chinese school for a couple of years in elementary school. She stopped going to Chinese school on Saturdays because she did not like sacrificing her weekend and the school was not enjoyable or stimulating. She would have to memorize the characters and read the text over and over in class. She did not find learning Chinese interesting when she was a child.

Participant A8

A8 was born in the United States but went back to Hong Kong and received her education in a Hong Kong American school until fifth grade. Mandarin classes were electives at school, but she did not take any because she could speak acceptable Cantonese. Her whole family moved to the United States after she finished fifth grade but

her parents moved back to Hong Kong for work after she started high school. At the time of the study, A8 has not declared any major, but was thinking about choosing physiology. She took French for four years and started Mandarin in college, because she thought if she ever made the decision to return to live with her parents in Hong Kong, she would be more culturally adept and would have the choice to speak Chinese if she wanted to. She now lives with her grandparents and her two younger brothers.

At home, A8 and her family mainly speak English. She understands Cantonese but her two younger brothers are more willing to speak it with her grandparents. She knows how to write her Chinese name in traditional characters but that is about the limit of her writing skills. Both of her younger brothers went to Chinese school and speak better Cantonese than she does. She claimed that she is very “whitewashed and did not want to be considered as a fob, so she would only date White boys”. Both of her ex-boyfriends were White.

This White preference also reflected in her attitude towards Chinese name. Her mother was in charge of English names and her father was in charge of Chinese names. A8’s legal middle name is her Chinese first name rendered in Cantonese pīnyīn. She disliked her middle name; if there were a choice she would have “a normal English middle name, such as Michelle or Stephanie,” as opposed to the Romanization form.

Participant A9

Participant A9 was born in San Jose, California, but a week later he was taken to Hong Kong and lived there for the first six years of his life. His parents were divorced when he was at a young age. His mother remarried a White man and brought him back to

the United States. Because of his initial lack of English proficiency, his elementary teachers thought he was stupid and he was soon labeled as in need of special education. His teachers told his mother that, “we cannot teach your son because he does not speak English.”

A9 lived in Montana for one year and Tennessee for ten years prior to moving to Seattle after high school. While in secondary school, he took Spanish for three years because he thought it would be useful for the future. He did not realize that he was always the only Asian boy in class before relocating to Seattle with his mother and stepfather. At Westwood, he noticed that, “almost a third of my classmates in my major classes are Asians. I met a lot of Chinese and Taiwanese friends on campus, which was one of the main reasons why I want to take Chinese here.”

Despite his inability to write Chinese A9 has a high level command of spoken Cantonese with his relative on his father’s side in Hong Kong since he visits Hong Kong every other summer. He also speaks Cantonese with his mother at home. He does not have a middle name on his birth certificate. His father gave him his Chinese name and his mother gave him his English first name selected from a cartoon character in a children’s book but she could not recall the actual title. At the time of this study, he was a sophomore majoring in accounting and finance. Initially he considered getting a degree in psychology but his parents reminded him it would be hard to get a job with this kind of education.

At first when asked where he was from, A9 would say Memphis, but he thought Americans would keep asking him the same question. He was so annoyed by it that he

would just answer Hong Kong, because he thought people were really asking, “Where are your parents from?” His mother enrolled him in a nearby Chinese school but he said he did not learn anything at such a young age nor did he like going to school on the weekend. The only thing he remembered was how to write his Chinese name in traditional characters.

Participant A10

This participant in the study was born and raised in the United States. She is close with her fraternal grandmother because her parents were busy working all the time at a family-owned Chinese restaurant when she was young. Her fraternal grandmother speaks Taisanese only, and taught A9 how to write her Chinese name and a few other characters; she also read her Chinese stories at bedtime. Her Chinese first name is rendered in her English middle name in Cantonese pīnyīn. She said her name “reminds me of being Chinese every day.” She would consider giving her future children Chinese names but was hesitant to put those on the birth certificates, because “they are going to be third generation in the family and maybe having all English names would make their lives in America much easier.”

A10’s younger sister speaks only English at home. They both took Japanese back in high school for three years since Chinese was not offered. At the time of this study, she was thinking about majoring or minoring in Chinese along with Business if the coursework would align in the future. Her boyfriend’s family speaks Cantonese, so she also has begun to appreciate that language.

Profile of the Type B Participants.

Less descriptive information was collected from the Type B participants in this study for three reasons. These included them not having any Chinese ancestry; not having any (or very minimal) experience with Chinese language, culture, and the practice for naming, and serving secondary function in this study while the role of the Type A participants was primary.

Participant B1

Participant B1 is a Korean citizen who went to international schools in Seoul and Beijing, and came to the U.S. at the age of 15 but is now a U.S. citizen. He is both fluent in Korean and English. His official name at registration is his Korean name and he sometimes preferred to go by his English name. He also took Spanish for three years in high school. He was a freshman pursuing international studies major and was also thinking about majoring in Chinese at the time of this study. He had developed a liking in Chinese language after he found the similarities between Chinese and Korean.

Participant B2

B2 is a third generation German American from Nevada who is a member of ROTC at Westwood University. He knows a little bit of German not from his family but from being stationed in Berlin for one year prior to coming to study at Westwood. He self-claimed as an English monolingual. However, he also took three years of Spanish in high school. He declared international studies major with a Chinese track at the time of this study.

Participant B3

Participant B3 is a mixed-heritage student who self-identified as Korean American since her father is half Korean and half American, and her mother is full Korean. She was primarily educated in South Korea through American schools. She has lived in Virginia for one year and Japan for three years because of her father's U.S. military assignments. B3 is fluent in English, Korean, and Japanese. She claimed her English as being the strongest language. She was majoring in international studies with an East Asian concentration and a China track at the time of this study. She did not pursue Japanese further because she regarded China is where the world is at right now. She wanted to work for the U.S. government in China after college.

Participant B4

Participant B4 self-identified as a third generation Russian Korean. She moved to the United States during high school and is a U.S. passport holder. She knows Spanish and Portuguese but does not know the Korean language. At the time of this study, she was majoring in international studies and thinking about switching to linguistics so that she could put her multilingual skills into good practice. She was interested in Chinese because her first friend in high school when she first moved to the United States was from Taiwan.

Participant B5

Participant B5 is an international student from Japan. She has studied some Chinese back in Japan, mostly kanji. English is her second language. She had not declared her major at the time of study, but was thinking about psychology.

Participant B6

B6 self-identified as 1.5 Russian American. He was born in Russia and moved to the United States at the age of 10. He is well versed in Russian. At the time of this study, he was a sophomore double majoring in math and computer sciences.

Participants B7 and B8

Participants B7 and B8 both self-identified as European Americans and had no experiences in learning Chinese which was the main reason they were enrolled in the Non-Heritage Chinese class that was the site of this study. B7 was an engineering major and B8 was an international studies major with a focus on China.

Research Questions

In order to acquire a more thorough and nuanced understanding of the perceptions of ethnolinguistic identity of Broadly-Defined Chinese Heritage Language Learners (BDCHLLs) in the Non-Heritage program at Westwood University, it is important to examine the perceptions of the students themselves, their instructors, and their Non-Heritage peers on what it means to be a Heritage or Non-Heritage Language Learner, and how these learning experiences affected ethnic and linguistic identities. These multiple perceptions also were useful in identifying the effects of instructional techniques on Chinese language learning experiences; the rationales for their identifications; problems and challenges Broadly-Defined Chinese Heritage Language Learners encounter; and their coping strategies and negotiations they devised and employed. The specific research questions examined in this study were:

1. What are the different perceptions of Non-Heritage and Heritage Mandarin Chinese class:

- By Chinese ancestry Non-Heritage students (Broadly-Defined Chinese Heritage Language Learners, BDCHLLs)?
 - By other students enrolled in Non-Heritage classes but are not of Chinese ancestry (Non-Chinese Heritage Language Learners, NCHLLs)?
 - By instructors (full instructors and graduate teaching assistants)?
2. What effects do Non-Heritage Mandarin Chinese Classes have on the ethnolinguistic identity perceptions of Broadly-Defined Chinese Heritage Language Learners (BDCHLLs)?
- How do BDCHLLs view themselves in Non-Heritage classes? Why do they perceive themselves this way?
 - How are BDCHLLs Chinese and when are they Chinese?
 - Are the perceptions of investment of BDCHLLs different from those of their Non-Chinese Heritage peers? If so, in what ways?
 - In what ways are Chinese names perceived to be significant to BDCHLLs compared to their Non-Chinese Heritage peers?
 - What are the perceived feelings and attitudes of BDCHLLs toward Mandarin compared to the Chinese dialects spoken by their parents and other family members?
 - What perceptions of significance do BDCHLLs attach to learning Chinese language and culture?

3. How do the curricular materials and instructional techniques used in Non-Heritage Mandarin Chinese classes influence the perceptions of ethnolinguistic identities of BDCHLLs?
 - Are textbook characters and visual representations perceived to affect the feelings of ethnic and cultural identity and affiliation of BDCHLLs? If so, how?
 - How do traces of transnationalism in lesson dialogues and language practices influence their perceptions of cultural, ethnic, and linguistic identity?
4. What challenges and problems do the BDCHLLs perceive to exist from being placed in a Non-Heritage Mandarin Chinese class?
 - How are their backgrounds perceived to be an advantage or a disadvantage in Non-Heritage Mandarin Chinese classes?
5. What strategies and negotiations are developed by the BDCHLLs to navigate their ethnic identities and linguistic skills in Non-Heritage Mandarin Chinese classes?
 - How do perceptions of their own cultural practices and language skills influence how BDCHLLs negotiate and redefine their identity?

Data Collection

In identity approaches to second language learning, there has been a strong methodological focus on narratives from either existing or discursive accounts as self-reported and a high value placed on reflective data. Consistent with these emphases the data used in this study were generated from three primary sources. These were archives, documents, and interviews. This combination provided the rich body of information for

understanding the study participants and their Chinese language learning as socially, historically, and politically constructed, and the Non-Heritage classroom as a site of identity negotiations. Methodologically, two data collection techniques were used. First, semi-structured interviews were conducted with Broadly-Defined Chinese Heritage Language Learners (BDCHLLs), Non-Heritage Chinese Language Learners (NHCLLs), and First-Year Mandarin Chinese course instructors and graduate teaching assistants. Second, curriculum materials, such as textbooks, course syllabus, and online catalogue were analyzed.

To minimize the personal bias of the researcher, multiple data sources (interviews, and documents) and multiple perspectives (instructors, Chinese language learners from various backgrounds) were used to triangulate findings in this study. The participants were assigned pseudonyms, and all interviews were audiotaped and transcribed within a week after they were completed. The recordings of interviews were labeled with pseudonyms by type and then by number (i.e., Type A1, A2...etc.).

Semi-structured Interviews.

Atkinson, Coffey, and Delamont (2003) suggested that interviewing “grants primacy to the recording of naturally occurring social interactions, and relegates virtually everything else to the periphery of sociological interest” (p. 105). Interviews are more directed toward of studying human relationships symmetrically, rather than trying to privilege one data source over another. The approach views interviewing as action such as in the case of constructing collective memory among research participants.

Atkinson et al. (2003) explained further a deeper appreciation of interviews and the data they yield is to consider the interviewees as producing descriptions of past events. In part, the purposes of interviews were eliciting memories. A major problem with this kind of data collection was the accuracy and reliability of the recollections. Such a perspective certainly presents pressing problems if one is using the interview to gather information about events. The same is true of the elicitation of experiences. However, interviews are a means for the retrieval of personal experiences — that is, a biographically grounded view of memories and past events. Thus, interviewees become participants in the meaning-making production of social life. According to Atkinson et al. (2003), “memory is a cultural phenomenon, and is therefore a collective one. Memory is grounded in what is tell-able. In many ways, the past is a narrative enactment” (pp. 106-107). They continued to explain that the purpose of semi-structured interviews is not to collect referential information about some anterior events, but to “gain access to the interior world of the private and the personal” (Atkinson et al., 2003, p. 133). Collecting semi-structured interviews and analyzing personal narratives have increasingly focused to the representation of subjective states. They have become somewhat akin to confessionals, in which the object of the exercise is to elicit personal experience rather than shared culture, social structure, or organized social action.

Merriam (2009) noted that “qualitative researchers are interested in understanding how people interpret their experiences, how they construct their worlds, and what meaning they attribute to their experiences” (p. 5), and “the experience a person has includes the way in which the experience is interpreted” (p. 9). Therefore, for this study,

it was vital to interview students who were of Chinese ancestry, as well as ones who were not, to acquire an understanding of how ethnolinguistic identities are shaped by language learning experiences in a Non-Heritage program. The semi-structured interviews were used to gather descriptive data in the participants' own words (Merriam, 2009; Patton, 2002) in order to develop insights about how they interpreted their experiences in Non-Heritage Chinese classes. Interviewing allows a researcher to tap into other people's perspectives that are considered meaningful, knowable, and capable of being made explicit (Patton, 2002). Specifically, semi-structural interviews allow "the researcher to respond to the situation at hand, to the emerging worldview of the respondent, and to new ideas on the topic" (Merriam, 1998, p. 74).

Data collection for this study began in late January/beginning February 2012. With a recruitment letter being sent electronically to the Non-Heritage Chinese instructors asking them to forward it as an email message to the class enrollment list. Interested students were told to contact the researcher directly without the instructors' knowledge to avoid coercion or power concerns. It also was made clear to them that their participation was voluntary and would not affect their grades.

Semi-structured interviews and document analysis were employed to explicate reactions to specific instructional techniques, ethnic identity negotiations, and perceptions of Heritage versus Non-Heritage programs. An initial interview and a follow-up interview were conducted, with all Type A Broadly-Defined Chinese Heritage Language Learners participants. The interviews were each approximately one hour long. With the permissions of the participants, the interviews were audio recorded on a digital device. In

the first interview, the participants were asked to describe themselves; their main objectives for learning Chinese; formal and informal learning experiences; their perceptions of Heritage and Non-Heritage designation; and how their language learning experiences affected their ethnic and cultural identities. The second interview varied by individuals and was used to probe further for more clarification and explanation of ideas mentioned in the first interview.

More details about the type of questions asked in the first interview are presented in Appendix A. For Type B Non-Heritage Chinese Language Learners, there were also a few questions regarding Non-Heritage classes in general that were directed to them, as well as the Chinese instructors. The interview protocols for Type B students and Chinese instructors are listed in Appendix B and Appendix C, respectively. They were modified as needed when conducting the actual interviews. Written notes were kept to complement the audio-taped interviews. Upon completion, the interviews were transcribed verbatim.

Documents.

The most important advantage presented by using multiple sources of evidence is the development of “converging lines of inquiry” (Yin, 2003, p. 98). Thus, any finding or conclusion in a case is likely to be much more convincing and accurate if it is based on several different sources of information. With this desire to make the data in this study as strong and credible as possible, three kinds of documents were collected and analyzed to compliment interviews, and to triangulate the findings. The first was curriculum materials such as syllabi, textbooks, and workbooks used in the Non-Heritage Chinese classes. The second kind of document is written products of students, such as skits and handouts or

worksheets. The third category of the document was official records, such as departmental notices, course descriptions in campus catalogue, and online archives about the Non-Heritage Chinese language program published by Westwood University. These documents and artifacts were means for triangulation to increase the validity of the data collected (Merriam, 2009). Examining relevant documents also helped uncover the intended and hidden messages that may shape and reshape Chinese Language Learners' ethnic, cultural, and language identity development.

Data Analysis

In analyzing the data collected for this study, the relationships among the social, cultural, and linguistic experiences of Broadly-Defined Chinese Heritage Language Learners were examined. As suggested by Erickson (1986), transcripts of interviews were read multiple times because, by doing so, “a more holistic conception of the content” (p. 149) could be achieved. Steps taken to analyze the discursive communication with grounded theory (Emerson Fretz, & Shaw, 1995, Merriam, 2009, Strauss & Corbin, 1994) included initial reading of the transcripts; open coding (first cycle), focus coding (second cycle) and developing themes according to the patterns derived from the hand-coded data.

The different patterns and themes that emerged from the data were interpreted within broader social and cultural contexts (Kincheloe & McLaren, 2002). The discernment of patterns is one of the important steps in the data analysis process. After the initial coding (first cycle), the newly constructed codes that emerged were compared across participants during focused coding (second cycle) to assess “comparability and

transferability” (Saldaña et al., 2011). Analytic memos were written to help refine and reveal thinking processes about the emerging codes and categories. The coding decisions also were based on the paradigm or theoretical approach to the study. Furthermore, the descriptions and functions of these different kinds of codes and generative processes were consistent with those provided by Saldaña et al. (2011). According to them,

First Cycle methods (In Vivo, Process, and Initial Coding) are coding processes for the beginning stages of data analysis that fracture or split the data into individually coded segments. Second Cycle methods are coding processes for the latter stages of data analysis that both literally and metaphorically constantly compare, reorganize, or focus the codes into categories, prioritize them to develop axis categories around which others revolve, and synthesize them to formulate a central or core category that becomes the foundation for explication of a grounded theory. Categories also have properties and dimensions; variable qualities that display the range or distribution within similarly coded data (p.42).

Saldaña (2009) suggested further that, “qualitative inquiry provides richer opportunities for gathering and assessing, in language-based meanings, what the participant values, believes, thinks, and feels about social life” (p. 92). According to him, themes can be found in the data by looking for such qualities as:

Repeating ideas, participant or indigenous terms, metaphors and analogies, transitions or shifts in topic, similarities and differences of participant expressions, linguistic connectors (because, since, then), theoretical issues suggested by the data (interpersonal relationships, social conflict and control).

Saldaña (2009) reminded the researchers “memo writing serves as a code-and-category-generating method. The deliberate linking or weaving of codes and categories within the narrative is a heuristic to integrate them semantically and systematically” (p. 157). An analytic memo is “an uncensored and permissibly messy opportunity to let thoughts flow and ideas emerge” (p. 160). Writing analytic memos in this study fulfilled the function that Saldaña suggested they should. They prompt reflection on dynamic descriptors that extend beyond linear continua, such as less and more of something, and helped to maintain focus on the most essential qualities of phenomena under study.

In the initial stages of analysis in this study involved classifying the data. The transcriptions collected were coded line by line (in-vivo coding) within a week after collection without a predetermined code list. Saldaña et al. (2011) defined a code as “a word or short phrase that symbolically assigns a summative, salient, essence-capturing, and/or evocative attribute for a portion of language-based or visual data” (p.42). The codes from open coding were grouped as categories or sub-categories for focused coding. The codes are initially generated from the theoretical frame, the research questions, and existing research literature (Thomas, 1993). The open coding of the initial data constituted domain analysis. Categories formed in the main analysis then were used for focus coding. Then, major themes were identified according to the coding scheme generated from preliminary analysis of the initially collected data (See Appendix G).

Code-woven assertions like these suggested by Brinkmann (2011) were used in this study as topic sentences for paragraphs and extended narratives that explain the observations in greater detail. How those codes and categories could be reworded and

transformed into more abstract meanings to transcend the particulars of this study also was explored. The findings were grouped by themes because theming allow the truncated essence of codes to be revealed through elaborating on their meanings. By re-reading and reflecting on the data categorized under a particular code, researchers may observe phrases more substantive and evocative prompts for explaining findings. Brinkmann (2011) also suggested talking through the data analytic dilemmas because these exchanges can help qualitative researchers achieve greater focus and clarity in their work, enabling them to better write about the study and recognize insights that could be overlooked otherwise.

For first round open coding, Brinkmann (2011) recommended, “using the direct language of participants as codes rather than researcher generated words and phrases, to honor participant’s voices and to ground the analysis from their perspectives” (p.58). Initial coding is an opportunity for researchers to reflect deeply on the contents and nuances of the data and begin taking ownership of them. For second round focused coding, broader categorizations coded data help researchers “to attune to participants’ language, perspectives, and worldviews” (Brinkmann, 2011, p. 59), making similar claims, Charmaz (2006) noted that a research study fits empirical connections “when [researchers] have constructed codes and developed them into categories that crystallize participants’ experience” (p. 54).

The best approach to analyzing visual data is using holistic systemic interpretive lens guided by strategic questions rather than one-word or phrases codes. It generates language-based data that accompanies the visual data. Grounded theory that developed in

the 1960s is generally regarded as one of the first systematic approaches to qualitative inquiry. The process involves meticulous analytic attention by massaging data through a series of cumulative coding cycles that ultimately lead to the development of a theory, or affirming, rejecting, or refining a theory grounded or rooted in the original data themselves.

According to Emerson et al. (1995, p. 143), “grounded theorists give priority to developing rather than to verifying analytic propositions,” and a “researcher is not rigidly confined to one procedure at a time or undertaking them in any particular order”. Rather, “analysis is at once inductive and deductive” (p. 144). Many scholars believe that theories are grounded in the data or constructed “from the ground up” (Saldaña et al, 2011, p. 6). Therefore, grounded theory is an analytic process of constantly comparing small data units, primarily but not exclusively collected from interviews, through a series of cumulative coding cycles to achieve abstraction and a range of dimensions of the emerging categories of data.

Content analyses of textbooks, curriculum materials, and official documents were conducted to identify institutional definitions of Heritage and Non-Heritage Chinese; traces of transnationalism; traces of model minority; depictions of Chinese ethnicity; Chinese culture; and Chinese language. After thoroughly reading the textbooks and other relevant documents, indicators of ethnolinguistic identity construction were selected for detailed analysis. These units of analysis included narrative texts, dialogues, visual representations, and language practices in lessons. The textbook commonly used in Non-

Heritage Chinese classes at Westwood University is divided into 20 lessons, each of which contains two entries of narratives, usually in dialogue format.

These materials were read carefully for specific cues of ethnic and language development such as appropriate terms for asking someone's nationality and occupation, sense of ethnic or cultural affiliation, and first language. Finally, the appearances of the main characters of the textbooks and workbooks were counted by gender, ethnicity, race, nationality, and positionality for each lesson. Together, these documents were used to understand how Chinese ethnicity and nationality shape Broadly-Defined Heritage Language Learners' ethnolinguistic identities in a Non-Heritage Chinese class context.

Summary

First, some reasons were provided for why qualitative methods are more appropriate for examining issues of analysis in this study. Next, the setting for the study and participants were described, including grouping participants into two categories (Type A and Type B) of Broadly-Defined Heritage Language Learners (BDHLLs) and Non-Heritage Language Learners (NHLLs) enrolled in Non-Heritage Mandarin Chinese Language classes at one particular university. The data collection included semi-structured interviews with students and instructors, and documents (i.e. textbooks, workbooks, and online catalogues, course syllabi). How the new data were collected and transcribed, analyzed, and categorized were explained as well. The findings that resulted from these analyses are presented in Chapter IV.

Chapter IV: Findings

The findings of this study were derived from data collected through semi-structured interviews and documents. They support claims made that the various forms of identifications and languages make people different from each other. As the Chinese pre-Qin philosopher, Zhuāngzǐ 莊子(369-286 B.C), said, “sun and moon are the heaven’s distinguished mark; mountain and river are the earth’s distinguished mark; speech and language are the people’s distinguished mark 日月者，天之文也；山川者，地之文也；言語者，人之文也” (translated by Professor William Boltz in Chinese 451 course pack, Autumn 2010). Non-Heritage programs shape the ethnolinguistic identity perceptions of Chinese Language Learners (CLLs) by using and/or assigning Chinese names as an instructional technique; by connecting Broadly-Defined Chinese Heritage Language Learners (BDCHLLs) to their imagined communities, such as the countries of origin of their ancestry; by evoking their language and ethnic background; by constantly reminding them who they are as children of immigrants; and in contrast to their White counterparts.

Five major themes emerged from this study. They are significance of Chinese names; finding trans-nationality; advantages of learning Chinese; learning Chinese as a new versus foreign language; and learners’ perceptions of a racialized Non-Heritage Chinese course. These are described with supporting data, sequentially.

Personal and Academic Significance of Chinese Names

For pedagogical purposes, almost all Non-Heritage Chinese language learners use their Chinese names in class. They either came with one or were provided one in class.

The instructors in this study helped students finalize the full characters of the selected names to ensure the tones and meanings were acceptable to Chinese people. According to the interviews, the instructors assumed that most Type A students would come to class with their Chinese names. They helped Type B students select their Chinese names according to their English names, coupled with appropriate meanings and sounds.

Type A participants considered their Chinese name as personal and academic. It is personal only if their Chinese name is pronounced in their native dialects or not in its full form, such as nicknames addressed by their family and relatives. It is academic if their Chinese name is pronounced in Mandarin, because it is solely restricted to be used in institutional setting by their Chinese instructors. For instance, Participant A1 might go by *A-Lin*. “A” (pronounced as ah) is a prefix to a name in Chinese, making it sound less formal among family and friends. It is mostly used in the southern part of China or Taiwan. Participant A2’s grandmother always called her *bǎobèi* 寶貝 (baby), literally meaning “precious child” in Shanghainese. Therefore, their family never called them by their full Chinese names. If their entire Chinese names were pronounced in Cantonese or Shanghainese, they would not feel like those were their names, just as the Mandarin pronunciations, which were only heard in the classroom where instructors addressed them by their Mandarin Chinese full names.

Participant A5 (older brother) and A6 (younger brother) also felt like they were more attuned to their Cantonese names. Yet, no one in their family called them by their Cantonese full names. Their parents and relatives called them, *Dai-B* 大B “big baby,”

and *Sai-B* 細 B “small baby” (Sai 細, pronounced in Cantonese, is tiny; small; little, often used in spoken Cantonese to describe objects or animals). The older brother said, “It’s just more natural for me to identify with Cantonese.” The younger brother developed this idea further and explained, “I associate my Chinese name with Cantonese pronunciation better than with Mandarin. I identify myself with my Cantonese name; I associate myself more with the Cantonese version. I just learned Mandarin recently and just for Chinese class.”

Having gone to Chinese school for a year, Participant A3 recognized her Cantonese name being pronounced in Mandarin, but it was also very rare for her to use the Mandarin version in her family. Her parents called her by siblings ranking since she is the eldest child, and her younger sister also addressed her by *gaa ze* “older sister” (家姐), which is only used in Cantonese not in Mandarin/Standard written Chinese. She commented on her Chinese name that, “[It] rhymes better in Cantonese I guess. It is not as continuous when you say it in Mandarin. But seriously, I only use my Mandarin name in Chinese class so I don’t feel much about it.”

Participant A4 who speaks Teochew with her parents at home also did not have much affinity about her Chinese full name being pronounced in Mandarin. This was evident in the following statement,

I know [my instructor] is calling me, that’s about it. I don’t use my [Mandarin] full name outside of the classroom. Even at home, my mother would call my sisters and me only by our last character in Teochew, ‘cuz our third characters are all different. I think that’s how she distinguishes us. She never calls me by

my Chinese full name, not even when she's angry. When she's angry, she'd be just yelling you! you! you!

Similarly, Participant A7 who speaks Cantonese at home acknowledged that it takes her longer to identify herself with her Mandarin pronounced name because no one, except teachers, calls her by her Mandarin Chinese name. Her parents call her siblings and her by their English names. However, she was exposed to Mandarin at a younger age in Chinese school. She responds to her name pronounced in Mandarin when called on in class, but her first reaction is, "oh, that's me, I need to answer the teacher's question." This was a common response for both Type A and Type B participants. When her name is pronounced in Cantonese, Participant A7 said:

For some reasons, it is very telling of who I am as a person. I really do value morals, and being a very righteous person, because sometimes I feel like it's such a boyish name, because I am also not very feminine. People say it is neutral, but my Chinese teacher in the Chinese school, whom I had not met, assumed I was a boy before I walked into the classroom.

She continued to explain that when her name is pronounced in Mandarin, it makes her less boyish and more feminine, which is why she likes her name being pronounced in Cantonese better.

Another Participant A8 described her Chinese language attitude with regard to her Mandarin and Cantonese names as below,

The difference between Mandarin and Cantonese would depend on who my audiences are, depending on Cantonese speakers or Mandarin speakers. If I

don't know whom my audience [is], I would use my Cantonese [name]. But if it were a totally random situation, I would probably use my Mandarin name because I know there are more Mandarin speakers out there. But in my community, I would say my Cantonese name. I expect my Chinese teachers to call me by my Mandarin name. There are two language systems in my head, but if I were called on by my Cantonese name, I would switch to my Cantonese mode and listen, basically.

However, when asked if she would consider giving her future kids Chinese names as their middle names like her own, A8 hesitated and then responded,

Probably not. I don't know. I have a feeling that I would live here [the U.S.] for the future and I really like English names, and I feel like English middle names are awesome, too. I just want to give them English names, you know something pretty. Even if I give them a Chinese middle name, most people wouldn't know what it means, and it wouldn't sound pretty. It doesn't flow; it sounds like kinda weird.

Even though A8 carries the Cantonese name as her legal middle name, she wanted to give her future kids American names to avoid feeling of "foreignness" and to help them assimilate into mainstream U.S. society better.

Participant A9 also said no one calls him by his Cantonese full name. His paternal relatives in Hong Kong called him little *Dong* or *Dongdong*, and his maternal family in the United States called him *George-zai* 仔 (Zai as a suffix to a noun to make it small

animal, fowl or thing, and it means boy, son, kid, child, in Cantonese). He rarely heard his Chinese full name in Cantonese either. He explained,

I never really hear my Cantonese full name; no one really called me that. But it's weird that I actually identify myself more with my Cantonese name because I have been hearing Cantonese longer. I just started to learn Mandarin last quarter...I have [identified] more with Cantonese speakers.

Like other Type A Cantonese speakers in this study, Participant A9 was more familiar with his Cantonese name as opposed to his Chinese name pronounced in Mandarin.

The only Taisanese speaker in this study, Participant A10, commented on her Chinese name, "I don't have much preference. You can call me whatever but my Mandarin name is only used in Chinese class. No one really calls me [by] my Mandarin full name anywhere else."

In response to whether they would like to give their future kids Chinese names, all the Type A participants agreed having "two sets of names" in the United States. Only Participant A4 said that she would use her children's Chinese names as their legal middle name on the birth certificate. Participant A5 was influenced against giving his children Chinese names on their birth certificates by a story his Singaporean friend at Westwood University told him. He explained that,

I was talking with my friend and he's from Singapore. He was talking with an internship co-op adviser. It's already harder to get an internship when you are an international student, and ... the adviser said ... to him that "they might not pick you because of your name, so you might want to change it." I was like,

“really! She would say that!” Yeah, that is something probably unconsciously they would think about it. Having Chinese names can [have] pros and cons, but I can’t think of any pros right now.

Participant A5’s opinions were supported by his younger brother, Participant A6, as he reflected on his own Chinese and English names:

No, I don’t think having Chinese name can have any pros. But I am sure that is something [a company will be] taking into account. Lately, in job apps, you can choose what race you are, or you can choose to opt out, you can say female or male, sometimes you can just say who you are. I don’t know; international students will later change their Chinese names to English names. I guess having the official names, you know, phonetic, and then they would go ahead and choose a more English sounding American first name for themselves. I have never seen anyone reverse by going the other way around. So, I won’t be like, “Hey guys, start calling me *Tak Wah*; don’t call me *Andy*.”

In addition to the sound of their Chinese names, the form made a difference in the way the student participants in this study made meaning in this broader social world. Many of the Type A Cantonese speakers who had attended Chinese schools briefly in their early childhood were introduced to traditional characters or their parents or grandparents also taught them a few characters at home. Participant A8, Participant A9, and Participant A10 all had similar experiences with having their Chinese names written in traditional characters in the First-Year Non-Heritage class, but they all changed to simplified characters. A8 said, “the instructor specifically told us to stick with one style

of writing.” A9 said, “I actually don’t know how to write my name in simplified, so I have always written my Chinese name in traditional on vocab quizzes or exams, and the instructor did not say anything about it, but I write everything else in simplified now, because my instructor told me that I cannot mix them together.” Participant A10 changed to simplified characters “because everyone else was learning it and it was mainly just for convenience’s sake.”

Convenience was a motivation for Participant A5 to use simplified Chinese. He declared, “I am just learning it to learn. It doesn’t stick with me. Honestly, afterward, two weeks pass by [simplified characters] don’t stick as well [as traditional characters]. Actually for me, and for my name, writing traditional characters is a lot easier, and we will remember it for longer, because that’s how our parents have taught us.” His younger brother (Participant A6) has completely switched to simplified characters, even for his name on quizzes or exams. As he explained,

Well, because the course is taught in simplified, so it is hard to keep up with traditional characters even if I wanted to. It’s more for convenience’s sake [to write in simplified]. I would do the quiz first and I would leave my name blank. And when the instructor said, “hand it in,” I would write my name in simplified hurriedly and just did it for convenience.

If Chinese names are rendered in Romanization based on their approximated pronunciations, they lose the original meaning in character writings. Participant A7 recalled that when her father first immigrated to the United States, he did not know the Wide-Giles system, nor the Standard Hànyǔ pīnyīn, so the immigration officials gave him

a Western last name that was an approximation of his Chinese name. Hence, he became a *Wing*. Because of this, no one would guess she is Chinese without seeing her in person. She said, “I think my name is a really interesting case. My Chinese name for Chinese natives sounds like a boy, and my English last name is not Chinese enough for Americans. There was this one time that my professor approached me after class and asked me if I were adopted. And I thought that was funny.” She provided the following information about the background of her Chinese surname, and was one of the few student participants who were able to do so:

My ancestors were from Yúnnán, China. We have some distant relatives who are still living there. My father has an uncle who is in charge of our family book, and it was tracked to the kingdom of Dali. Maybe a hundred years old. My families there were messengers; they were kinda like the UPS man now who sends messages to Southeast Asia. During the early 1900, there was the invasion of Japanese in Southeast China.... And what ultimately happened was that my dad’s family suffered a lot and they decided that they needed to leave. They had to pretend they were farmers and they snuck out of the country into Burma. That’s how my grandpa on my father’s side ended up in Burma. He met my grandma there and he never made it back to Yúnnán, and it was his biggest regret. My dad, he grew up in Burma and then he went to Thailand... where there was a refugee camp for Chinese people. Time was really hard for him...and you know there are so many people like my families, too. Chinese in

Vietnam, Chinese from Thailand and their parents have to make out their countries in some crazy ways.

From her descriptions, she clearly connected her surname with her extend family in other parts of the world and acknowledged the marginalization and hardship these Chinese minorities had gone through in different regions. Her detailed reflection also included comments about being oppressed as a child of immigrants and the discrimination she experienced in speaking English while growing up, which also was the case for many of the Type A participants in this study. The unpleasant English language learning experiences have led the Type Participants to doubt the usage of Chinese names at schools growing up.

Participants A5 and A6 also had similar Romanization stories because their Chinese last names are rendered in a combination of Taisanese and Cantonese pronunciation, but spelled as an American first name, *Dan*. They noted that, “a lot of people would be surprised to find out that we are Chinese.” The older brother (Participant A5) explained further that,

Sometimes, I like it when people ask me, Are you full Chinese? Are you mixed? I would be like, “Yeah, I am full Chinese”. And they go, “Ohh, that’s an interesting last name; I never knew it could be a Chinese last name.” And we explain, “It’s just the way it is.” I think it is cool. All my three names [in English, first, middle, and last] could be American first names. Whatever! It’s just stuck on the [birth] certificate, I guess.

Students' last names are signals of their ethnicity. Prior the beginning of class, the instructors said they make speculative associations of their students' family names with their ethnic background to plan their first lesson on greetings in Chinese. Another common instructional technique for the instructors to give Chinese names to Non-Heritage Language Learners (NHLLs), specifically the White Type B participants, was to pick a common Chinese surname name that sounds close to their Western last name.

The stories students in this study shared about the reactions to having Chinese names and which characters (e.g. traditional or simplified) are used in writing them indicate that, a Mandarin pronounced Chinese name is part of the construction of an academic identity for both Broadly-Defined Heritage Language Learners (BDHLLs) and Non-Heritage Language Learners (NHLLs). As Participant B2 commented, "There's nothing to separate me from my Chinese name. I have a Chinese name. It's just a different way to call me that in class." He did not think much of his Chinese name. He first chose the characters himself but the instructor of the course changed his Chinese last name from a second tone rare one-syllable ancient surname, *Rǎn* '冉' to a more common second tone one-syllable surname, *Luó* '羅'. B2 was not disturbed that the instructor did so, because he trusted the instructor's competence, and, "It's just a name that I use in Chinese class. Now I can start to recognize and respond to it when [the teacher] calls me by my Chinese name." Had Student B2 regarded his Chinese name as authentically his; he may not have given up so easily the original character he had chosen. The Chinese instructors in this study confirmed the instructional technique of name changing by saying that, "They would not change students' Chinese names if they are given by their

family even if it sounds really bad or funny. Also, they would not change students' Chinese names if they are based on Korean or Japanese scripts.”

Type B participants whose Chinese names are derived from Korean or Japanese origins found the correlations very fascinating. Participant B1, Participant B3, and Participant B5 described their Chinese names as their “original names” in Korean or Japanese. According to Participant B5, her former high school Chinese teacher in Japan was a native from Beijing, China, once gave her a Chinese name for use in Chinese language class, but she did not like it. As soon as she started taking Chinese at Westwood University, B2 was surprised that her instructor at Westwood University would actually let her use her Japanese name as her Chinese name because her previous teacher had told her, “Your Katakana (Japanese character-based writing script) name is not really a Chinese name.” She found this very strange because the names look almost identical in the scripts and sound alike as well.

Generally speaking, names are partial manifestations of ethnolinguistic identity since they maintain or reveal a significant part of one's identity, and reflect a certain degree of ethnic and cultural practice and linguistic choice, even for Non-Heritage Language Learners (NHLLs), such as Asian Type B Participants in this study whose heritage languages are East Asian languages, regarded their Chinese names as being culturally relevant to them. As Participant B1 reflected:

In Korean, we say last name first and first name last, same as Chinese. I thought that's very interesting... [My Korean name and my Chinese] sound really similar. This is very interesting! In Korean, my name is *nine clouds*. I was

surprised [that the teacher] told me my name in Chinese is *nine clouds*, too. So there are similarities between Korean and Chinese languages, I guess.

The fact that his Chinese name corresponds to his authentic Korean name empowered Participant B1 in learning Chinese. This also was the case for Participant B3. She did not know the Sino-Korean writing system, but she asked a Chinese friend to identify the characters that would sound like her Korean name. She said,

I asked my mom what's my Korean name and she wrote it in Korean. Supposedly I have Chinese characters corresponding to it. I should've known the characters, but I didn't know. But other Korean students, their Chinese names are their Korean names. A friend I knew who knew Chinese helped me pick it. I just asked her to pick something that sound closer to my Korean name. She looked through the meanings and found the ones with good meanings. I don't think my instructor knew that my Korean name in Chinese was made up. I don't identify much with my Chinese name, probably because I don't know the actual characters. I don't think I pronounced my Korean name in Chinese correctly because I just picked it for my Chinese class.

Another Type B Participant, who is a third generation Russianized Korean and an American citizen, shared her reaction to being called on her Chinese name, she said,

My name in Russian means 'loved by people.' I did write that in the sheet when Chinese names were being assigned in class, but I ended up getting something not very related. But that's okay. I got called so many things because Americans cannot pronounce my Russian first name. I am really used it now because the

instructor always called my Chinese name. I know it's me, but I don't think it's similar to my [Russian] name, and they are not really similar in sound, and I know [Chinese name] usually by meaning, I just kinda separate them out.

As a third generation Russianized Korean, Participant B5 does not know much about her Korean name. Since her last name is considered one of the most common Korean surnames, Park, the Chinese instructor told her that it is *Piǎo* in Chinese.

While it is unclear when assigning-Chinese-names became a prominent practice in Chinese as a Second Language (CSL) field, it had an ethnolinguistic impact on the Chinese Language Learners (CLLs) in the Non-Heritage classes at the site of this study. For example, Participant B8, who found her own Chinese name online after googling the name of famous Chinese women, reflected that,

When I use my Chinese name in class, I am in my Chinese mindset, or I switch to a foreign language mindset. Honestly, it would be harder to speak Chinese if I use *Stephanie*, because if I am *Stephanie* then I am identifying myself as an English speaker. I don't know if it would help if we were always called by our English names when we are speaking Chinese, because we would have to switch or something. If someone says *Stephanie*, I would not respond in Chinese. We were just our normal names in Spanish classes. It was less of a difference in Spanish than I think it is in Chinese. It is less to me that I have to be *Estefania* to speak Spanish. I was already *Stephanie*, I was never *Estefania*. But it would be a struggle for me in Chinese. If I am *Stephanie*, I [am] an English speaker.

The Chinese instructors at Westwood University systematically called Participant B8 by her Chinese name.

Participant B7 told a similar story. She thought “the [Chinese] class probably flows a lot better if the instructor calls us by our Chinese name.” She gave a specific example related to the use of proper nouns. She said, “if you asked, say, Ottawa Zàinǎr (在哪兒)? (Where is Ottawa?) It would not flow as well when you say, “Wòtài huá zài nǎr? (渥太華在哪兒)? ” She used Ottawa as an example because her parents were from there and she has quite a few Chinese childhood friends. Her current Chinese name was a collaborative work between the instructor and herself; the instructor asked her what kind of personality trait or professional aspiration that she hoped to have in her Chinese name. She gave “friendliness and happy.” Consequently, the instructor gave her a name that contains feminine elements in her third character. She said, “[the teacher] told me that my third character is common in girls’ names.”

Participant B6’s Chinese name was acquired from his Chinese friend, meaning bright. His Chinese last name sounds his Russian last name. He explained that,

My last name in Russian means someone whose words make sense in talking. Everyone thinks my Chinese name is associated with a Chinese poet. Maybe that’s where my friend got it from. I like my Chinese name. I use it all the time in Chinese class and I respond to it. It’s like when you think that’s your name but it’s not your name, I know someone’s calling me; I recognize it.

Participant B6 explained further that he does not see himself differently depending which name he is associated with. He did acknowledge the different sounding of his names in English, Russian, and Chinese and the different functions they served,

The Russian last name is like the English last name except that the accent is stressed on the second syllable and the vowels are a little bit different. But it would be funny if someone calls me Mr. Tang, because that's using my Chinese name in an English context. [This is] more than any difference between Russian and English. I think names are more of a function of the environment. So if I am in a Russian speaking environment, I will use my Russian name. If I am in an English speaking environment, I will use my English name. If it is assumed that I am part of the Chinese group, I would use my Chinese name. I don't think it makes a difference on my personality.

Therefore, Type A and Asian-Type B participants in this study regarded their Mandarin Chinese names as stage names, even though the instructors did not have to officially approve them as they did for non-Asian Type B participants. The personal comments indicated that Mandarin pronounced Chinese names of both Type A and Type B's participants are artificial artifacts for the purpose of class use only.

Finding Self in Transnational Communities

The Broadly-Defined Heritage Language Learners (BDHLLs) in this study did not have much affiliation with their Mandarin pronounced Chinese names. Basically, they were only used in Chinese classes by their instructors. When the full Chinese names of Type A participants are pronounced in Mandarin, they are almost as artificial as Type

B participants' Chinese names. What makes a difference is the Chinese family names in written form. In some instances, these signaled a sense of ethnic identity and affiliation for Broadly-Defined Heritage Language Learners (BDHLLs). As Participant A1 explained the significance of her Chinese surname by saying that:

In Vancouver, when you look at the phone books or whatever, it's pages and pages of *Chens*. So I do feel like a sense of [connections] that my name places me in an actual place of the world. You know what I am saying? Because our name originates from that area in China, right? That village. Of course you know, there are other *Chens* in other places, but in a way it's sort of like the origin, and, because it's not like *Wang* or *Li*... *Chen* is more southern Chinese from that region, so I feel that places me and gives me a home somewhere.

For her, China is not only an imagined community but also a transnational home in a figurative global village (Anderson, 1991). The fact that she compared her Chinese surname with the ones of main characters in the textbook (i.e. Wang and Li) suggested that the curriculum had an impact on her ethnolinguistic identity. There is growing recognition in the second language research that when language learners read or write texts, both their engagement and construction are mediated by their investment in the comprehension activity and their sociocultural identity (Norton, 2008).

Type A and Asian-Type B participants tended to associate their surnames in Chinese class with their family lineage. Even mixed-heritage Participant A2 decided to keep her maternal grandfather's Chinese last name and combined it with the Chinese first name given by her first Chinese instructor at a different institution. She had other Chinese

names at earlier stages of her life but decided to use the one her first Chinese teacher gave her five years ago as an undergraduate. Growing up, she has never thought of herself as Chinese. She maintained that, “the Chinese names given by my mother’s father didn’t mean anything to me.” But when she began college, she realized that her Chineseness was actually embedded in her and she started taking Chinese class. She reflected that:

I didn’t want to become Chinese, I think. I was half Jewish and half Chinese, and my parents divorced when I was very young. Even in school, I didn’t hang out with the Chinese people. They all seemed to be more culturally Chinese. They kept to themselves and I never felt like I could fit. I was always sort of embarrassed to be Chinese growing up.... I didn’t want to be such a big deal; you know; you are Chinese and Jewish. It wasn’t until undergraduate that I actually felt comfortable being Chinese. I think my Chinese teacher wanted to give me a surname based on my Jewish last name, but I said no, I wanted to stick with my grandfather’s family name, *Liu*.

The Chinese names and their associated identities were so compartmentalized that teachers may not have immediately noticed of the meanings and stories behind the Chinese characters. Participant A2 revealed that her personal identity transformation took place in college when she felt good about being Chinese for the first time. She changed the Chinese last name assigned by her first Chinese teacher (that was based on the approximation of her Jewish last name’s pronunciation) to her mother’s Chinese maiden name that became her legal middle name. She also felt her identity was “glorified” in

Chinese class, because it was the only legitimate space where she can expand her middle initial to a full Chinese last name.

The Non-Heritage Mandarin Chinese classes in this study also contributed to the ethnolinguistic identity construction through curricular materials used. Names of places often were connected to nationality commonly taught in language classes at the college level. In the Non-Heritage Mandarin Chinese course textbooks, students are introduced to the exercises, asking each other nationalities, such as:

Grammar: 5. Alternative Questions: the structure (是 shì)...還是 hái shì...is used to form an alternative question. If there is another verb used in the predicate, the first 是 shì often can be omitted. Are you Chinese or American?

Where are you from?

1. 英國 Yīngguó (England)
2. 法國 Fǎguó (France)
3. 德國 Déguó (Germany)
4. 日本 Riběn (Japan)
5. 韓國 Hánguó (Korea)
6. 加拿大 Jiānádà (Canada)
7. 墨西哥 Mòxīgē (Mexico)
8. 印度 Yìndù (India)
9. 越南 Yuènnán (Vietnam)

10. 加州 Jiāzhōu (California)

11. 夏威夷 Xiàwēiyí (Hawaii)

12. 上海 Shànghǎi(Shanghai, China)

If your country/ state/ city is not listed above, please ask your teacher and make a note here: 我是 Wǒ shì _____人 rén (I am _____).

(Integrated Chinese Level 1, Part1, p. 35)

The above grammar lesson can serve not only as “a site of identity representation,” but also as “a site of identity creation” in language learning (Toohey & Norton, 2003, p. 6).

They conclude that the meta-language associated with language learning provides opportunities for linking the microstructures of text with the macrostructures of society.

A second dialogue of Lesson One on Greetings is another example of how language, ethnic identity, and nationality were connected:

Li You: Mr. Wang, are you a teacher?

Wang Peng: I'm not a teacher, I am a student. Li You, how about you?

Li You: I'm a student, too. Are you Chinese?

Wang Peng: Yes, I'm from Beijing (lit. I'm a Beijing-er). Are you American?

Li You: Yes, I'm from New York (lit. I'm a New Yorker).

(Integrated Chinese Level 1, Part1, p. 40)

Type A Participants had different questions about their nationalities in grammar practice exercises. Participant A7 indicated that,

Yeah, I got questions like, ‘Are you Chinese or American?’ a lot. I would rather not let it bother me as much anymore. People ask, ‘Where are you from? Where are you really from?’ Some of my Asian American friends are really irritated when people ask them. They would be like, ‘I am *freakin*’ American.’ There is no real answer. How do you define it? I am an American; that’s my nationality. I am Chinese; that’s my culture. Identity is a very complicated and muffled concept. You are what you feel close to.

She explained she was taking Chinese at Westwood University because if “you look Chinese, shouldn’t you know how to speak Chinese? Shouldn’t you know how to speak your own language?” A7 wanted to prove people that she could speak Chinese. But she found learning it difficult, especially the grammar, the structure of Chinese characters, subject-verb-object rules, and was uncertain of their necessity. Even though these were hard to comprehend, they were helpful in writing composition, understanding the syntax, and improving her Chinese logic.

Participant A10 who grew up in a predominately White neighborhood responded to the question, “Are you Chinese or American?” more indirectly with a story about her early language learning and ethnic relationships. She said,

I noticed that I am Chinese in elementary school once I started learning to read in English. I could not read English, but I could speak Chinese. My teacher and classmates thought I was Chinese and they expected me to know Chinese. But my friends said that I don’t look like my ethnicity. Sometimes I would surprise people with my Taisanese abilities. When I went to visit relatives in China, I got

a lot of respect from them who appreciated that I knew their language and that I was rather proficient in it even though I was not raised there. But I don't think my parents really planned it. Their Chinese is better than their English. Naturally they spoke to me in Chinese. Over time their English improved and we spoke more English than before. But my Taiwanese is probably better than my parents' English. They didn't know too much English so I was raised in mostly Chinese. Then my sister was born and they knew more English so they talked more in English. So my sister isn't as good in Chinese because there was no absolute need for her to speak Chinese to our parents since they knew enough English to communicate. But we still speak in Chinglish. Not fully one language or another.

Her explanation exemplified Riley's (2007) theory of ethnolinguistic identity well as he maintained that language and ethnic identities are inseparable from each other and they convey a social reality of one's current situation and position. The fact that Participant A10 equated being Chinese with speaking the language demonstrates her ethnolinguistic identity construction in the Non-Heritage Chinese class as shaped by the curriculum and by social expectations. Put another way, she wanted to reclaim her Chinese identity by learning Mandarin.

Participant A9's response to being Chinese or American has changed over time more in favor of his American-ness. However, he initially associated his identity with his family origins. He explained that,

When people ask me, where are you from? I used to struggle with that actually. I would just say, Seattle. Oh well. No I used to say Tennessee, 'cuz that's where I have lived for the longest time of my life. So I just associate that with where I came from. And then people look at me and they are like, 'No, your background. Where do your parents come from?' [I say], 'oh, they are from Hong Kong.' It got to a point where I just answered Hong Kong. I feel like people would keep asking you if you say America, so I just say [Hong Kong] now. I [have lived] in America for most of my life, so I guess I feel like I am more American, but I know I am Chinese of course. Both my parents are Chinese. But when people ask me, I just usually say Hong Kong now. So, am I Chinese or am I American? Yeah, I would probably say *wǒ shì zhōngguó rén* 我是中國人 (I am Chinese), because it's in Chinese class. I guess my background, my ancestry, and my whole family are Chinese. I myself live here for the most of my life, but I still remember my background. Where I actually came from was China originally. So, I am not like White or anything.

Participant A9 exhibited a more complex view of being American and not being American simultaneously. He first associated his identity with the state where he had lived in the longest, but then evoked his parents' origin. His perceptions of ethnolinguistic identity were inter-mingled with transnationalism and multilingualism. He felt obligated to identify as Chinese in Mandarin classes. Sometimes he was uncomfortable declaring his American identity where others questioned him about who he was, especially when those posing the questions were White. He wondered if they

expected him to say “Chinese,” and may have conceded to what they thought they wanted. However, at other time his self-selected Chinese identities, as well as his Americaness were active parts of his identity repertoires.

On the contrary, Participant A8 who also spent some time in Hong Kong at a younger age responded to this question affirmatively by saying, “I would say ‘wǒ shì zhōngguó rén yě shì Měiguó rén 我是中國人也是美國人 (I am Chinese and I am also an American), ‘cuz I was born here and I hold a U.S. passport. So I am basically Chinese American.” She emphasized birthplace and nationality as fundamental elements of being American, upholding her ethnicity as Chinese.

Another Type A Broadly-Defined Chinese Heritage Language Learner (BDCHLL), Participant A5 painted a realistic picture in response to being Chinese, American, or both. He stated,

Well, if you pose the question in Mandarin, I would definitely say Měiguórén (American) ‘美國人’. If a co-worker asks me, ‘What are you? What ethnicity are you?’ Then, [I would respond], ‘Yeah, I am Chinese.’ If you are my Chinese instructor and ask me this, [and] I know you understand Mandarin, I would say, ‘Měiguórén 美國人 (American)’ but I know you would understand I meant that I am American Born Chinese, not that I am White. Oh yeah, but you can also ask us, ‘Do you see yourselves as Chinese American or American Chinese?’ How do you say those in Chinese anyway? I think in that case, I would say I am Chinese and I am also American.

This explanation is indicative how people's perceptions of their ethnolinguistic identities can be affected by others and circumstances of the broader social world and why learning Mandarin Chinese can be racialized, at least partially. His younger brother (Participant A6) supported Participant A5's idea that claiming Chinese or American identity were contextual and complicated. He said,

It depends on where you are. If you are in China and someone asks you, 'Are you Chinese?' I would say I am Chinese American. If the question were posed in English in America, I would say I am Chinese. Technically, I am American.

When practicing Chinese grammar patterns, Participant B1 struggled with the dilemma that many Asian Americans face. His specific variation was, "Am I Korean or am I American?" He started to self-identify as Korean in Chinese class because he noticed that some of the Chinese Americans reclaimed their ethnic identity by saying *wǒ shì zhōngguó rén* 我是中國人 (I am Chinese). He noted:

People have asked me, 'Are you Korean or Korean American?' I don't know, I was born in Korea so I am Korean. I don't even know if I am Korean or not, other Korean kids call me [the] 1.5 generation. So if they are Chinese then I am Korean.

Compared to Participant B1's change of ethnic identification, Participant B2, who has travelled to Germany before, reported that he established his personal identity as an American while serving in the military. He maintained,

I know who I am. I am in the military. I am an American; I am not German. I've moved away from that identity. I know I am not German 'cuz I am American. I

guess I [strongly] identify with the military because both of my parents are in the military, I grew up like that and then I was in myself...

Participant B2 also mentioned that he would not really think he is American if he had not been travelling abroad or learning a foreign language. During the interview, he said “I am only American because you are not American.” This incident speaks to Riley’s (2007) ethnolinguistic identity theory that our identities are constantly changing to reflect when we are who we are and they are invariably relative.

The mixed-heritage Participant A2 had ambivalent feelings about race and ethnicity. She used the term nationality instead in explaining that,

I was really confused on the forms when you have to take the standard learning tests and you have to put in the bubble what your nationality is? I never knew what to put. One time I put, Native American islander, or something. I told my dad and he said, ‘No, you should put Asian.’ My dad thought I should put Asian, but I didn’t. You know multicultural wasn’t a choice back in those days when I was just a child.

By reclaiming her trans-nationality when learning Chinese, Participant A2 later disclosed that she is now more comfortable identifying her ethnolinguistic affiliation with being Chinese, Jewish, and American.

The nationality question pushes a lot of immigrant students who are categorized as Type B in this study, to think about their positions at Westwood University, and in a broader social world of the United States. This challenge was explained in detail by Participant B6 in providing reasons for taking Chinese. He wanted to get to know

Chinese culture, and find a place where he belongs, and connect with people who are like himself. He elaborated further that,

I thought about that question a lot, ‘Why do you want to learn Chinese?’ I am trying to reconnect with my culture but it’s not easy to do that because there are not that many Russian people, [so] I switched to something else. I met a lot of Chinese people. Most of my friends who speak Chinese are Chinese at [Westwood]... I guess this was not an easy question to answer. I guess the starting point was when I was introduced to a lot of foods by my high school math club. I don’t want to stereotype but there was maybe 50% Asian, and a lot of them I met also speak Chinese. The other part of it was Karaoke in Seattle....My [Chinese] friends were impressed because I memorized the lyrics....food is what I got interested in the Chinese culture. Karaoke is what I got into Chinese language. This is something I don’t quite understand as well. When the instructor asks me ‘why do you want to learn Chinese,’ I just gave the standard answer, ‘Oh I want to understand Chinese culture.’ But it’s more than that; it’s to be able to connect with people; being able to fit the best you can. [The] Chinese peer group, if they speak Chinese to each other, I want to be able to fit in that group. A lot of people [who] grew up here, end up speaking English. But there are other groups on campus who speak Chinese to each other. And there are people who spent part of their life in China or Taiwan, and part of their life here. Those tend to be very interesting people in terms of their understanding of the world and I am like them as well. I spent half of my life in

Russia and half of my life here. So I want to find where they are. Something that I think would be a benefit to me.

Participant B6 was told by his instructors that many people now taking Chinese are interested in business. He usually responded that he wanted to learn Chinese as a means of understanding Chinese culture. This answer seemed to stratify the instructors, but there was a deeper identity perspective behind his response. He confessed that,

I guess to some degree, the business purpose may be true. But I am not a business major, I decided taking Chinese is more important [because] it can help indirectly to improve networking. There's a more direct benefit in linguistics, but I don't think it is a continuing study for my career, I just see it as a personal thing. There are a lot of Chinese people in the world in general. The reason [for me taking Chinese] initially was because there are a lot of Chinese people in my close network among peers...I ask myself why I take Chinese? The reason I came up with is probably because was...it was difficult for me to connect with the Russian culture, because there are not many opportunities around here. That's probably the biggest reason why I take Chinese. But everything else kinda fits into the one layer...I am not thinking that it would help me for my career, I am thinking of it as something that will help me as a person. I found it strange that the instructors say lots of people take it for business. I found it weird that would be the reason given for why people in the class are interested in the language. I would think there are more diverse reasons — something

other than doing business — maybe something the Cantonese speakers, Korean speakers, Japanese speakers should do as part of their identities.

Participant B4 provided a similar line of thinking. As a third generation Russianized Korean who is also an American national, she decided to take Chinese instead of Korean because she did not think she would fit in with the Koreans in the United States or international Korean students at Westwood University. She said,

In the textbook, I identify myself with Bai Ying'ai 白英愛 (a Korean girl learning Chinese) more, probably because she's Korean, even though I am not that Korean myself. A lot of people from our class are Koreans. I still identify myself as Korean but it's kinda strange because even though I am Korean, I don't have the same Korean mentality. I am kinda having an identity crisis. Because my first language is Russian I do identify myself with the Russian culture, 'cuz I know a lot about it. My friends are Russian and we have a lot of things in common, but I am not gonna say I am Russian because I don't look like Russian, I don't know. I don't have the same loyalty to Russia. I can't say it's really close to my heart, I don't know, I might have this multiple identity disorder or something.

Participant B4 did not think the instructor knew she spoke Russian. When asked if she was Chinese or American, after looking through the list of options, she told the instructor that she was Korean. She noted that, "I said Wǒ shì Hánguó rén (I am Korean) 我是韓國人, but I feel like I am saying I am a citizen of the country, you know like I am a citizen

of South Korea. I wouldn't say Wǒ shì 我是 Russian rén 人 (person) either. But it would be a lot easier and not go on to explain my background." Participant B4 said she should probably inform the Chinese course instructor of her Russian heritage so that the classmates would know her accents come from Russian not from Korean. She shared an unpleasant stereotyping story in high school that a White friend thought she spoke English with a Korean accent. As she stated,

Some people think that I have AN ACCENT but they cannot identify which, and I kinda like that. I don't want people to tell which. They just say I have a European accent when I speak English. One girl in America just said that I have a girl accent, like 'Oh my god! What you doing today? Let's go out.' One guy in high school kept trying to convince me that I have a Korean accent. I thought that was stupid because I don't know how to speak Korean. I could only have a Russian accent. He's not even Korean; he's White. How can he even tell!

The Non-Heritage Mandarin Chinese classes at Westwood University have become sites of struggle for transnational students who have lived in different parts of the world to realize the perceptions of their own ethnolinguistic identity. Participant B3 shared that in the United States she has more pride in her Korean heritage. In Korea, she identifies more with Americans because she was educated under the American International School system. In Seoul, her name was Camille. She only uses her Korean name with family. She explained that,

If I am *Jiyeon*, I am more of the Korean girl, definitely more with my family, more with my relatives, more with my mom. My mom calls my dad *Jiyeon* aba

[which is *Camille*'s dad in Korean] all the time. And my younger brother will [ask], 'Why don't you call dad *Jiwon* aba?' *Jiwon* is my younger brother's Korean name. [My mom] is like, 'I don't know, I like your sister's [name] better.' *Jiyeon* is family and *Camille* is friend. I don't think my family knows I have a Chinese name, and none of my friends call me that; they are Koreans. My Chinese name is just who I am in Chinese class.

Regardless which country of origins the Type A or Asian-Type B Participants are from, they consider their Non-Asian Type B White counterparts as Americans. In skits performed in class, the Americans are always the White students, and the other nationals are role-played by Type A and Asian-Type B students as Chinese, Korean, or Japanese. The apparently simple question, Are you Chinese or American, pushes Type A students to think aloud their ethnolinguistic identities, and challenges the Type B students, who may or may not have any Asian heritage, to confront their own ethnic identities in Chinese language class. Many of the Chinese class instructors were not aware of these confrontations.

Advantages of Learning Chinese: Sandbagging vs. Bad Habits to Break?

Broadly-Defined Heritage Language Learners (BDHLLs) who reclaimed their trans-nationality in this study usually were regarded as having more background in Chinese languages and cultures by the instructors, their Non-Heritage counterparts and even themselves. While the actual academic performance and their academic identity were not the main parameters of this study, the Type A participants still acknowledged that knowing Cantonese, Teochew, Shanghainese, and Taisanese helped them in learning

Mandarin. Participant A8 admitted that, “there’s gotta be a little bit of unfair advantage. I mean knowing Cantonese helps me to understand Mandarin.” Participant A9 also recognized this notion of unfair advantage in the following comments,

There’s one White classmate in my Non-Heritage class [who] feels like we get it easier. He once said to me, ‘All you Cantonese people, you don’t even have to study and you can get good grade. I need to stare my book for hours and I still don’t get the same good grades as you.’ I guess because they don’t have any Chinese language background, they have to work a lot harder than us. I guess it does come naturally to me. I don’t have to think that, oh, I have to put the verb here, object here. When I say it, it just comes out. I don’t have to think that I have to put time words before verbs. I just know what order things are going in, like Wǒ jīntiān wǎnshàng chīfàn “I have dinner tonight” 我今天晚上吃飯. I feel the Americans in our class mess up the order, I guess in that aspect, it’s easier for me but writing and reading are just as hard as anyone else.

In terms of learning strategies, if Participant A5 had not heard new vocabulary word in Mandarin before, he would look them up on-line in the Cantonese dictionary. After hearing their sound played on the computer, he would recognize the meanings and know how to use them in a Chinese context. But if he had never heard a word in Cantonese before, then he had to locate more references. In explaining this learning process he said,

I found myself always translating back to Cantonese. Whatever I learn in Mandarin, in the book, in the vocab, I would circle the word that I have never

seen before and I will look up the Cantonese dictionary online and they will pronounce it for me. Because if I hear the phrase in Cantonese, I will remember it in Mandarin. A lot of the words I hear in Mandarin, I don't know the meaning, but if I hear them in Cantonese I recognize them. I would know what the meaning is, and I would just have to practice it to memorize how to write the characters.

Participant A4 regarded Teochow as a placed resource that helped her memorize certain phrases in Mandarin, because:

they sound the same, like in Mandarin, sick is gǎnmào 感冒 and in my language, [it] is also very much like gǎnmào 感冒. So it's the same thing but with different tones. They still have the same sound and everything. And sentence structure wise, it is kinda similar and I think sometimes, because my level in Teochow is not that great for me to be able to compare [it] with Mandarin as well. But it helps once in a while.

This “unfair advantage” was also noted by some of the non-Asian Type B participants in this study. For example, B7 noted that she did not grow up with the Chinese language like the Cantonese students, and Chinese was totally “foreign” to her. She had to spend an hour every night practicing writing Chinese characters. Participant B2 thought it was unfair to allow students who have Chinese backgrounds in Non-Heritage classes because they would just get “flying colors on the test scores.” He used the term “sandbagging” to describe this phenomenon. According to the definition on thefreedictionary.com, sandbagging means, “to downplay or misrepresent one's ability in

order to deceive someone.” The non-Asian Type B participants assumed that the Type A Cantonese students did not do their best at the placement interviews; hence the instructors assigned them to First-Year Non-Heritage classes.

Having taken classes on culture in her International Studies major, Participant B8 had a different perception about the Cantonese speakers in Chinese class. She reasoned that,

It is perfectly normal, maybe because I have taken the introductory Chinese culture and linguistic classes and I know just how different it can be, I mean, they have similarities so perhaps that gives them some advantages, but it’s a lot like having an Italian student take Spanish. I would not expect you to place them in heritage class just because they speak similar languages. It might be a little bit easier for them to learn, but that’s about it. Like English and German, I would not expect to be placed in heritage class. Chinese speakers learning German will have ten times more trouble learning it than I would. Like I said, it makes sense.

Despite the fact that Broadly-Defined Heritage Language Learners (BDHLLs) are assumed to have an unfair advantage in learning Chinese by other Non-Heritage students who are not ethnically Chinese, they thought the assumption itself was unfair. For example, Participant A2 noted that,

Every White person who then can speak Chinese, every Chinese person would LOVE them; ‘Oh [you are] so great, blah blah blah.’ But if you are Chinese [and] can’t speak Chinese, even if you are trying a little bit, I just didn’t feel like

I got the same treatment. You are supposed to speak Chinese, because you LOOK Chinese! So that would be an unfair advantage that my White friends wouldn't get. That would be my disadvantage.

Another example of this awe at Whites speaking Mandarin was evident in some comments Participant A3 made about Gāo Wénzhōng 高文中, one of the main characters in the textbook used in the Non-Heritage Chinese class. She said,

When Gāo Wénzhōng 高文中 speaks Chinese, he's more adorable, but he's a little bit emo [an urban word to describe someone who has a lower tolerance for sad emotions, feels inadequate of their own personal worth, and feels like they are not good enough] from the videos. In general, when White people speak Chinese, I would be like WOW! That's what's in my mind. There's this one little White girl who comes to the bank where I work at. She speaks better Chinese than I do. And sometimes, [when] my parents see White people speaking Mandarin on TV, they [say], 'hey look, they can speak Chinese and they speak even better than you do!'

A3 also considered White students who speak better Chinese as "really smart" and know "what they are talking about." It makes her feel like a failed heritage speaker. Similar opinions were expressed by Participants A2, A8, and B2 as well. Participant A2 who is half Jewish and half Chinese explained that,

In front of the instructor, I always get really nervous. I have this feeling that [Chinese teachers] don't like me, because I look Chinese but I don't speak Chinese. They just assume that I am one of those, ABCs [American Born

Chinese]...So, anyway, I would talk to people in Chinese and they would respond to my brother, I don't know if it's because he's male or because he looks more White than me. He doesn't speak any of it.

Similarly, Participant A6 identified the assumed unfair advantage in learning Chinese, as an actual disadvantage:

The instructor will be a little harder on us. If I make a simple grammar mistake, the teacher will be the first to say, 'You shouldn't be making this mistake. But when the American students make the mistakes, the instructor will still be, 'Oh hěnhǎo hěnhǎo 很好很好 (very good, very good)!' I was like how could it be 'hěnhǎo hěnhǎo 很好很好 (very good, very good)!' because that's all wrong. I feel like it would be discouraging if the instructor was like, 'this is wrong, that is wrong,' I do understand why the instructor is more willing or tolerant of mistakes [White students make].

Participant A6's observation was confirmed in White Participant B2's perception of Non-Heritage Chinese class that "[he] felt Non-Heritage class is for [him]", and he knew that "the instructor would be more patient with [him] because he had no background in Chinese." He added that, "I know my pronunciation is wrong and I know my grammar is wrong, but [the instructor] will try to understand me so I don't worry about it." He considered himself a legitimate Non-Heritage learner in class so he did not feel too bad about it when he could not perform well. Another White Type B student had similar self-perceptions as he responded, "I think the instructors are thinking positively of me" (Participant B6). Participants B7 and B8 also reflected their legitimacy and unfair

advantage in Non-Heritage Mandarin Chinese class by claiming that the instructor probably like the White students better because:

We have more struggles since we don't have the background, and they might be happier because we don't have the issues with the different tones. We don't ever try to say things with Cantonese. We don't have the habits to break or something. They would say, 'No, that's Cantonese; no, you are still saying it slightly wrong.' (Participant B8)

I like freaking Chinese people out by suddenly busting out my Chinese skills. It is useful if they were talking about me or if they need help with something and I jump in to offer assistance and they're all shocked and grateful. HAHA!

(Participant B7)

On the contrary, Participant A7 was concerned about being Chinese in a Non-Heritage class. She thought the advantage would be "confidence and exposures to it" but the disadvantages outweighed her ethnolinguistic backgrounds. She said,

You don't know [if] the way your parents spoke to you or what you have learned in the past is deemed correct. Because every family might speak differently and ...how they pronounced things...the way you say things might affect the formal language training in school. Another [thing] is that a lot of people will assume that, 'Oh, you are Chinese, you must know something about Chinese language in general,' with the pre-assumption that I know my language, but I don't, so there is a lacking.

Participant A7 disclosed that the instructor put a lot of pressure on her almost like a “reverse discrimination.” At the time of interview, she was not sure that her foundation was solid enough to continue with second year Chinese. However, she wanted to know more cultural and political events that shape modern China. This content created a more inviting atmosphere in Non-Heritage class. Other Type A students also shared similar stories about their funds of knowledge in Chinese being reconstructed in the Non-Heritage Chinese class. For example, Participant A6 indicated that in Cantonese, he would say, “wǒ dǎ diàn huà gěi nǐ 我打電話給你,” which is a common southern pattern, but the instructor regarded it as wrong and corrected him to say “wǒ gěi nǐ dǎ diàn huà 我給你打電話” which is a more prescriptive standardized northern pattern. He did not think his Chinese language learning experiences were valid.

The Asian-Type B participants hold some kind of advantages by knowing one of the East Asian languages. Participant B3 acknowledged that,

If you compare me with other kids who have never been exposed to the characters, I would understand them better. So that’s one advantage. My mom taught us Korean writing when we were young. I also like reading manga [Japanese comic books] when I was young, so I was learning characters when I was reading it. And in middle school I had to learn traditional Chinese characters when I studied Japanese.

The only Japanese international student in this study also acknowledged that knowing Japanese helped her a lot in learning Chinese and that would be an advantage.

She emphasized the writing portion only because she had a lot of trouble with Chinese pronunciations: “I know how to write Chinese [characters] but my speaking is horrible, I did poorly on the oral exam. My teacher said my speaking has a lot to improve but it’s so hard to make the sounds right.”

The unfair advantage of Broadly-Defined Heritage Language Learners (BDHLLs) as perceived by Non-Heritage students involved having more cultural exposure and knowing some spoken forms of Chinese. This caused some Type A students and Asian-Type B students to under access or lower the importance of their cultural and ethnic background. Comparatively, the unfair advantage of Non-Heritage students was associated with the privilege of being White. These differences in perceptions of advantage ultimately led to different perceptions of Chinese as a Non-Heritage language.

Learning Chinese is New but Not Foreign!

Due to the convergences of East Asian cultures and influence of the character-based Chinese writing system on Japanese, Korean, and Vietnamese. The Asian-Type B immigrant students who participated in this study often found similarities in Chinese cultures. This notion was also illustrated in the course text dialogues. One passage below shows that stereotype of all of Asians look alike is embedded in assumptions about the writing system of East Asian languages. One of the main characters in the textbook is Gāo Wénzhōng 高文中, who is a British student studying Chinese. He mistakes Japanese kanji for Chinese characters when driving through Chinatown. This is illustrated by a dialogue from Lesson 13:

Wang Peng: This isn't right. See, you can only turn left here. You can't turn right.

Gao Wenzhong: Then it'll be the next block. Turn right. Keep going further.

We're there, we're there. See, there are lots of Chinese characters in front of us.

Wang Peng: That's not Chinese, that's Japanese. We're in Little Tokyo.

Gao Wenzhong: Really? Then, let's not have Chinese food; let's have Japanese food instead.

(Integrated Chinese, Level1, Part2, Textbook dialogue, p.98)

In addition to Japanese, Vietnamese and Korean also share the Chinese orthography writing system in the history of their language development. In this study, it is commonly believed by the instructors, graduate teaching assistants, and students themselves that knowing one of these three East Asian languages helps in writing Chinese characters. For instance, Participant B1 clearly stated that, "knowing Korean helps [me] learn Chinese; although it is new, it is not foreign!" He used his name and some other examples to compare Korean with Chinese. As he explained,

shítáng 'dining hall' 食堂 in Korean is *siktang*, and Zhōngguó 'China' 中國, Měiguó 'U.S.A' 美國. We use guó guó guó (writing Korean on another piece of paper) and you see guk, it's all the same. But Riběn 日本 (Japan), we don't say Rìguó 日國, right? So in Korean, we used a different word like *ribuan*. But when I speak Chinese, I have to roll my tongue very hard, like RRRrrr. In Korea,

there are a lot of people studying Chinese right now. They cannot pronounce Ru and Zhu. It's very hard for them.

Although Participant B1 acknowledged he is a Korean language user, he deliberately distinguished himself from the imagined community in Korea by using “they” as a pronoun. His ethnolinguistic identity changed when the Chinese American students declared their ethnicity in class as Chinese. Starting from there, he felt more comfortable being Korean in the Non-Heritage Chinese classroom. Participant B5 was the only Japanese international student in this study. She recalled, “when I put *riběnguó* ‘Japan’ 日本國 on the test, my teacher told me that it is Japanese not Chinese. But I thought I was writing Chinese, so sometimes I have to unlearn some of the stuff I know in Japanese.” Participant B3 also has discovered many similarities between Chinese and Korean languages. She said,

In the case of Japanese, Korean, and Chinese, we all have one foundation, which is the character. If you know one or two characters, it would help you learn Chinese. It's really fun ‘cuz I have actually learned a little bit of traditional Korean characters, especially the four-letter Korean proverbs ‘cuz I know what the characters are in Chinese. We speak it differently in Korean. Like *Yíziqiānjīn* one letter thousand gold 一字千金. Most [Korean] people don't know how to write the characters, but they will say it when the situation calls for it. But there are also many differences between Korean and Chinese. When I speak Korean, I know what situation that I can use. When I speak Chinese it

doesn't hit home. It's less natural to me, but it's not foreign, it's very much Korean, so it's still new.

Many student participants commented that they were surprised to see so many Asians in the Chinese class. A few Type A participants revealed that if they have not had some connections with Chinese cultures and languages, they probably would not have chosen Chinese just to fulfill the World Language requirements at Westwood University. Both Type A and Type B participants chose to take Chinese as working in their favor, whether because of cultural or career aspirations. These reasons speak to Norton's (2006) notion of investment. People learn a second language because they know they will gain symbolic resources from it. Participant A1 whose home language is Cantonese, admitted that by knowing some traditional characters and approximating Cantonese pronunciation and tone value to Mandarin help her learn Mandarin Chinese as a new language. She remarked:

I think some of the personal reasons...hopefully help maintain people's work, even though I know the undergraduates have the one year foreign language requirement to graduate...Even for me, I said it's personal but it's also for research. The personal [reason] really helped me maintain... my work in it cuz the personal familial cultural contexts were there. It would literally not be a foreign language to me; it is a new language.

For Participant A1, the research benefit of knowing Chinese was important because she was doing a study in the Chinese immigrant community, and collaborating with other cohorts in China on an international project. Students who had some degrees of exposures

to or knowledge of Chinese languages and cultures and were enrolled in the Non-Heritage class were describing as “sandbagging” by students who had no East Asian languages backgrounds. An example of sandbagging was Participant A3’s tendency to not look at the pīnyīn, because she already knew how to pronounce some the words from her experiences in Chinatown, where some of the places still use traditional characters like gōngyuán “park”公園. She commented that, “sometimes pīnyīn is confusing because there are so many characters that are pronounced the same now [in the course].” She further explained that for sentence dictation, she would write down first the characters as opposed to the pīnyīn because she could not understand the Romanization very well.

According to Participant B2, “Cantonese people, they are quick at writing characters; I took forever to write characters.” Regardless of whether they viewed learning Chinese as a “new” language or a “foreign” language, all students in this study reported that they try to reduce their Cantonese, American, Korean, Japanese accents, when they speak Mandarin. In other words, they try to be less Cantonese, American, Japanese, or Korean when it comes to speaking Chinese.

Participant A10 speaks somewhat fluent Taisanese and English. She commented that her Chinese was her weaker language but attached high value to learning it:

I can’t read in Chinese that well. Chinese is still new to me. I developed my bilingual ability by learning Chinese from my parents and learning English in school. Chinese is my weaker language. I am trying to improve by taking Chinese to learn to write grammar. I should better my Chinese for my future.

I’m proud to be bilingual and Chinese is not a foreign language. It’s an extra

skill I have that can help push me above the rest, especially those that only speak one language. I can talk to more people knowing different languages.

Participant A5 also was proud of his Chinese and English language skills. As he stated,

The world is globalizing. USA is pretty much one of the only developed countries that don't have enough emphasis on being multilingual. Europeans know several dialects or more than one romance language, for example. Plus, language is part of one's roots. Chinese is new to me, but I don't think Non-Heritage Chinese is a foreign language class. Learning language is learning a culture. Plus learning another language expands your job options.

He connected learning Chinese with investing in one's future career, if not for personal growth. Other Type A and Type B participants in this study, wanted to learn Chinese as a second language because they know something good will come out of it, whether as cultural capital or as the symbolic resource. For example, Participant B8 was taking Chinese because she wanted to work in China after graduation. This motivation was apparent in her comments that,

I decided to study Chinese because of its influence in the world today. I am an international studies major and my focus is East Asia. Originally I wanted to do Japanese, and I found Japanese culture so interesting. But the more I study China, the more I studied Chinese, the more I got into the Chinese culture, I took a lot of Chinese history classes, and...China is kinda where it's at right now. The more I learned it, the more I liked about it, and I am happier learning

Chinese. Japanese is cool but Chinese is kinda where it's at. I wanna try to go to China to teach English for a year.

This utilitarian perspective was expressed by Type A and Type B participants. When they viewed learning Chinese as an instrumental good, they were both intrinsically and extrinsically invested in learning this language. Participant B2 attributed difficulty in learning to write Chinese to general poor writing skills. He said, "I think my problem with writing Chinese characters is that I have bad hand-writing in English. I write in all capitals, because I have to, and sometimes I mix it, so when I write Chinese characters it's so bad that it got carried over. Hella bad!" While he has acknowledged that this difficulty was not a Chinese-specific thing since his English writing needs much improvement, characters' writing still was foreign to him.

Participant A4 is fluent in English but not in Teochow anymore. However, because its similarity with Mandarin, she does not consider Chinese as a foreign language but rather a new and weaker language. She commented that,

I used to be fluent in Teochow until I was six, but couldn't read any Chinese. My Teochow skills actually developed from my uncle and aunt who only spoke Teochow around the house. Chinese is still new and my weaker language in general, so I've been asking my parents to re-teach me again so that I can understand and speak more. I don't like being weak in Teochow; it's frustrating when talking to family members. I hope taking Chinese at [Westwood University] can help me improve my Teochow. Because I wouldn't have to have my relative repeat what they say or have them say it slowly so I can

understand it clearly. I don't like to ask them too many times to repeat themselves.

Like other Type A participants who wanted to study their home dialect if they had been offered at Westwood University, Participant A4 took Chinese because it was the closest thing to Teochow.

Some Type A participants in this study did not regard being bilingual in the United States as an asset. For instance, Participant A8 did not like the idea of raising her children in a Cantonese speaking household. As she explained, "I don't think I would raise them with a minority language, but if they happened to learn a minority language when they're young, then I'd be fine with that." Nor was she in favor of giving her children Chinese names on their birth certificates because, "they are going to be third generation Americans. I want them to be pure Americans [and] speak English without an accent." She also wanted to become as Americanized as possible since she dated only White men, disliked her Chinese name as her middle name, and dyed her hair blonde. She disliked Chinese people speaking English with an accent. Whenever she tutored younger immigrant children in English, she stressed the importance of speaking American English like a native speaker as opposed to "an Asian accent English." Even though Participant A8 was educated in Hong Kong under the American International School system, she still regarded Mandarin Chinese as new and not foreign.

Participant A10 considered Chinese as a new language as opposed to a foreign language despite the fact that her proficiency in Taisanese, started to deteriorate after beginning elementary school. She recalled,

I started to notice [it] in third grade. Whenever I went home, I would start to ask my mom, ‘What did you say?’ more than before. So I realized that as my English advanced, my Chinese deteriorated. I actually haven’t visited the home country of my language so far, but I have heard many things which make me not only anticipate going, but also a little scared to go in a way. Even though I have not been to China, I somehow regard Chinese as a new language but not totally foreign. Actually, when I started to learn English, I thought it was so foreign. My parents just wanted me to be successful in school; they didn’t care if I could speak Taisanese or not. They all stressed on the importance of English, though. They would be telling me how important it is to speak English well, you know.

According to other Type A participants in this study as well, parental support for maintaining heritage languages seemed to be weak due to discrimination they experienced as non-native English speakers. The two brothers (Participant A5 and Participant A6) shared similar stories where they thought of Chinese as their native language. Participant A6 said,

I speak my native language best between me and my older brother because we were influenced earlier than our cousins were. So I still remember some phrases, enough to pass the day with. But I don’t know any Taisanese at all. I don’t understand it. My [older] brother knows a little bit better, but I don’t.

His older brother, Participant A5 responded,

My English is fluent; Cantonese isn't as fluent but I can understand quite a bit. But I am able to understand what others are saying and answer them in both languages, I guess, [I am] conversational in Cantonese, if you will. And I would say the weakness goes for Cantonese. I know enough to have a conversation and to get around Hong Kong, but not fluent enough to describe in detail or use 'big words', you know. I guess I developed bilingual ability just by being around my parents and my grandparents, and living in the community of Cantonese speaking friends.

Participant A2 took Chinese as an undergraduate student, spoke to her maternal grandmother in Chinese as much as possible, and used it more when she went to Shanghai than here at home in the United States. She said, "I feel a little embarrassed that I'm half Chinese but can only understand so much, and struggle to communicate sometimes with friends and family in China." Despite her inability to speak Chinese, she still regarded Chinese as a new language as opposed to a foreign language in the First-Year Non-Heritage class.

Participant A7 liked being bilingual, she noted that, "People say I'm lucky that I'm bilingual and that I should stick with it. Sometimes I talk to my mom in an English and Cantonese mix, using both languages in the same sentence, but we understand each other so it's not difficult." Her mother supported on maintaining contact with Cantonese by sending A7 to Mandarin school as well as hiring nannies who spoke both Mandarin and English. Yet, sometimes, A7 resisted where she only wanted to speak English to her nannies and answer her parents in English. This happened after she stopped going to

Chinese school, and before attending college. She took French in high school even though AP Chinese (2010) was offered in her high school. She still viewed Mandarin Chinese as a new language in contrast to Cantonese but not a foreign language like French.

Participant A9 had strong positive feelings about raising his children bilingually, and he regarded Chinese as a new language in Non-Heritage class. He said,

If I have kids, and my wife is supportive of it, I wouldn't mind trying to get my kids to speak multiple languages. Chinese would be a new language for them, not a foreign language. It can be helpful for them in the future for travel, jobs, or meeting someone who doesn't speak English, and can communicate with them.

Since I grew up bilingual I probably will hope my kids will be bilingual as well.

Even though A9 grew up speaking Cantonese, and did not consider Mandarin as a foreign language, he had a hard time deciding whether Cantonese or English was his first language. He described his language shifting as follows,

When I moved back to America, you know, I was born here, moved to Hong Kong and moved back when I was six and attended kindergarten, my Cantonese got worse as my English got much better. Since I used English more frequently, I picked up on it and eventually became more fluent in English than Cantonese. I don't know what I'd consider as my first language, since I grew up learning both at the same time...and I moved to Hong Kong when I was two and started talking then. But I barely remember that.

While Type A and Asian-Type B participants have regarded learning Mandarin Chinese as a new language in Non-Heritage class, the non-Asian Type B participants considered it a foreign language. The Asian heritage students see Mandarin Chinese as a new language because of their bilingual skills in another Chinese dialect or another Asian language. The Non-Asian heritage students agreed that the character writing system and tones made Chinese foreign to them.

Perceptions of Non-Heritage and Heritage

According to accounts of students and instructors, the First-Year Non-Heritage Mandarin Chinese classes at Westwood University consisted primarily of Whites and Asians. The instructors and teaching assistants recalled that during their times teaching the class, very few African Americans, Latino Americans, and Native Americans enrolled. One of the instructors attributed these to cancellation of the affirmative action policy. According to the Chinese Program Coordinator (email communication, 2012):

The purpose of the two-track system is to create an improved language-learning environment based on language ability for BOTH (capitalized as original) types of speakers. It is not just designed to make things more effective for those without Chinese language backgrounds, but also to make things more effective for those with Chinese language backgrounds.

The instructors had different perceptions of the Broadly-Defined Heritage Language Learners (BDHLLs). At Westwood University, instructors take turns teaching different levels of Chinese language classes every three years. That is to say, after teaching First-Year Non-Heritage Mandarin Chinese for three years, the instructor will teach Non-

Heritage Second-Year next term. Whoever teaches Non-Heritage Second-Year will also teach First-Year Heritage. The First-Year Heritage/Non-Heritage Second-Year Instructor said,

Recently, there are a lot of students who are not typical Non-Heritage students in my second year Non-Heritage class. I think the system has some problems. If a student can speak a Chinese dialect well, I cannot let him be in the Non-Heritage class. If he can read the textbook fluently in his home dialect, we don't have classes for him to take. He has to find other places to learn Chinese.

When asked what constitutes "typical Non-Heritage students", the same instructor responded,

You have to first ask what the heritage students are, and Non-Heritage students are those who are the opposite of that. So basically, heritage at this institution means people who can speak Mandarin Chinese but do not know how to write or cannot recognize the characters. That is to say, if you know Mandarin Chinese you can listen to it and understand and speak it but are illiterate, cannot recognize or write the characters. These students are what we regard as the ideal heritage students. And Non-Heritage will be everything that is not mentioned previously; this is a clear cut. But the problem is there are a lot of students who cannot fit into these two groups; a lot of students that grew up speaking Cantonese, Teochow, Taisanese that don't speak Mandarin. So within these students, there are two groups, one is they are fluent in the home dialect, and the other is limited in the home dialect. If they are fluent in the home dialect, some

of them can be placed in Heritage. But if they are not very fluent, or know only some characters, this is the more troublesome group, because the Non-Heritage and Heritage tracks can't help these students.

From another perspective, the First-Year Non-Heritage instructor indicated that, “after the budget cuts, students who speak Chinese dialects such as Cantonese or Teochew supposedly should go to the Heritage class. But because Westwood is a public state university, one of the purposes is to serve all students, and more and more students want to take Chinese. We still have to give them the opportunities.” The graduate teaching assistants agreed with the institutional definitions. Both reinforced the idea that in Non-Heritage classes their target audiences are the students who have no Chinese background; that is the White students. They also thought the Broadly-Defined Heritage Language Learners (BDHLLs, Type A participants) and the Asian-Type B students are in a more advantageous position in the Non-Heritage Chinese program.

Type A students were aware that “there were a lot of them” in the Non-Heritage Chinese classes. The non-Asian Type B students also noticed the percentage of Asian is significantly high. Participant A1 observed that the majority of students enrolled in Non-heritage classes are Asian, but not only Chinese. She added that,

At first when I got into the class, I was very surprised. I realized...it's not unusual to have so many Chinese and Asian students, partly because you have to really want to learn Chinese to get into the class to begin with.

Participant A2 expressed similar sentiments in noting that,

There is a lot of Asians! I am surprised; I feel...maybe it is the [city] demographics or the undergraduate proportion. There are just a lot of Asians in general. In our class sections, there are more than 50%. Without actually counting, that's my perception.

These descriptions of Non-Heritage classes at Westwood University were not a homogenized or mono-ethnic setting. While the Asian population continued to grow in learning Chinese in Non-Heritage class, these students were not all Chinese.

The students' perceptions of Heritage versus Non-Heritage are different from the given institutional definition. They often found it confusing and problematic. This was especially so for mixed-heritage students. For example, Participant A2 inquired challengingly:

It was weird! I don't know why they called it that? What does that mean? Heritage versus Non-Heritage? I think I have some heritage in Chinese. On the add code when I looked it up online, I didn't know which one to do I sign up for, Heritage and Non-Heritage. It was just very weird to me. They don't have Non-Heritage and Heritage class in the institution I went to for undergraduates. It was divided by beginner, intermediate, and advanced.

Mixed-heritage students such as Participant A2 provided a viewpoint that mono-heritage teachers would not necessarily be aware. She related "heritage" to her racial background. This is different from the focus of the institutional definition. The Chinese Program Coordinator explained that, "The 'heritage track' was never designed for or intended for [Broadly-Defined Heritage Language Learner]. It was designed for

[Narrowly-Defined Heritage Language Learners]. Students aren't supposed to self-place in one track or the other based on cultural heritage. Rather, they are interviewed to determine their language ability. If they have heritage language ability in Mandarin, they are placed into the heritage track" (email communication, 2012).

The notion of heritage at Westwood University above clearly refers to language ability preconditioned by ethnicity and race. By saying Heritage track is designed for Narrowly-Defined Heritage Language Learners (NDHLLs), it excludes Non-Heritage students who may have the heritage language ability or who may have exposures in Chinese languages and cultures (e.g. a White person growing up or has spent some of his or her childhood in China/Taiwan, or has been lived there for some time, or having studied Mandarin Chinese since high school; or mixed-heritage students who grow up speaking the heritage language); it almost creates a reverse discrimination in that regard.

While the Heritage/Non-Heritage structure understates the potentials of Non-Heritage Chinese Language Learners (NHCLLs), it also falls short in dealing with students who have a Chinese language background that is not Mandarin. However, the instructors are very aware of that Cantonese speakers, for example, have very different pedagogical needs. Many of the Cantonese students can read and write some Mandarin words, but cannot speak it. They do not fit well into either track, which is designed for students who are not literate.

By extension, the linguistic label of current Non-Heritage speakers indeed refers to a racial category that broadly equates Heritage as Asian and Non-Heritage as non-Asian. Another illustration of this binary racialization was apparent in Participant B2's

frustration that he did not feel like he was in Non-Heritage class because he was “surrounded by too many Asians.” He said, “Well, it is almost a heritage class now, because there are so many Asian kids.” He equated Heritage with Asian and Non-Heritage with White. Asian-Type B students equated Heritage with being Chinese and Non-Heritage with Non-Chinese. For example, Participant B1 remarked,

Heritage is for Chinese; Non-Heritage is non-Chinese. I think, Cantonese speakers should be in heritage. They know Chinese, and their parents are Chinese but they pretend they don't know Chinese. Their intonation is better, like aiya [sighing in Chinese], they are so good. But it makes sense now; they're canto [short for Cantonese] who don't know Chinese. It wouldn't be fair to put him in the Heritage class. I don't know anyone in Heritage class. Maybe there are people who only know a little bit of Chinese. People were born here but not educated in Chinese. They can go faster and faster. They use different textbooks.

The instructors confirmed that the textbook which First-Year Heritage classes use is called *Oh! China*, and its target audiences is American born Chinese, and the textbook narrations are in the voice of American born Chinese. Should there be White-Type B participants enrolled in Heritage Mandarin Chinese track classes; there also would be a problem in the Chinese language instruction and curriculum in that aspect as the learners' ethnolinguistic identities are negotiated directly with the narratives.

In responding to the distinction between Heritage and Non-Heritage classes, Participant B6 gave the following explanation:

Personally I don't have a problem being labeled as Non-Heritage, because that's true. If I were to take Russian, I would probably be placed in heritage class.

Otherwise I would not be too happy about it. Actually, I have thought about using the terms such as Honors for Heritage or Non-Honors for Non-Heritage. I feel someone who is gonna learn and can do well in heritage class, even though he or she is not Chinese or does not have background, it would be difficult under the current system [because] you need to have a certain background.

From what I understand, the heritage students start really fast... It is important to have heritage class that is geared towards students who have acquisitions.

[But] it kinda seems to divide Chinese learners from Chinese language learners, but that's not something I [am in] a position to say. Heritage and Non-Heritage distinction labels different students differently and sets different expectations.

The division between Heritage and Non-Heritage classes created the ethnic segregation and favored certain racial group as legitimate Chinese Language Learners (CLLs) that were recognized by Participant B6. For example, Participant B2 associated with the White character in the textbook. He said he was favorably impressed by Lǐ Yǒu 李友, a White female main character in the course textbook, because “tāshì bái sè de rén 她是白色的人 (She is a White person).” The frequency of visual appearance of Whites as British and American, and Asian as being Chinese and Korean, revealed that learning Chinese is a White-dominated activity in the textbook. Whites represented 55 percent visual characters in the textbook and East Asians 45 percent.

Other data supported this conclusion. An examination of degrees conferred in Chinese by race and ethnicity from 1998 to 2010 (Appendix H), most Bachelors, Master's, and doctoral were received by Whites and Asians. Specifically, White males comprised 29% and Asian females were 24% of the degree recipients. Others included international students, "race or ethnicity unknown", and Native and Latino Americans. There were only five male Latinos and two male American Indians/Alaska Natives who received a Bachelor's degree in Chinese. There were 22 international students received degrees in Chinese. They were from China, Korea, and Taiwan. The Non-specified race and ethnicity category had 17 students who were of mixed-heritage (Westwood University Factbook, 2011).

The instructors and teaching assistants in this study had a broad definition of Heritage Chinese that included Type A and Asian-Type B students. As one of them explained, "Heritage for me, broadly speaking, means languages that have character-based writing." They recognized that Chinese cultures and languages have influenced Korean and Japanese languages. The teachers confirmed that, "there are a lot of Korean students taking Chinese...and even though the Koreans' character writing abilities are strong, we still can't put them in heritage class. They have to be in Non-Heritage." The teachers saw Asian-Type B students as having advantage in learning Chinese by indicating that these students already recognize the character writing system. In sum, for Asian-Type B participants, Heritage classes are for Chinese students and Non-Heritage classes are for non-Chinese students; for Non-Asian Type B participants, Non-Heritage is for White and Heritage is for Asian; for Type A participants, Non-Heritage is for Non-

Mandarin speakers and Heritage is for Mandarin speakers; for instructors, having some background (i.e. Heritage) means the students' languages and cultures have character writing influence, and Non-Heritage means White (even if they have taken AP Chinese). In other words, they regarded the Broadly-Defined Heritage Language Learners (BDHLLs) as Type A and Asian-Type B participants.

Summary

The findings from this study revealed that the definitions of Heritage and Non-Heritage Mandarin Chinese were somewhat arbitrary. The Non-Heritage program had some effects on the student participants' perceptions of ethnolinguistic identities, as did their own personal and prior social experiences, and their interactions with Non-Chinese peers in the same Non-Heritage Mandarin classes. When related to the specific research questions examined, the results were:

- The instructors see both Type A and Asian-Type B participants as Heritage while White-Type B students view themselves as the legitimate Non-Heritage Chinese Language Learners (NHCLLs). The participants linked Heritage to Asians or Chinese, and Non-Heritage to Whites.
- For most Type A participants, their Chinese names are personal if shortened or pronounced in their native dialects, and they are academic when used in Mandarin classes. In addition to the pronunciations, Asian-Type B participants found some ethnolinguistic affinity with cultural events and linguistic features of the writing scripts in textbooks.

- Broadly-Defined Heritage Language Learners (Type A and Asian-Type B participants) view learning Chinese as a “new” but not “foreign” language because the degree of familiarity and relevance as high for them.
- The textbooks reinforced the idea of White students being favored in Non-Heritage Chinese. The main characters in scenarios in the textbooks symbolize racializing the experience of learning Chinese, for both Whites (British and American) as Asians (Chinese and Korean).
- Broadly-Defined Heritage Language Learners (BDHLLs) were uncertain about the appropriateness of their prior Chinese learning, because the standard Mandarin grammar taught in class was sometimes different from what they had heard or spoke previously.
- Type A participants acknowledged that Mandarin is the best language they can take to reconnect with their Chinese cultural heritage. When learning Mandarin, they tried to hide as much as their dialect accents as possible.

Chapter V: Summary, Discussion, and Recommendations

The summary, discussion, limitations, significance, and recommendations for future research are presented in this chapter. The summary provides a short overview of the research problems, purpose, procedures, and findings of this study. The discussion section provides an interpretation of the study results from Chapter IV. The discussion of significance describes the contributions that this study makes to the body of scholarship on foreign language learning, specifically on Non-Heritage track, and bilingual education. This is done by revealing how Broadly-Defined Chinese Heritage Language Learners (BDCHLLs) perceived their ethnolinguistic identities in Non-Heritage Mandarin Chinese classes. In the section on limitations, some aspects that were not explored in this study are identified. Information in the recommendations section centers on what future second language education research might be conducted that could possibly extend to the findings of the present study.

Summary

Three years ago, I overheard a conversation while walking into a college First-Year Chinese Non-Heritage class. A White male student pointed to an Asian ancestry female and asked, “Why are you in the Non-Heritage class? Aren’t you supposed to be in the Heritage class?” This comment epitomized the summary and the purpose of this study, which was to uncover the perceptions of ethnolinguistic identity of a group of diverse Chinese and Non-Chinese Heritage students enrolled in Non-Heritage Chinese classes at a postsecondary institution.

This study investigated how the ethnic, cultural, and linguistic identities (hereafter ethnolinguistic identity) of Chinese Languages Learners (CLLs), particularly those of some Chinese ancestry (i.e. Broadly-Defined Heritage Language Learners), were shaped by their peers, the instructors, and the textbooks used in the Non-Heritage First-Year Mandarin Chinese Program. It was inspired by previous research and scholarship on investment and ethnolinguistic identity theory, and personal classroom observations that Broadly-Defined Heritage Language Learners (BDHLLs) often encounter legitimacy challenges from their peer Non-Heritage Language Learners (NHLLs) in the Non-Heritage program. Previous research and scholarship indicated that second language learners study the target language because they see a significant value in it, regardless of whether it is intrinsic or extrinsic, and because they know they will gain symbolic resources in return.

A qualitative methodology was used to obtain the data needed to answer the research questions of interest to this study. The specific research questions were (1) What are the different perceptions of Non-Heritage and Heritage Mandarin Chinese classes by students of different language background enrolled in the same Non-Heritage Mandarin Chinese classes; (2) What effects do Non-Heritage Mandarin Chinese classes have on the ethnolinguistic identity perceptions of Broadly-Defined Chinese Heritage Language Learners (BDCHLLs); (3) How do the curricular materials and instructional techniques used in Non-Heritage Mandarin Chinese classes influence the ethnolinguistic identity perceptions of BDCHLLs; (4) What challenges and problems do the BDCHLLs encounter from being placed in a Non-Heritage Mandarin Chinese class; and (5) What

strategies and negotiations are developed by the BDCHLLs to navigate their ethnic identities and linguistic skills in Non-Heritage Mandarin Chinese classes? The Broadly-Defined Chinese Heritage Language Learners (BDCLLs) in the Non-Heritage First-Year Mandarin Chinese program at Westwood University were the primary focus of analysis.

Most data collected derived from interviews with selected Chinese Language Learners (CLLs). Documents, such as the online catalogue, publications of Westwood University, course syllabi, and textbooks, also were analyzed. A total of 18 Chinese Language Learners (CLLs) participated in this study. They included ten Broadly-Defined Heritage Language Learners (BDHLLs), and eight Non-Heritage Language Learners (NHLLs). The Broadly-Defined Chinese Heritage Language Learners (BDCHLLs) are categorized as Type A participants, whereas the Non-Heritage Chinese Language Learners (NHCLLs) are categorized as Type B participants. Chinese instructors also were interviewed for the purpose of triangulation. The interviews were conducted using semi-structured protocols (see Appendices A, B, and C), and lasted one to two hours. Each interview was audio-recorded and transcribed verbatim for coding and data analysis. The coding schema (Appendix G) was created from the research questions, conceptual framework, and issues that emerged during the interviews and coding procedures.

Several major findings resulted from this study. First, self-selected or instructor-assigned Chinese names that were used during course discourse were identified by all participants in the study as a significant feature of their learning experiences and class interaction. However, this significance varied by specific participants and for many different reasons. Second, the Chinese names of the Broadly-Defined Heritage Language

Learners (BDHLLs) were considered personally significant only when pronounced in their native Chinese dialects (instead of mainstream Mandarin), and in abbreviated forms such as nicknames or as a single character. The Mandarin pronounced full Chinese names were less personal and more academic in Non-Heritage Chinese classes. This professional ethnolinguistic identity was similarly considered for both Type A and Type B students. Although for Type B students, this reaction was expected since their native languages were something other than any form of Chinese.

Third, for Broadly-Defined Heritage Language Learners (BDHLLs) studying Chinese in college was a way for themselves to affiliate with the transnational society in their imagined communities. They could use their Chinese full names in the Non-Heritage class without feeling shameful about being different when they were growing up. The linguistic kinship bonds they developed in the Non-Heritage program increased their awareness of their ethnic, cultural, and linguistic identities as Chinese and/or from a background whose native language was strongly influenced by Chinese characters (such as Japanese and Korean), helped develop networks for future career opportunities, and facilitated reclaiming their Chinese identity in the United States.

A fourth major finding of this study was that Broadly-Defined Heritage Language Learners (BDHLLs) conceded that they have some advantages in studying Chinese over Non-Chinese students. Their peer Non-Heritage Language Learners (NHLLs) considered it an unfair advantage that created a “sandbagging effect,” and caused them to “have bad habits to break.” Nevertheless, their ethnolinguistic identities were challenged and confronted in the process of acquiring Modern Standard Chinese knowledge and skills.

They felt their funds of knowledge were not valid and sometimes contradicted learning the grammar rules or vocabularies taught in the Non-Heritage classes. Fifth, Broadly-Defined Heritage Language Learners (BDHLLs) perceived learning Non-Heritage Chinese as a “new” language rather than a “foreign” language. They were able to relate Mandarin Chinese to their native dialects. Asian-Type B participants in this study also discovered some similarities between Chinese, and Korean and Japanese.

The last important result of this study was the definitions of Heritage and Non-Heritage. The instructors viewed Chinese heritage as a big umbrella term for having Han Chinese culture influence, including the writing systems of some East Asian countries that were based on Chinese characters. The Broadly-Defined Chinese Heritage Language Learners (Type A participants) viewed heritage as having any kind of Chinese family connections in a cultural and linguistic sense, while the Non-Heritage Chinese Language Learners (Type B participants) defined heritage broadly as being Asian generally, and Chinese specifically, irrespective of the language spoken. Thus, according to this perception, a U.S. born Chinese American who had never spoken anything but English would still be considered “Heritage Chinese” by the general public.

Discussions

Some of the findings in this study correspond closely to assertions made in the conceptual framework introduced in Chapter I and some previous research, while others were not as predicted. For discussion purposes, explanations of these results are organized according to three overarching themes. These are Chinese naming and

ethnolinguistic identity, investment and transnationalism, and racialization in Non-Heritage Chinese Language Education.

Chinese Naming and Ethnolinguistic Identity.

A large portion of the findings in this study revealed the significance of Mandarin Chinese naming as personal choice, cultural identity, language identity, and heritage connection. Earlier research, such as that conducted by Rin (1975), and Kondo-Brown and Brown (2010) suggested that many immigrant parents from East Asia give their children English first names, hoping that this will expedite their assimilation into mainstream U.S. society. Yet, many Chinese parents also want their children to remain somewhat culturally, ethnically, and linguistically Chinese. The hope is that by growing up with two names, the children will maintain ties to their ethnic identities, cultural heritages, and ancestral origins. One way to do so is to use the children's Chinese names as their legal middle names on birth certificates in some Romanization customs as described by Rin (1975). The Chinese names of half of the Type A participants in this study were their middle names. Participant A1 was the only one who used her Cantonese name as the first name and her English name as the middle name. The other four Type A participants either do not have middle names at all, or their parents gave them English middle names to "make their lives easier" in the United States.

In the event that their Chinese names were not represented in their legal names, all Type A participants had some kinds of Chinese names or nicknames that were used in their private domains. Their parental choices in naming also affected how they viewed themselves growing up, and what they considered doing for their own children when they

became parents. Those who carried their Chinese names on the birth certificates were more likely to give their children Chinese names as part of their legal names to remind them that they are “third generation Chinese Americans.” However, it would also depend on how involved Type A participants were in being Chinese. For instance, although Participant A8 has her Cantonese name as her legal middle name, she resisted the idea of giving her future children Chinese names as middle names because she regarded English names as more “beautiful and prettier.” She wanted to obtain full membership as an American by giving her future children all English names. Yet, all Type A participants in this study agreed to giving their future children some kinds of Chinese names but not necessarily listing them on the birth certificates.

Unlike previous studies that generally indicated Chinese names as significant ethnic markers to heritage speakers (Wen, 2011; He, 2004; 2006), the findings in this study indicated Mandarin Chinese full names of Type A participants were perceived as contrived and rather artificial at the initial stage of studying Mandarin Chinese. They were just for academic and professional use, and, therefore, analogous in function to the ones assigned to the Type B participants by the instructors. Their full Mandarin Chinese names are just who they are in the Non-Heritage Mandarin Chinese classes. Both Type A and Type B participants recognized their Mandarin full names when called on to answer questions posed by instructors in class. It was only when, or if, the Chinese names of Type A students are pronounced in their native dialects or in abbreviated forms (i.e. nicknames used by their family and relatives) that they felt the names transmitted more personal, familial, and cultural connections.

The perceptions of participants of their Mandarin-pronounced Chinese names as being only to academic and less personal may be a factor of their short term involvement with language in a contrived environment. They may not have quite worked out their professional and ethnolinguistic identities yet, or to recognize some long-range benefits of the in-class practice of using Mandarin-pronounced names. For example, having a Mandarin name can be very advantageous in establishing relationship for one who spends extended time working, travelling, or studying in China. While some of the participants in this study expressed interest in pursuing these future possibilities, they were not yet aware of how naming could be a valuable investment in facilitating their interacting in authentic Mandarin-dominant speaking setting (instead of just classrooms), such as being in China, Taiwan or any other Mandarin speaking countries, such as Singapore or Malaysia, may change these Chinese Language Learners' (CLLs) perceptions on their Mandarin names and activate another of investment in language learning at a very practical level.

Erikson's (1980) claim that, "Identity formation...is a lifelong development largely unconscious to the individual and to [one's] society" (p.122) has some credence in the results of this study. The co-existence of Chinese and American identities that existed among some of the Chinese Language Learners (CLLs) is indicative of their bi-ethnic and bi-linguistic funds of knowledge, and is consistent with ethnolinguistic identity theory. It also may explain why there are different categories or classifications of identity that are reflections of social realities. This study verified claims made by researchers in second language education that the use of personal names convey social

significance as evidenced by instrumental and expressive differences (Toohey & Norton, 2003).

Even though many Chinese language instructors use students' surnames as rough clues about their ethnicity, it challenges one's ethnolinguistic identity, especially those with mixed-heritage. For example, Participant A2 in this study had some forms of Chinese names in different stages of her life. Her first Chinese instructor gave her a Chinese surname based on the pronunciation of her Jewish last name without knowing her Chinese heritage. A surname is only one clue among many to one's identity, and it can be misleading because of changes experienced by families and groups across time, location, and circumstance. For instance, the surnames of Participants A5, A6, and A7 are more Westernized and less commonly spelled in Chinese Romanization forms. Therefore, their coworkers and teachers assumed that they were not Chinese, or that they may be adopted, before having any face-to-face contact with them.

The findings from this study confirmed that a name does not entirely indicate the critical core values of individual, nor their conceptions of who they are. It is only one part of their heritage. This claim was validated in Participant B4's reflections. As a third generation Russianized Korean, she did not have much affinity with her Korean surname since she did not identify as Korean. In fact, individuals, families, and social groups typically are identified as units, and historical experiences give dynamic character to this identification process. Although they have some continuity through history, various changes can, and do, occur. Designated names can change; language can change; geography can change; mergers and divisions can occur. As time passes languages

change, in sound and structure, and the names associated with members of the group who speak the language change as well. Individuals, families, and even whole tribes and clans, can change ethnic streams. Therefore, a surname may be only a historical artifact, as was the case with Participant B4.

Unquestionably, naming is related to one's linguistic choice, since names take on the characteristics of a specific language, region, country of origin, group identity, and the history of families and social groups. In everyday life, people commonly associate names with certain ethnicities and histories. This tendency can be indicative of racialization in language education settings. For example, with the name, Lee, it is hard to say if it is a Chinese, Korean, or Western surname. Western social science researchers usually associate ethnic identity with genetic heritage as described in a study of Asian American surnames conducted by Lauderdale and Kestenbaum (2000). To some extent, this tendency was affirmed by the various participants in this study, including Heritage and Non-Heritage student participants, as well as class instructors.

Investment and Transnationalism.

For the past two decades, Norton's (1995, 2000, 2001, 2006, 2008, 2010) conception of investment has provided a crucial theoretical lens for investigating the identities and agency of learners in second language education. The accounts from both Type A and Type B participants in this study validated this paradigm. Irrespective of being ethnically and culturally Chinese or not, all participants studied Mandarin Chinese in the Non-Heritage First-Year Mandarin Chinese program at Westwood University because they assumed it would benefit them in various ways. Reynolds, Howard, and

Deák (2009) stated that the target language (i.e. Mandarin Chinese in this study) being studied is not regularly spoken at home by Broadly-Defined Heritage Language Learners (BDHLLs), and the study of the language is a way to for them to understand their heritage and/or to connect with their families. It is true that the native dialects of Type A participants in this study are not Mandarin Chinese, but the intentions for studying Mandarin varied. They may or may not be related to culture or heritage specifically. Some of the participants demonstrated the instrumentality of learning Mandarin Chinese rather than seeing it as only a heritage language, as He (2004; 2006) reported.

Reynolds, Howard, and Deák (2009) identified heritage connection as a major motivator for placing heritage language learners at different locations on a spectrum of instrumentality. This study found that the desire to use Chinese language for work, career, or study (research-related activities) was not the exclusive perceptions of Non-Heritage Language Learners (NHLLs, Type B participants). It also was a value expressed by Broadly-Defined Heritage Language Learners (Type A participants), such as Participant A8 who considered being able to speak more than one minority language as an asset.

Some Type B participants considered studying Chinese as both personally relevant and beneficial beyond the business potential suggested by the Chinese instructors in this study, and by Husseinali (2006) and Wen (2011). For instance, some Type B participants wanted to study Chinese because they did not relate with their own immigrant communities, and they were seeking social connections elsewhere. For instance, some Type B participants in this study reported their learning motivations for

the purpose of potential interracial dating and marrying someone who speaks Mandarin Chinese. Conversely, and contrary to claims made by He (2006), Wen (2011), and Reynolds et al. (2009), some Type A participants were studying Chinese not because of its culturally relevance, but for the potential international research and career opportunities in the global market.

Rin (1975) suggested it is difficult to consider Chinese as a single cultural group in a discussion of psycho-cultural adjustment in a changing world. According to him, people who think, feel, and behave in similar ways gather together, and form a social group and their views of self in the world appear to others to be Chinese. One who does not share the tradition does not appear to be Chinese. His explanation suggested the kind of suppression and assimilation, restriction and integration that were interwoven into the complexity of the Non-Heritage Mandarin Chinese class studied in this research project. Broadly-Defined Heritage Language Learners (BDHLLs) tended to adhere to their traditions and cultures and tried to maintain or reclaim their rights in being Chinese.

In a highly mobile world, individuals and families often change ethnic streams, language streams, and geographical locations. Foreigners may move to a new geographical location with a different ethnic character. For some ethnic Chinese individuals whose parents grew up in Southeast Asian countries, their family surnames could have been changed to the residential country's version (such as Vietnamese), and back to the initial Chinese version after immigrating to the United States (as was the case with Participant A4's father). This illustrates that sometimes visual markers of assumed ethnicity are more factors of contextual circumstances. For many immigrants from East

Asian countries in the United States, this usually means that if their surnames are written in the Romanization forms, they have joined the local ethnic stream and adapted to the local culture and language. This also is a signal of the loss of their original sounds and meanings.

Ethnicities do change and new social constructs develop (i.e. biracial, mixed-heritage, Other). Some of the changes are attributed to geographic location and broader societal contexts. Therefore, ethnolinguistic identity entails deeper shared worldviews, which are difficult to elicit and describe. Wallace's (2001) conceptions of four borderlands adequately captures the sifting essences of ethnolinguistic identity boundary crossing exhibited by Type A, Asian-Type B, and some White-Type B participants in this study. Wallace's borderlands suggest that categories and concepts of ethnicity are arbitrary, and they are formal or informal according to law or custom. For example, in English, "*Chinese*" can refer to ethnicity, culture, language, or nationality. These various meanings were apparent in the textbook used in the Non-Heritage Chinese class of the study, as well as in the interview accounts of the Type A participants.

Geographical proximity does not ensure close social ties, biological kinship bonds, or language preservation. Some of the Type A participants grew up in a community that speaking or hearing their native dialects, but their heritage language ability was not maintained as they became older. This means each case has to be evaluated on its own merits and integrity. To do so, an ethnolinguistic identity approach must be taken into account as a distinguishing factor between group memberships and individuals' participation. The Type A participants were concerned about their perceptions of identity,

and reclaiming their rights to maintain their cultural and linguistic heritages. However, the degree of significance this was for particular individuals and families, and their attitudes toward language maintenance varied. This illustrates Weedon's (2004) subject positioning theory that people negotiate a sense of self through language within and across a range of situations and circumstances at different points in time, and gain access or are denied access to powerful social networks that give them the opportunities to speak.

The “new-ness” quality of a second language symbolizes points of connections and recognitions; whereas, the “foreignness” quality of a second language signals degrees of strangeness and familiarities. For instance, an American English speaker travelling in Italy may consider Italian as a new language because he or she can recognize some similarities to English but may think of Greek as a “foreign” language, because its looks and sounds have no semblance to English. Type A participants and Asian-Type B participants felt some connections to Mandarin Chinese because they could relate on some level to its pronunciation, form, and meaning. Therefore, because of this familiarity Mandarin was a “new” instead of a “foreign” language to them. This is one of the previously hidden and untold stories about language learning revealed by this study, and contrary to previous studies that broadly regarded Mandarin as a “heritage” language (He, 2004; 2006; Wen, 2011). A question worth of further pursuit is how students' perceptions of language being studied as “new” or “foreign” affect their learning.

Racialization in Non-Heritage Chinese Language Education.

Languages are often factors of ethnic boundaries. A different language is usually an indication of a separate ethnicity. Like languages, ethnic identities do not have to be personally invoked to retain significance to individuals. For example, children of immigrants are constantly reminded by others and societal institutions, such as the mass media, of their ethnicity, culture, and linguistic heritages (Suárez-Orozco & Sattin-Bajaj, 2010). Type A participants in this study revealed that if they were born Chinese and if they physically look Chinese, they were expected to know, speak, and write a Chinese language, regardless of how long they and their families have lived in the United States. However, Chinese racial membership does not guarantee participation in Chinese culture or fluency in Chinese language. While Type A participants were identified as Chinese, they were not necessarily actively engaged in the cultural and linguistic aspects of their ethnicity.

In comparison, Type B participants, especially Whites, received many compliments and praises for learning Mandarin in the Non-Heritage classes from the instructors, the Broadly-Defined Heritage Language Learners (BDHLLs, Type A participants), and the Asian Type B participants. Social attributes such as these in second language learning need to be understood to make better sense of the interrelationship of all the identities in a linguistic repertoire; the choices associated with ethnolinguistic identity; and the special characteristics of participation and membership of second language learners. For instance, while the Type A student participants acknowledged

some linguistic affinity with Mandarin, they had a stronger relationship with their native dialects whether they were Cantonese, Shanghainese, Taisanese, or Toechow.

The distinction between Heritage and Non-Heritage Mandarin Chinese Language programs used at Westwood University is problematic for some students. Some did not know the differences between Heritage and Non-Heritage when they decided to enroll. Others viewed heritage as related to one's particular cultural background and family history, or being Chinese and Asian, generally. The Non-Heritage instructors who participated in this study viewed heritage as having some kinds of Chinese-ness, which is embedded in other character writing systems as well as in Chinese languages. The institution viewed heritage as being Mandarin dominant while growing up.

The Chinese ancestry participants who knew some spoken forms of Chinese dialects but could not produce written formats were viewed as less legitimate in learning Non-Heritage Mandarin by the Non-Chinese participants (Type B) and the course instructors. That is, they questioned whether being enrolled in Non-Heritage classes was an appropriate choice for Type A participants. Many of the Type A participants were considered downplaying their language ability, and needing to break bad habits because of their accents in other Chinese dialects. These tendencies to minimize the depth of difference among various Chinese languages exhibited by some of the participants illustrated Kubota's (2010) conclusion that while second language education often appears to support linguistic and cultural diversity, it in fact does not. The Non-Heritage Chinese class in this study promoted "monolingualism, monoculturalism, normatism, and elitism" (Kubota, 2010, p.99). It supported monolingualism by teaching Mandarin as the

only Chinese heritage language and by assimilating the Broadly-Defined Heritage Language Learners (BDHLLs) into the dominant Chinese-speaking community without maintaining their native dialects. This assimilation also included non-Han speakers of Chinese, other Asian languages, and Non-Asian ancestry into Mandarin.

The textbooks used in class also focused on Han Chinese and Confucian beliefs, and perpetuated Mandarin as the only acceptable Chinese language. For instance, Modern Standard Chinese vocabularies in occupations such as teachers, doctors, and lawyers promoted model minority and normatism messages. The learning trajectories of both the Broadly-Defined Heritage Language Learners (BDHLLs) and Non-Heritage Language Learners (NHLLs) in the Mandarin Chinese classes were towards understanding these imagined communities. According to Norton (2006), an imagined community assumes the existence of a shared identity, and investment in its target language practices can be understood within this context. In the Non-Heritage class, Mandarin was considered a “new” linguistic community by the Broadly-Defined Chinese Heritage Language Learners (BDCHLLs), and by the Japanese and Korean descent participants. However, the Non-Asian Type B (White) participants considered Chinese as a “foreign” language. These different perceptions may have affected the students’ respective affiliations with the classroom community that evolved over time, and their senses of personal investment in learning Chinese.

Kubota and Lin (2009) put race and ethnicity on the agenda of second language education. They contend that race is, in fact, a “third voice” in native and non-native speaker debates. In establishing and reformulating relevant social identities in a

multilingual and multiethnic society, their views of the role of ethnicity are understandable. The results of this study confirmed these claims. They suggest that ethnicity and race were part of the repertoire of the social identities of members of the Non-Heritage class as a particular speech community. The repertoire of ethnolinguistic identities attributed to the different participants reflected a complex understanding of the linkages between their various social identities and reasons for and their associated linguistic forms in learning Chinese in a university level Non-Heritage course. These associations were done both consciously and unintentionally.

For example, the Broadly-Defined Chinese Heritage Language Learners (BDCHLLs) and Asian-Type B participants thought that the instructors of Non-Heritage Chinese (regardless of gender and nationality) favored White students over Asians. This preference was conveyed through textbook dialogues as well. The preferential attitudes were indicated by being more encouraging, friendly, nicer, and tolerant of mistakes, and more explicitly appreciative of accomplishments. The White students may not have been expected to speak Chinese, so when they did, they attracted attention. This created a perception of presumed privilege and advantage. However, some Non-Chinese students thought it was the Broadly-Defined Chinese Heritage Language Learners (BDCHLLs) who were advantaged because of their ethnic identity and their cultural and linguistic heritages, even if they were not Mandarin.

This study revealed that the Type A participants situated Chinese language literacy within the larger contexts of Asian American political, socioeconomic, and educational struggles. The issues of preferential treatment in learning Mandarin can be

conceptualized as racialization. As some students attempted to become legitimate users of Mandarin, discriminatory experiences troubled them. Others—as demonstrated in their oppositional voices and behaviors—resisted suppression based on a belief that competency in Mandarin, beyond its role in post-secondary institutions, can change the conditions of their lives. The characterization of Chinese language learning as a racialized experience put forth in this study contrasts with culture-free and situated perspectives of second language learning often found in research and scholarship.

Limitations

This study has several limitations. First, since the research used a qualitative methodology that investigated a small number of student participants, the results cannot be generalized to a large population. For instance, one biracial female student participated. Hence, the experiences of mixed-heritage Chinese speakers were not explored as much as other Chinese dialect speakers. There were no participants who self-identified as Chinese and Korean, Chinese and Japanese, or Chinese and Vietnamese, nor Chinese Americans who do not know any form of Chinese. There also were no African or Latino students enrolled in Non-Heritage Chinese classes at the time of this study. These bi-ethnic and racially diverse students may have different perspectives of what it means to be ethnically, culturally, and linguistically Chinese, and perceptions of the value of learning Mandarin.

Second, gender, generation, and age were not of primary concern in this study. Gender was not examined as a consideration in ethnolinguistic identity development. Had this aspect been factored in, it may have revealed differences in the perceptions of ethnolinguistic identity between male and female participants, the role gender played in

learning Mandarin in Non-Heritage classes as perceived by instructors, and how gender stereotypes were possibly demonstrated in the textbooks. There were no third generation Broadly-Defined Chinese Heritage Language Learners (BDCHLLs) involved in this study. That is, no participants self-identified as Chinese Americans who speak no forms of any Chinese languages. This kind of participants may have provided aspects and perceptions about hearing Chinese language and culture that were not identified by the two categories of participants in this study. None of the participants in this study was under the age of 18. So, the perspectives of their parents were not examined. The voices of parents and other family members of Broadly-Defined Chinese Heritage Language Learners (BDCHLLs) might have provided some first-hand accounts of Chinese naming practices. Their recollections may have supplemented the Chinese naming stories, or expressed different viewpoints compared to the descriptions provided by the student participants themselves.

Third, this study did not include classroom observations and was conducted during a short period of time. Had the data collection extended to a longer period of time, the developmental features of ethnolinguistic identity might have been more prominent. Had this occurred, it would have been easier to compare different perceptions of ethnolinguistic identity of students in Non-Heritage Mandarin programs through first-year to third-year Chinese language classes at Westwood University, and assess how their consideration of ethnolinguistic identity evolved over time, and along with the views of different peers and instructors. Additionally, if classroom observations had been included, the self-reports of the participants could have been further triangulated, and, evidence

obtained about how instructors engaged with textbooks and instructional materials. In other words, whether the instructors mediated some of the ethnic, cultural, and linguistic biases apparent in these resources.

Fourth, the location of Westwood University also may have influenced the results of this study. The Chinese and Korean communities and student associations are very active on its campus. The enrollments and student populations are predominantly White and Asian as indicated in the school fact book. Therefore, had this study been conducted at a different site, the personal accounts from voluntary interviewees might have been different and hence it would give different coherences to this empirical study.

Fifth, the self-reporting interview accounts from the participants in this study may have some bias. Bailey (1991) pointed out in her discussion of studies on second language learning and teaching that researchers be alert to the potential biases embedded in the retrospective and introspective nature of the content and collection process of self-reported data. These problems may have been present in the study. Certainly, the data cannot be generalized to any other populations. However, the self-reports of the student participants in this study did reveal some important insights about the perceptions of students from different ethnic and linguistic backgrounds in Non-Heritage Mandarin classes that may be instructive for future research and classroom instruction.

Significance of this Study

This study adds a new contribution to understanding definitions of Heritage and Non-Heritage in second language education research on ethnic, cultural, and linguistic identities by reconnoitering the perceptions of Broadly-Defined Chinese Heritage

Language Learners (Type A participants) and Non-Heritage Chinese Language Learners (Type B participants) in juxtaposition to that of the instructors. It extends research directions for supporting the conceptual claims of investment and imagined communities in Chinese language education in the context of U.S. higher education by presenting reasons for learning Chinese from students themselves. Institutions that acknowledge and address investment in Chinese Language Learners' (CLL) ethnolinguistic identities (regardless of whether they originate from intrinsic, social, or cultural characteristics, or human agency) have the best chance for helping students in Non-Heritage classes integrate their identity negotiations and language learning processes.

This study argued that current second language research fails to consider the centrality of the ethnolinguistic identity of Broadly-Defined Heritage Language Learners (BDHLLs) in Non-Heritage program, as well as issues of power and inequality in understanding Second Language Acquisition (SLA). It validated emerging theories of identity that incorporate individual agency and personal investment. The stories of Broadly-Defined Chinese Heritage Language Learners (BDCHLLs) presented indicated how ethnolinguistic identities in a Non-Heritage program are negotiated by their own agency, and some of the complexities involved.

There is not much identity research on Broadly-Defined Chinese Heritage Language Learners (BDCHLLs) in Non-Heritage classes. This study contributed to understanding the perceptions of ethnic, cultural, and language identities of the Chinese Language Learners (CLLs) related to what Heritage and Non-Heritage mean, and the heterogeneity of learners in Chinese language classroom at the college level. The findings

from this study are reminders that second language educators, practitioners, and researchers need to understand their students' self-perceptions with regard to cultural heritages, and how these affect their ethnolinguistic identities and Chinese language learning in Non-Heritage programs.

This qualitative study has implication for Non-Heritage language education policy as well as the curriculum and instruction of specific Chinese programs. It reinforces some perceptions and proposals suggested by other scholars. Such as Au (2010) who suggested the need to approach issues of second language learning sociologically by examining the negotiation of identity; Pennycook's (2006) suggestion that using, speaking, learning, and teaching a language is are forms of social and cultural action. This study endorsed these ideas and added another dimension by making student voices as a critical source of validation in language learning and cultural identity.

Recommendations for Future Research

More action research on Broadly-Defined Heritage Language Learners (BDHLLs) should be conducted to convey insider perspectives and reconsider the institutional definitions of Heritage and Non-Heritage distinction. More studies such as this one about language learning and understanding identity negotiations from the perspectives of the students who participate in these experiences should be conducted. These could include students enrolled in both Non-Heritage and Heritage Mandarin Chinese, as well as other language such as Arabic, Japanese, Korean, and Spanish. Such comparative studies could help to determine aspects of ethnolinguistic identity development that are discrete within

and common across learning various languages, and to rethink the value of Non-Heritage language education.

Another recommendation is to replicate the current study with more participants in both Type A and Type B classifications in Non-Heritage Chinese programs at different institutions. More participants may reveal more depth, similarities, and differences in the results obtained. They also could increase the reliability, validity, and generalizability of the data. Such studies are venues for educators and researchers to broaden studies of different dimensions of identity development and negotiation within different language learning programs. In these suggested areas of research, the voices of both students and teachers need to be investigated.

More research is also needed to explain the effects of racialization and Chinese naming practice in teaching Chinese as a Second Language, including more students of color from different ethnic and racial groups. In conducting these studies, the perspectives of Chinese Languages Learners (CLLs) who are neither White nor Asian should be explored where possible. Furthermore, the role of mass media and self-efficacy should be taken into consideration since media often present biased images of and unequal opportunities for people based on their ethnicity, gender, race, culture, class, and language.

Concluding Comments

This study invites all second language educators and researchers to rethink the existing Non-Heritage language programs that consist of both Broadly-Defined Heritage Language Learners (BDHLLs) and Non-Heritage Language Learners (NHLLs). It argues

that the ethnolinguistic identity of second language learners is always in process, and that learners often have differential investments in the language practices of their classrooms and communities. These investments are central to the struggle for legitimacy in heterogeneous Non-Heritage language programs that have long been regarded as monolithic learning groups.

It is time for researchers and practitioners to rethink existing boundaries between Heritage and Non-Heritage Chinese, and move towards a proficiency-based model. Additional investigations of research and theory are needed to acquire more thorough understandings of Non-Heritage literacy development and identity processes, for making learning Chinese more equitable for all students, and for utilizing the power of culturally responsive teaching for Broadly-Defined Heritage Language Learners (BDHLLs) enrolled in both Non-Heritage and Heritage classes.

Making learning and teaching Chinese more equitable in Non-Heritage and Heritage programs should be high on the agenda of Chinese as a Second Language Education (CSL). These programs also should promote intergroup relation, intercultural communication, and multiple kinds of diversity (Banks et al., 2010). They also should eliminate the foreign fashion (崇洋媚外 *chóng yáng mèi wài*); and make the classroom more accommodating to multiple ethnolinguistic identities and their associated investments in language learning.

Instructors of Chinese language programs should ask themselves, “How are teachers’ and students’ identities being read? How do instructors and students respond to one another given this reading of identities? What are alternative strategies for addressing

identity in the classroom?” Second language education is a complex, sociocultural, and linguistic endeavor. Saldaña et al. (2011) advised researchers and educators that “being empathetically human in the classroom is a legitimate method of teaching practice” (p. 31). This advice should be heeded in Non-Heritage Mandarin Chinese programs.

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Appendices

Appendix A

Interview Protocol for Broadly-Defined Mandarin Chinese Heritage Language Learners

1. Could you please tell me about your ethnic/racial and language background?
Probe: what languages are spoken at home/ in the community you grew up?
2. Why do you want to take Chinese in college? What are your main objectives?
3. Do you have a Chinese name? What is it and where does it come from? Do you know the meanings of the characters? What are they?
4. When you are being called by your Chinese name in this language class, how is it different from being called by your registered name in other classes on campus?
5. How often and when do you use your Mandarin Chinese name outside of classroom? Would you consider it as your real name?
6. Could you pronounce your Chinese name the way your family members call you at home? And is it different compared to how the teachers or classmates address you by your Chinese name in class?
7. What are some of your reactions when your Chinese name is written/spelled/pronounced differently by your teachers compared to the ones you are used to write/hear?
8. Is your Chinese name preserved in your legal name? If so, how do you feel about your Chinese name being reflected in your official name? If not, would you consider giving your children a Chinese name in some forms of Romanization letters?
9. How would you answer the dialogue questions from Lesson One: are you Chinese? Are you Chinese or American?
10. Are you planning to pursue any of these occupations, lawyers, doctors, and teachers, mentioned in Lesson Two as your career? Why or why not?
11. (For male participant): in real life situation, would you date Li You (a White American female character in the textbook)? Why or why not?

12. (For female participant): in real life situation, would you date Gao Wenzhong (a White British male character in the textbook)? Why or why not?
13. What challenges do you have in your current Non-Heritage class?
Probe: how is your ethnic, culture, language background advantage or disadvantage?
14. What parts of class time feel most comfortable for you? And why?
Probe: skit performance, oral presentation, writing characters, pinyin/sentence dictations...
15. What parts of class time feel least comfortable for you? Why and how do you cope with those situations?
16. In class activities, do you prefer to be paired with someone like yourself or not?
And why?
17. How do you feel when the instructors correct your tones and pronunciation in class? And how do you feel when they comment on your characters writing?
18. What do you know about the differences between Heritage and Non-Heritage Chinese language class?
19. What are your perceptions of the instructors and other peer Non-Heritage Chinese language learners and their perceptions of you?
20. Imagine if you were to be placed in Heritage class, how might it make your learning experiences differently?

Appendix B

Interview Protocol for Non-Heritage Chinese Language Learners

1. Could you please tell me about your ethnic/racial and language background?
Probe: what any other Asian languages have you studied/learned?
2. Why do you want to take Chinese in college? What are your main goals?
3. Do you have a Chinese name? What is it and where does it come from? Do you know the meanings of the characters? What are they?
4. How often and when do you use your Chinese name outside of classroom?
5. What are some of your reactions when you are being called by your Chinese name?
Probe: how long does it take for you to identify yourself with your Chinese name?
6. What are your perceptions of your fellow classmates who already have Chinese names to be placed in a Non-Heritage class?
7. What do you know about the differences between Heritage and Non-Heritage Chinese language class?
8. In class activities, do you prefer to be paired with a Chinese student or to be with someone like yourself and why?

Appendix C

Interview Protocol for Non-Heritage Chinese Instructors

1. How long have you been teaching Non-Heritage and Heritage Chinese classes?
2. What are the differences between Non-Heritage and Heritage Chinese?
Probe: how do students get into the classes?
3. What kinds of changes have you seen in both Non-Heritage and Heritage classes, in terms of class size, student demographics, linguistic background, or course format?
Probe: have you seen African American students, Latino students taking Chinese?
4. In Non-Heritage class, have the student demographic changes affected the way you approach teaching the course?
Probe: could you please give me an example?
5. In Non-Heritage class, do you address your students by their Chinese names?
When and how does this instructional technique come to practice?
6. How have the students obtained their Chinese names? Do you help students choose their Chinese names? If so, what are your Chinese naming strategies?
7. What are your perceptions of students who grew up speaking a major Chinese dialect other than Mandarin in Non-Heritage Chinese class?
8. How do you accommodate different needs of Chinese language learners in your Non-Heritage class?

Appendix D

Questions for Documents

- Textbooks and workbooks
 1. Who (race, ethnicity, gender, nationality) are presented in the books and how are they presented? How often do they appear throughout the textbooks?
 2. Do the dialogues and language practices in the books reflect traces of transnationality and model minority? If so, how?
 3. Do the illustrations and texts uphold the domination of one race over another? And how are they depicted?
 4. What kind of information accompanies images? And how are the images identified?
 5. Are there any bias to the texts with regard to Chinese language and culture?
- Course syllabi, online catalogue, time Schedule
 1. What are the institutional and departmental definitions of Non-Heritage and Heritage?
 2. How are heritage and Non-Heritage defined in First-Year Chinese language course?
 3. How many students were registered in first-year Chinese from Autumn Qtr. 2000 to Spring Qtr. 2010 at Westwood University?
 4. Who (race, ethnicity) graduated with Chinese major/ minor from Westwood University?
- Skit scripts and student homework exercises
 1. Who are (or can be) assigned to be Americans in the skit performance?
 2. How Broadly-Defined Chinese Heritage Language Learners report their ethnic, language, and cultural identities in various homework assignments (i.e. sentence making and answering the questions)?

Appendix E

Final Selections of the Type A Participants in this Study

Gender	Race/Ethnicity/Nationality	Academic Status	Linguistic backgrounds
A1(F)	Canadian Cantonese Speaker, Hong Kong immigrant	Graduate (PhD), Sociology	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Home language(s): Cantonese ○ Language(s) other than English formally learned in schools: Spanish (secondary school) and French (primary school)
A2(F)	Half Chinese, half Jewish American, born and raised in North Carolina	Graduate (MA), Architecture	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Home language(s): primarily English with some degree of Shanghainese ○ Language(s) other than English formally learned in schools: Spanish and Mandarin Chinese (senior year in undergraduate)
A3(F)	2 nd generation Chinese American, whose parents are Cantonese speakers from Hong Kong	Undergraduate, Accounting	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Home language(s): Cantonese and English ○ Language(s) other than English formally learned in schools: weekend Mandarin Chinese school (elementary school, 1st grade)
A4(F)	2 nd generation Chinese American, whose father is Chinese Vietnamese	Undergraduate, American Ethnic Studies	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Home language(s): Taisanese and some degree of Cantonese and Vietnamese when with relatives ○ Language(s) other than English formally learned in schools: weekend Mandarin Chinese school (elementary school, 8th grade)
A5(M)	2 nd generation Chinese American whose parents are from Hong Kong and grandparents are from Toisan, older brother of A6.	Undergraduate; civil engineering	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Home language(s): Cantonese, Taisanese, and English ○ Language(s) other than English formally learned in schools: Japanese (three years of high school)
A6(M)	2 nd generation Chinese American whose parents are from Hong Kong and grandparents are from Toisan, younger brother of A5.	Undergraduate; aerospace engineering	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Home language(s): Cantonese, Taisanese, and English ○ Language(s) other than English formally learned in schools: Japanese (three years of high school)
A7(F)	2 nd generation Chinese American whose parents are ethnically Chinese from Burma and Vietnam that both speak Cantonese	Undergraduate; communication	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Home language(s): Cantonese and English ○ Language(s) other than English formally learned in schools: French (four years of high school); Chinese (one year in local weekend school)

A8(F)	2 nd generation Chinese American, Cantonese speaker	Undergraduate; undecided	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Home language(s): Cantonese, English and some degree of Mandarin with grandparents from China ○ Language(s) other than English formally learned in schools: French (four years of high school)
A9(M)	2 nd generation Chinese American	Undergraduate; finance and accounting	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Home language(s): Cantonese and English ○ Language(s) other than English formally learned in schools: Spanish (three years of high school and one year in college)
A10(F)	2 nd generation Chinese American	Undergraduate; business	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Home language(s): Cantonese and English ○ Language(s) other than English formally learned in schools: Japanese (three years of high school)

Appendix F

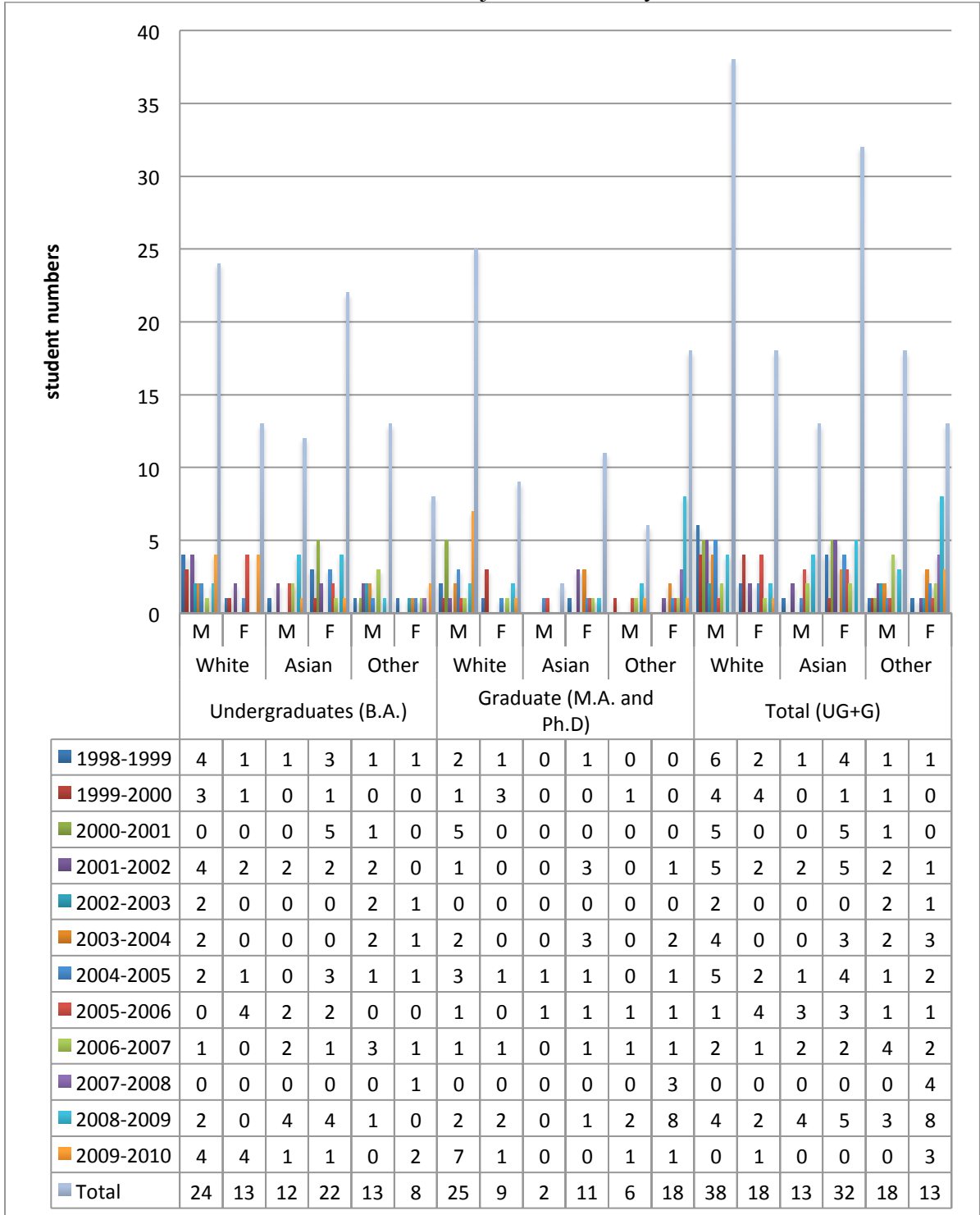
Final Selections of the Type B Participants in this Study

Gender	Race/Ethnicity/Nationality	Academic Status	Linguistic backgrounds
B1(M)	1.5 Korean American/Korean International	Undergraduate; international studies (China studies)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Home language(s): primary Korean with some degree of Chinese ○ Language(s) other than English formally learned in schools: Spanish (four years of high school)
B2(M)	3 rd generation German American	Undergraduate; international studies (China studies)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Home language(s): English only, very little German with grandparents ○ Language(s) other than English formally learned in schools: German (four years of high school)
B3(F)	3 rd generation Korean American whose father is half Korean and half American; her mother is full Korean	Undergraduate; international studies (East Asian track)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Home language(s): Korean at home, English at school. ○ Language(s) other than English formally learned in schools: Japanese (four years of middle school); Chinese (three years of high school)
B4(F)	3 rd generation Russian Korean; American citizen	Undergraduate; international studies (Latin America track) and Spanish majors	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Home language(s): Russian and English at home ○ Language(s) other than English formally learned in schools: Spanish (three years of high school and three years in college so far); Portuguese (one year in college so far)
B5(F)	Japanese international	Undergraduate; psychology	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Home language(s): Japanese ○ Language(s) other than English formally learned in schools: Chinese (one year in high school)
B6(M)	1.5 Russian American	Undergraduate; math and computer science	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Home language(s): Russian ○ Language(s) other than English formally learned in schools: Chinese (starting in college)
B7(F)	Self-identified European American, generation unknown	Undergraduate; computer science	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Home language(s): English ○ Language(s) other than English formally learned in schools: Spanish (four years of high school)
B8(F)	Self-identified European American, generation unknown	Undergraduate; International studies	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Home language(s): English ○ Language(s) other than English formally learned in schools: Spanish (three years of high school)

Appendix G
Coding Scheme

Coding Scheme	
Ethnolinguistic Identity	
ELI	Ethnolinguistic identity
ELI-TS	Ethnolinguistic identity across time and space
ELI-IN	Ethnolinguistic identity and investment
Inanimate Ethnolinguistic Identity	
IA-ELI	External ethnolinguistic identity
IA-ELI-IM	Imagined communities as part of IA-ELI
IA-ELI-TR	Transnationalism as part of IA-ELI
IA-ELI-SO	Sociocultural shaping as part of IA-ELI
IA-ELI-ME	Membership in Chinese group as part of IA-ELI
Animate Ethnolinguistic Identity	
A-ELI	Internal ethnolinguistic identity
A-ELI-VC	Knowledge about Chinese culture and value as part of A-ELI
A-ELI-LP	Chinese dialect language proficiency as part of A-ELI
A-ELI-PE	Personal choice as part of IA-ELI
A-ELI-PA	Participation in Chinese group as part of A-ELI
Component of Chinese culture	
CC-CU	Chinese culture changing across time and space
CC-CN	Chinese name significance
CC-MM	Chinese model minority myth
Influence of Non-Heritage Chinese	
IN-NHC	Influence of Non-Heritage Chinese Program
IN-NHC-RA	Racialization (Asian Vs. White)
IN-NHC-PE	Perception of Heritage vs. Non-Heritage (White)
IN-NHC-UA	Unfair advantage
IN-NHC-IN	Multiracial/Interracial relationship

Appendix H
Chinese Major Graduates by Race



Curriculum Vitae

Summer 2012

Sharon Chang

EDUCATION

- Ph.D. (2012) University of Washington-Seattle
- M.Ed. (2009) University of Washington-Seattle
- B.Ed. (2007) National Taiwan Normal University, Taipei, Taiwan
- Exchange Student (2005-2006) University of Nevada-Reno

TEACHING EXPERIENCE

- Autumn 2012~Spring 2013, Visiting Assistant Professor, Department of Modern and Classical Languages, Western Washington University, Bellingham
- Autumn 2011~Spring 2012, Instructor of Chinese, First-Year and Third-Year, Department of Modern and Classical Languages, Western Washington University, Bellingham
- Summer 2011, Teaching Assistant, CHIN138 First-Year Intensive Chinese (Heritage), Department of Asian Languages and Literature, University of Washington-Seattle
- Summer 2011, Teaching Assistant, EDTEP 551A&B, Multicultural Education, Teacher Education Program, College of Education, University of Washington-Seattle
- Academic Year 2010-2011, Teaching Assistant, First-Year Chinese (Non-Heritage), Department of Asian Languages and Literature, University of Washington-Seattle
- Summer 2010, Teaching Assistant, First-Year Chinese (Non-Heritage), Department of Asian Languages and Literature, University of Washington-Seattle
- Summer 2010, Teaching Assistant, EDTEP 551A&B, Multicultural Education, Teacher Education Program, College of Education, University of Washington-Seattle
- Academic Year 2009-2010, Assistant and Co-instructor, Colloquium on Education, Learning and Society
- Summer 2009, Teaching Assistant, First-Year Intensive Chinese (Non-Heritage), Department of Asian Languages and Literature, University of Washington-Seattle
- School teacher in Taiwan (K-12, and adult education)

PROFESSIONAL EXPERIENCE

- Academic Adviser and Program Coordinator, Minor in Education, Learning and Society and Diversity Minor Program, University of Washington College of Arts & Sciences and College of Education (2009-2010)
- International Student representative at the Associated Students for the College of Education (ASCE), University of Washington (2009-2010)
- Search Committee Graduate Student Representative, ELL/bilingual Professor at the University of Washington College of Education, Winter 2009
- Student Board, International Educators of the College of Education, (IECE), University of Washington-Seattle, 2009-2012
- Education Diversity Recruiter, Office of Minority Recruitment & Retention, College of Education, University of Washington (2009-2012)
- Fall Orientation Assistant, Foundation for International Understanding Through Students (FIUTS), University of Washington-Seattle, June 2009-September 2009
- Facilitator, Foundation for International Understanding Through Students (FIUTS), University of Washington-Seattle, 2008-2012
- Graduate Professional Student Senate (GPSS), Publications Assistant, University of Washington-Seattle, October 2008-December 2008
- Suzzallo Library Government Publications Student Assistant, University of Washington-Seattle, September 2008-June 2009

PRESENTATIONS & CONFERENCE PAPERS

- Chang, S. (April, 2012). Ethnolinguistic Identity of First-Year Non-Heritage Chinese Postsecondary Students. 2012 American Education Research Association (AERA) Annual Meeting – Vancouver, British Columbia, Canada
- Chang, S., Yip, C-L. & Tanenbaum, R. (April, 2011). Sound and Structure in Eastern Min: A Survey of Sandhi Patterns and Tonal Coarticulation in Mazu Dialect. 2011 Asian Languages and Literature Colloquium at the University of Washington, Seattle.
- Chang, S. (October, 2010). A case study of the Establishment of Confucius Institute at the

- University of Washington, Seattle. The International Academic Conference of Development Overseas Education and Chinese Language 2010 in Taipei, Taiwan. [In Chinese]
- Chang, S & Tsai, M. (June, 2010). How undergraduates' learning experiences in the STEM fields are shaped by International Teaching Assistants in the US. 2010 Association for Institutional Research (AIR) Annual Meeting – Chicago, IL.
 - Chang, S. (June, 2010). Taiwanese Multiracial identities in US higher education. 2010 North Taiwanese American Studies Association (NTASA) Annual Meeting –Berkeley, CA.

PROFESSIONAL AFFILIATIONS

- American Council on the Teaching of Foreign Languages (ACTFL)
- Chinese Language Teachers Association (CLTA)
- American Education Research Association (AERA)
- Association for Institutional Research (AIR)